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ABSTRACT

The report, generally known as the Meriam Report, is a survey of the economic and social conditions of the American Indians during the 1920's. Data was collected by field work for approximately 7 months. One or more members of the investigating staff visited 95 different jurisdictions, either reservations, Indian agencies, hospitals, or schools and also communities where Indians have migrated. Practically all western states with any considerable Indian population were included in the field work. Because of the diversity and complexity of Indian affairs this document is necessarily voluminous. The detailed report contains the following sections: (1) a general policy for Indian Affairs, (2) health, (3) education, (4) general economic conditions, (5) family and community life and the activities of women, (6) migrated Indians, (7) legal aspects of the Indian problem, and (8) missionary activities among Indians. Findings and recommendations are listed in detail in the front of this report. Findings cover such areas as health, living conditions, the causes of poverty, and the work of the government in behalf of the Indians. Recommendations include adequate statistics and records, better living and working conditions, and improving general economic conditions. (FF)

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Washington, D. C.

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STUDIES IN ADMINISTRATION

THE PROBLEM OF INDIAN ADMINISTRATION

Report of a Survey made at the request of Honorable Hubert Work, Secretary of the Interior, and submitted to him, February 21, 1928

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LETTER OF TRANSMITTAL

SIR: I have the honor to transmit herewith the report of the survey of the economic and social condition of the American Indians, made by the Institute for Government Research in accordance with your request of June 12, 1926.

This survey has been made under the immediate direction of Mr. Lewis Meriam of the regular staff of the Institute in coöperation with nine specialists selected for this particular project by the Institute for Government Research. The essential facts regarding the training and experience of these specialists that led to their selection are given, in what I trust will prove sufficient detail, in the foreword to the main report. This foreword describes the origin of the survey, its staff, its scope, and the methods pursued.

To repeat in this letter of transmittal what is set forth in the foreword seems unnecessary, but I should perhaps say that Mr. Meriam has worked continuously on this project from the receipt of your letter of June 12, 1926, to date. The special staff began assembling early in October, 1926. On November 12, 1926, five of them left for the field and were later joined by the others. Field work continued almost without interruption for seven months. One or more members of the special staff visited ninety-five different jurisdictions, either reservations, agencies, hospitals, or schools, and also many communities to which Indians have migrated. Practically all Western states with any considerable Indian population were included in the field work.

The time since June 12, 1927, has been spent in the preparation of the report. Because of the diversity and complexity of Indian affairs this report is necessarily voluminous. The main detailed report contains the following sections: (1) A General Policy for Indian Affairs, (2) Health, (3) Education, (4) General Economic Conditions, (5) Family and Community Life and the Activities of Women, (6) The Migrated Indians, (7) The Legal Aspects of the Indian Problem, and (8) The Missionary Activities among the Indians.

Appreciating the fact that many persons deeply interested in the broader aspects of the Indian problem cannot give the time required for a consideration of the details, we have prepared a summary which will immediately follow this letter of transmittal.

You will appreciate that in the preparation of a report of this character a choice has to be made as to the criterion to be used in measuring progress. One alternative is to compare conditions existing to-day with conditions existing when the various activities undertaken in behalf of the Indians were first begun. The other is to compare the activities as at present conducted with the work of other agencies, both public and private, engaged in comparable activities for the general population or for other special groups. This second method, in other words, may be described as comparing present conditions with the practicable ideal.

Had the Institute for Government Research considered its primary function to be to pass upon the competency and efficiency of the officers and employees of the Indian Service, it would properly have adopted as its criterion the progress made in the several activities; it would have taken the conditions at the beginning as the base line and would have given due consideration to the limitations imposed by appropriations. Such a measure is the only fair one to apply in attempting the difficult task of evaluating the services of individual employees of an organization.

The Institute, however, did not regard this approach to the subject as sufficiently fundamental and constructive. The object of the Institute was not to say whether the Indian Service has done well with the funds at its disposal but rather to look to the future and insofar as possible to indicate what remains to be done to adjust the Indians to the prevailing civilization so that they may maintain themselves in the presence of that civilization according at least to a minimum standard of health and decency.

This use of the practicable ideal as the standard for discussion frequently makes it necessary to criticize adversely the present activities of the Indian Service. Fair-minded readers will appreciate that such criticism is not necessarily a reflection on the officers and employees of the Indian Service. Limited appropriations have often necessitated the employment of persons not possessed of the qualifications requisite for the efficient performance of the duties

of their positions, but the employees generally are as good as could be expected for the salaries paid. Frequently the number of positions is too small for the work to be done. The survey staff estimates roughly that it would take almost twice the present appropriations for the Indian Service if each of its major activities were brought abreast of the better if not the best practice of other organizations doing like work for the general population. In many, if not most cases, the survey is not revealing to responsible officers and employees conditions they do not already know. Their administrative task is to do the best they can with such funds as they are able to secure. The function of the Institute was conceived to be to compare their achievements with the practicable ideal.

In the report the effort has been made to explain the difficulties under which the Indian Service has labored. These explanations are given not in an attempt to evaluate the personnel but to show what changes must be made if the Service is to be raised to the plane of efficiency necessary to accelerate the progress of the Indians.

The members of the survey staff wish me to say clearly in this letter that in almost every activity of the Indian Service they found wide variation between the best and the worst. The best at times approaches the ideal; frequently the survey staff has been able to take as their standard for comparison the attainments of the Indian Service itself. The worst often falls far below the normal.

Inevitably where the variations between the best and the worst are wide, illustrative examples cannot be interpreted as applicable to the Service as a whole. Illustrations have been given both from the better and the poorer jurisdictions, and the effort has generally been made to give some indication as to which the example refers. It follows, therefore, that no fair-minded person will select the best in an effort to commend the Indian Service or the poorest in an effort to condemn it. The object of the survey has been not to take sides for or against the Indian Office, but to endeavor through constructive criticism to aid insofar as possible in pointing the way toward marked improvement in this important activity of the national government. That was our understanding of your request. We hope that our work may be of service to you in the difficult

administrative task which confronts you and your associates who are responsible for the welfare of the Indian wards of the United States.

In accordance with the practice of the Institute for Government Research the report, in preliminary form, was submitted to administrative officers of the Service to afford them an opportunity to call to our attention matters which they believed should be given consideration in the final revision.

In concluding I wish to express our appreciation of the spirit shown by the officers and employees of your Department. They have recognized that the survey should be independent and impartial, and they have not sought to influence our decision regarding the staff, the methods and the scope of the survey, or our findings and recommendations. They have, moreover, extended to us every possible courtesy and have supplied us with all the available information for which we have asked.

Very respectfully,

W. F. WILLOUGHBY,

Director, Institute for Government Research

HON. HUBERT WORK, February 21, 1928
Secretary of the Interior

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PART I. GENERAL

THE PROBLEM OF INDIAN ADMINISTRATION

CHAPTER I

GENERAL SUMMARY OF FINDINGS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

The Conditions Among the Indians. An overwhelming majority of the Indians are poor, even extremely poor, and they are not adjusted to the economic and social system of the dominant white civilization.

The poverty of the Indians and their lack of adjustment to the dominant economic and social systems produce the vicious circle ordinarily found among any people under such circumstances. Because of interrelationships, causes cannot be differentiated from effects. The only course is to state briefly the conditions found that are part of this vicious circle of poverty and maladjustment.

Health. The health of the Indians as compared with that of the general population is bad. Although accurate mortality and morbidity statistics are commonly lacking, the existing evidence warrants the statement that both the general death rate and the infant mortality rate are high. Tuberculosis is extremely prevalent. Trachoma, a communicable disease which produces blindness, is a major problem because of its great prevalence and the danger of its spreading among both the Indians and the whites.

Living Conditions. The prevailing living conditions among the great majority of the Indians are conducive to the development and spread of disease. With comparatively few exceptions the diet of the Indians is bad. It is generally insufficient in quantity, lacking in variety, and poorly prepared. The two great preventive elements in diet, milk, and fruits and green vegetables, are notably absent. Most tribes use fruits and vegetables in season, but even then the supply is ordinarily insufficient. The use of milk is rare, and it is generally not available even for infants. Babies, when weaned, are

ordinarily put on substantially the same diet as older children and adults, a diet consisting mainly of meats and starches.

The housing conditions are likewise conducive to bad health. Both in the primitive dwellings and in the majority of more or less permanent homes which in some cases have replaced them, there is great overcrowding, so that all members of the family are exposed to any disease that develops, and it is virtually impossible in any way even partially to isolate a person suffering from a communicable disease. In certain jurisdictions, notably the Osage and the Kiowa, the government has stimulated the building of modern homes, bungalows, or even more pretentious dwellings, but most of the permanent houses that have replaced primitive dwellings are small shacks with few rooms and with inadequate provision for ventilation. Education in housekeeping and sanitation has not proceeded far enough so that the Indians living in these more or less permanent shacks practice ventilation and domestic cleanliness. From the standpoint of health it is probably true that the temporary, primitive dwellings that were not fairly air-tight and were frequently abandoned were more sanitary than the permanent homes that have replaced them. The furnishing of the primitive dwellings and of the shacks is limited. Although many of them still have very primitive arrangements for cooking and heating, the use of modern cook stoves and utensils is far more general than the use of beds, and the use of beds in turn is far more common than the use of any kind of easily washable bed covering.

Sanitary facilities are generally lacking. Except among the relatively few well-to-do Indians the houses seldom have a private water supply or any toilet facilities whatever. Even privies are exceptional. Water is ordinarily carried considerable distances from natural springs or streams, or occasionally from wells. In many sections the supply is inadequate, although in some jurisdictions, notably in the desert country of the Southwest, the government has materially improved the situation, an activity that is appreciated by the Indians.

Economic Conditions. The income of the typical Indian family is low and the earned income extremely low. From the standpoint of the white man the typical Indian is not industrious, nor is he an effective worker when he does work. Much of his activity is expended in lines which produce a relatively small return either in

goods or money. He generally ekes out an existence through unearned income from leases of his land, the sale of land, per capita payments from tribal funds, or in exceptional cases through rations given him by the government. The number of Indians who are supporting themselves through their own efforts, according to what a white man would regard as the minimum standard of health and decency, is extremely small. What little they secure from their own efforts or from other sources is rarely effectively used.

The main occupations of the men are some outdoor work, mostly of an agricultural nature, but the number of real farmers is comparatively small. A considerable proportion engage more or less casually in unskilled labor. By many Indians several different kinds of activity are followed spasmodically, a little agriculture, a little fishing, hunting, trapping, wood cutting, or gathering of native products, occasional labor and hauling, and a great deal of just idling. Very seldom do the Indians work about their homes as the typical white man does. Although the permanent structures in which they live after giving up primitive dwellings are simple and such as they might easily build and develop for themselves, little evidence of such activity was seen. Even where more advanced Indians occupied structures similar to those occupied by neighboring whites it was almost always possible to tell the Indian homes from the white by the fact that the white man did much more than the Indian in keeping his house in condition.

In justice to the Indians it should be said that many of them are living on lands from which a trained and experienced white man could scarcely wrest a reasonable living. In some instances the land originally set apart for the Indians was of little value for agricultural operations other than grazing. In other instances part of the land was excellent but the Indians did not appreciate its value. Often when individual allotments were made, they chose for themselves the poorer parts, because those parts were near a domestic water supply or a source of firewood, or because they furnished some native product important to the Indians in their primitive life. Frequently the better sections of the land originally set apart for the Indians have fallen into the hands of the whites, and the Indians have retreated to the poorer lands remote from markets.

In many places crops can be raised only by the practice of irrigation. Many Indians in the Southwest are successful in a small way

with their own primitive systems of irrigation. When modern highly developed irrigation systems have been supplied by governmental activities, the Indians have rarely been ready to make effective use of the land and water. If the modern irrigation enterprise has been successful from an economic standpoint, the tendency has been for whites to gain possession of the land either by purchase or by leases. If the enterprise has not been economically a success, the Indians generally retain possession of the land, but they do not know how to use it effectively and get much less out of it than a white man would.

The remoteness of their homes often prevents them from easily securing opportunities for wage earning, nor do they have many contacts with persons dwelling in urban communities where they might find employment. Even the boys and girls graduating from government schools have comparatively little vocational guidance or aid in finding profitable employment.

When all these factors are taken into consideration it is not surprising to find low incomes, low standards of living, and poor health.

Suffering and Discontent. Some people assert that the Indians prefer to live as they do; that they are happier in their idleness and irresponsibility. The question may be raised whether these persons do not mistake for happiness and content an almost oriental fatalism and resignation. The survey staff found altogether too much evidence of real suffering and discontent to subscribe to the belief that the Indians are reasonably satisfied with their condition. The amount of serious illness and poverty is too great to permit of real contentment. The Indian is like the white man in his affection for his children and he feels keenly the sickness and the loss of his offspring.

The Causes of Poverty. The economic basis of the primitive culture of the Indians has been largely destroyed by the encroachment of white civilization. The Indians can no longer make a living as they did in the past by hunting, fishing, gathering wild products, and the extremely limited practice of primitive agriculture. The social system that evolved from their past economic life is ill suited to the conditions that now confront them, notably in the matter of the division of labor between the men and the women. They are by no means yet adjusted to the new economic and social conditions that confront them.

Several past policies adopted by the government in dealing with the Indians have been of a type which, if long continued, would tend to pauperize any race. Most notable was the practice of issuing rations to able-bodied Indians. Having moved the Indians from their ancestral lands to restricted reservations as a war measure, the government undertook to feed them and to perform certain services for them which a normal people do for themselves. The Indians at the outset had to accept this aid as a matter of necessity; but promptly they came to regard it as a matter of right, as indeed it was at the time and under the conditions of the inauguration of the ration system. They felt, and many of them still feel, that the government owes them a living, having taken their lands from them, and that they are under no obligation to support themselves. They have thus inevitably developed a pauper point of view.

When the government adopted the policy of individual ownership of the land on the reservations, the expectation was that the Indians would become farmers. Part of the plan was to instruct and aid them in agriculture, but this vital part was not pressed with vigor and intelligence. It almost seems as if the government assumed that some magic in individual ownership of property would in itself prove an educational civilizing factor, but unfortunately this policy has for the most part operated in the opposite direction. Individual ownership has in many instances permitted Indians to sell their allotments and to live for a time on the unearned income resulting from the sale. Individual ownership brought promptly all the details of inheritance, and frequently the sale of the property of the deceased Indians to whites so that the estate could be divided among the heirs. To the heirs the sale brought further unearned income, thereby lessening the necessity for self support. Many Indians were not ready to make effective use of their individual allotments. Some of the allotments were of such a character that they could not be effectively used by anyone in small units. The solution was to permit the Indians through the government to lease their lands to the whites. In some instances government officers encouraged leasing, as the whites were anxious for the use of the land and it was far easier to administer property leased to whites than to educate and stimulate Indians to use their own property. The lease money, though generally small in amount, gave the Indians further unearned income to permit the continuance of a life of idleness.

Surplus land remaining after allotments were made was often sold and the proceeds placed in a tribal fund. Natural resources, such as timber and oil, were sold and the money paid either into tribal funds or to individual Indians if the land had been allotted. From time to time per capita payments were made to the individual Indians from tribal funds. These policies all added to the unearned income of the Indian and postponed the day when it would be necessary for him to go to work to support himself.

Since the Indians were ignorant of money and its use, had little or no sense of values, and fell an easy victim to any white man who wanted to take away their property, the government, through its Indian Service employees, often took the easiest course of managing all the Indians' property for them. The government kept the Indians' money for them at the agency. When the Indians wanted something they would go to the government agent, as a child would go to his parents, and ask for it. The government agent would make all the decisions, and in many instances would either buy the thing requested or give the Indians a store order for it. Although money was sometimes given the Indians, the general belief was that the Indians could not be trusted to spend the money for the purpose agreed upon with the agent, and therefore they must not be given opportunity to misapply it. At some agencies this practice still exists, although it gives the Indians no education in the use of money, is irritating to them, and tends to decrease responsibility and increase the pauper attitude.

The typical Indian, however, has not yet advanced to the point where he has the knowledge of money and values, and of business methods that will permit him to control his own property without aid, advice, and some restrictions; nor is he ready to work consistently and regularly at more or less routine labor.

The Work of the Government in Behalf of the Indians. The work of the government directed toward the education and advancement of the Indian himself, as distinguished from the control and conservation of his property, is largely ineffective. The chief explanation of the deficiency in this work lies in the fact that the government has not appropriated enough funds to permit the Indian Service to employ an adequate personnel properly qualified for the task before it.

Absence of Well Considered, Broad Educational Program. The outstanding evidence of the lack of an adequate, well-trained personnel is the absence of any well considered, broad educational program for the Service as a whole. Here the word education is used in its widest sense and includes not only school training for children but also activities for the training of adults to aid them in adjusting themselves to the dominant social and economic life which confronts them. It embraces education in economic production and in living standards necessary for the maintenance of health and decency.

Work for the Promotion of Health. The inadequacy of appropriations has prevented the development of an adequate system of public health administration and medical relief work for the Indians. The number of doctors, nurses, and dentists is insufficient. Because of small appropriations the salaries for the personnel in health work are materially below those paid by the government in its other activities concerned with public health and medical relief, specifically the Public Health Service, the Army, the Navy, and the Veterans' Bureau, as well as below those paid by private organizations for similar services. Since its salaries are sub-standard, the Indian Service has not been able to set reasonably high entrance qualifications and to adhere to them. In the case of doctors the standards set for entrance have been too low. In the case of public health nurses the standards have been reasonable, but it has not been possible to secure at the salary offered a sufficient number of applicants, so that many people have to be employed temporarily who do not possess the required qualifications. Often untrained, inexperienced field matrons are attempting to perform duties which would be fairly difficult for a well trained, experienced public health nurse. For general nursing positions it has often been necessary to substitute for properly trained nurses, practical nurses, some of whom possess few qualifications for the work.

The hospitals, sanatoria, and sanatorium schools maintained by the Service, despite a few exceptions, must be generally characterized as lacking in personnel, equipment, management, and design. The statement is sometimes made that, since the Indians live according to a low scale, it is not necessary for the government to furnish hospital facilities for them which are comparable with those supplied for poor white people in a progressive community. The survey

staff regards this basis of judging facilities as unsound. The question is whether the hospitals and sanatoria are efficient institutions for the care and treatment of patients, and this question must generally be answered in the negative.

Although the present administration has made a praiseworthy forward step in the reorganization of the Indian medical service and has secured from the Public Health Service a well qualified director for the chief position, it is hampered at every turn by the limitations of its present staff and equipment and by lack of funds for development. Under the present administration, too, a real beginning has been made in public health nursing. Despite these recent promising developments, it is still true that the Indian Service is markedly deficient in the field of public health and preventive medicine. The preventive work in combating the two important diseases of tuberculosis and trachoma can only be characterized as weak. The same word must be applied to the efforts toward preventing infant mortality and the diseases of children. Here and there some effective work is done in maternity cases, just about enough to demonstrate that competent, tactful physicians can induce a very considerable number of Indian women to have professional care in childbirth and to advance beyond the crude, unsanitary, and at times, even brutal primitive practices.

Another striking need is for the development of the public health clinic, an agency extremely effective in locating cases of tuberculosis and other communicable diseases in their incipiency and thus permitting of the early treatment of the sufferer when there is still chance to help him and, also making it possible to exercise some control over contagion. The number of public health clinics in the Indian Service is small, and the two or three deserving the name are of recent origin and are not adequately equipped.

Vital statistics have been called the handmaid of preventive medicine. They are indispensable for the efficient planning, development, and operation of a sound program for conservation of public health. The Indian Service has not yet been successful in overcoming the great difficulties inherent in securing vital statistics for the Indians and, moreover, its physicians in general have tended to neglect the important work of keeping case histories and other records basic to a public health program. The result is that the directing personnel of the Indian Service and the Department of

the Interior, the Bureau of the Budget, and Congress and its committees lack the information essential for planning, development, and control. Under such circumstances it is inevitable that some of the money actually appropriated and expended will be wasted, if it is not almost equally inevitable that appropriations will not be proportional to needs.

Because of these numerous defects in the medical service it is not surprising to find that serious errors have been made in the treatment of Indians suffering from trachoma. Practically entirely ignoring the view held by many students of the disease that a close relationship exists between trachoma and dietary deficiencies, the Service for some years pinned its faith on a serious, radical operation for cure without carefully watching results and checking the degree of success achieved. The Service has now recognized the marked limitations of this radical procedure and has stopped its wholesale use. Serious errors of this nature are likely to occur in a service which is so seriously understaffed that following up cases and checking results are neglected. This serious operation was unquestionably performed on many Indians who did not need it, and, because of the difficulties in diagnosis of trachoma, upon some Indians who did not even have the disease.

Formal Education of Indian Children. For several years the general policy of the Indian Service has been directed away from the boarding school for Indian children and toward the public schools and Indian day schools. More Indian children are now in public schools maintained by the state or local governments than in special Indian schools maintained by the nation. It is, however, still the fact that the boarding school, either reservation or non-reservation, is the dominant characteristic of the school system maintained by the national government for its Indian wards.

The survey staff finds itself obliged to say frankly and unequivocally that the provisions for the care of the Indian children in boarding schools are grossly inadequate.

The outstanding deficiency is in the diet furnished the Indian children, many of whom are below normal health. The diet is deficient in quantity, quality, and variety. The effort has been made to feed the children on a per capita of eleven cents a day, plus what can be produced on the schoolfarm, including the dairy. At a few, very few, schools, the farm and the dairy are sufficiently

productive to be a highly important factor in raising the standard of the diet, but even at the best schools these sources do not fully meet the requirements for the health and development of the children. At the worst schools, the situation is serious in the extreme. The major diseases of the Indians are tuberculosis and trachoma. Tuberculosis unquestionably can best be combated by a preventive, curative diet and proper living conditions, and a considerable amount of evidence suggests that the same may prove true of trachoma. The great protective foods are milk and fruit and vegetables, particularly fresh green vegetables. The diet of the Indian children in boarding schools is generally notably lacking in these preventive foods. Although the Indian Service has established a quart of milk a day per pupil as the standard, it has been able to achieve this standard in very few schools. At the special school for children suffering from trachoma, now in operation at Fort Defiance, Arizona, milk is not part of the normal diet. The little produced is mainly consumed in the hospital where children acutely ill are sent. It may be seriously questioned whether the Indian Service could do very much better than it does without more adequate appropriations.

Next to dietary deficiencies comes overcrowding in dormitories. The boarding schools are crowded materially beyond their capacities. A device frequently resorted to in an effort to increase dormitory capacity without great expense, is the addition of large sleeping porches. They are in themselves reasonably satisfactory, but they shut off light and air from the inside rooms, which are still filled with beds beyond their capacity. The toilet facilities have in many cases not been increased proportionately to the increase in pupils, and they are fairly frequently not properly maintained or conveniently located. The supply of soap and towels has been inadequate.

The medical service rendered the boarding school children is not up to a reasonable standard. Physical examinations are often superficial and enough provision is not made for the correction of remediable defects.

The boarding schools are frankly supported in part by the labor of the students. Those above the fourth grade ordinarily work for half a day and go to school for half a day. A distinction in theory is drawn between industrial work undertaken primarily for

the education of the child and production work done primarily for the support of the institution. However, teachers of industrial work undertaken ostensibly for education say that much of it is as a matter of fact production work for the maintenance of the school. The question may very properly be raised as to whether much of the work of Indian children in boarding schools would not be prohibited in many states by the child labor laws, notably the work in the machine laundries. At several schools the laundry equipment is antiquated and not properly safeguarded. To operate on a half-work, half-study plan makes the day very long, and the child has almost no free time and little opportunity for recreation. Not enough consideration has been given the question of whether the health of the Indian children warrants the nation in supporting the Indian boarding schools in part through the labor of these children.

The medical attention given Indian children in the day schools maintained by the government is also below a reasonable standard.

In securing teachers for the government schools and in recruiting other employees for the boarding schools the Indian Service is handicapped by low salaries and must accordingly adopt low standards for entrance. Although some of the non-reservation schools purport to be high schools, the qualifications of their teaching force do not entitle them to free and unrestricted recognition as accredited high schools. At best, they have been able to secure limited recognition from local universities. The teaching taken as a whole is not up to the standards set by reasonably progressive white communities.

Some years ago in an effort to raise standards the Indian Service adopted a uniform curriculum for all Indian schools. Modern experience has demonstrated that the effective device for raising standards is not curriculum control but the establishment of high minimum qualifications for the teaching staff. The uniform curriculum works badly because it does not permit of relating teaching to the needs of the particular Indian children being taught. It requires the same work for Indian children who are the first generation to attend school and who do not speak English as it does for those who are of the third generation of school children, who have long been in contact with the whites, and speak English in the home.

The discipline in the boarding schools is restrictive rather than

developmental. Routine institutionalism is almost the invariable characteristic of the Indian boarding school.

Although the problem of the returned Indian student has been much discussed, and it is recognized that in many instances the child returns to his home poorly adjusted to conditions that confront him, the Indian Service has lacked the funds to attempt to aid the children when they leave school either to find employment away from the reservation or to return to their homes and work out their salvation there. Having done almost no work of this kind, it has not subjected its schools to the test of having to show how far they have actually fitted the Indian children for life. Such a test would undoubtedly have resulted in a radical revision of the industrial training offered in the schools. Several of the industries taught may be called vanishing trades and others are taught in such a way that the Indian students cannot apply what they have learned in their own home and they are not far enough advanced to follow their trade in a white community in competition with white workers without a period of apprenticeship. No adequate arrangements have been made to secure for them the opportunity of apprenticeship.

Economic Education and Development on the Reservations. At a few reservations energetic and resourceful superintendents with a real faculty for leadership have demonstrated that the economic education of the Indian is entirely possible. These superintendents have been handicapped in part by their own lack of training in several of the fields which are involved in a well rounded, effective program of economic and social education, but even more by the general absence of trained and experienced assistants in these different fields.

Even under the best conditions it is doubtful whether a well rounded program of economic advancement framed with due consideration of the natural resources of the reservation has anywhere been thoroughly tried out. The Indians often say that programs change with superintendents. Under the poorest administration there is little evidence of anything which could be termed an economic program.

Everywhere the lack of trained subordinate personnel in immediate contact with the Indians is striking. For years the Indian Service has had field positions with the title "Farmer." The duties

of this position would more properly be described by the title "Field Clerk," or in some instances "General Laborer." The duties have rarely been those of an agricultural teacher and demonstrator, and the qualifications required have not been such as are necessary for teachers or leaders in agriculture. The salaries have been so low that, as a rule, the Service is fortunate if it gets a really good agricultural laborer with sufficient education to perform his clerical duties. Some exceptions must be noted. One or two well trained agricultural teachers employed as farmers have shown what is possible, but in general the economic and industrial education of adult reservation Indians has been neglected.

Even less has been done toward finding profitable employment for Indians. As has been said the schools do little for their graduates. Little is done on the reservations. In a few jurisdictions labor services are maintained chiefly in recruiting Indians for temporary unskilled labor. This employment service is largely mass work, not individualized, and it does not often seek to find the Indian an opportunity for a permanent position that offers him a chance to work up or one that will arouse his interest.

Family and Community Development. The Indian Service has not appreciated the fundamental importance of family life and community activities in the social and economic development of a people. The tendency has been rather toward weakening Indian family life and community activities than toward strengthening them. The long continued policy of removing Indian children from the home and placing them for years in boarding school largely disintegrates the family and interferes with developing normal family life. The belief has apparently been that the shortest road to civilization is to take children away from their parents and insofar as possible to stamp out the old Indian life. The Indian community activities particularly have often been opposed if not suppressed. The fact has been appreciated that both the family life and the community activities have many objectionable features, but the action taken has often been the radical one of attempting to destroy rather than the educational process of gradual modification and development.

The Service is notably weak in personnel trained and experienced in educational work with families and communities. The result is the almost total absence of well developed programs for the several

jurisdictions specially adapted to meet local conditions. For many years the Indian Service has had positions for "Field Matrons" employed especially to work with families, but the salaries and the entrance qualifications have been so low that the competent field matron able to plan and apply a reasonably good constructive program is the rare exception. Superintendents are also as a rule weak in this branch of their work, and the central office is not adequately equipped to direct and supervise these highly important activities. At present the plan is to replace field matrons with public health nurses as rapidly as possible. This action will be an improvement because the vast majority of field matrons are untrained for their work, but families and communities stand in need of services in their economic and social development that lie outside of the field of training and effort of public health nurses, much as public health nurses are needed.

Some missionaries, a very few, have appreciated the necessity for developmental work with families and the promotion of wholesome community life. Most of the best missionary activities have been directed toward the education of children. The work for adults has consisted mainly of what may be termed church activities, and the evidence seems to warrant the conclusion that such activities by themselves are not very effective in reaching and influencing the Indians.

Both the government and the missionaries have often failed to study, understand, and take a sympathetic attitude toward Indian ways, Indian ethics, and Indian religion. The exceptional government worker and the exceptional missionary have demonstrated what can be done by building on what is sound and good in the Indian's own life.

Legal Protection and Advancement. Much of the best work done by the Indian Service has been in the protection and conservation of Indian property, yet this program has emphasized the property rather than the Indian. Several legal situations exist which are serious impediments to the social and economic development of the race.

Most notable is the confusion that exists as to legal jurisdiction over the restricted Indians in such important matters as crimes and misdemeanors and domestic relations. The act of Congress providing for the punishment of eight major crimes applies to the

restricted Indians on tribal lands and restricted allotments, and cases of this character come under the unquestioned jurisdiction of the United States courts. Laws respecting the sale of liquor to Indians and some other special matters have been passed, and again jurisdiction is clear. For the great body of other crimes and misdemeanors the situation is highly unsatisfactory. To speak broadly and generally, there is neither substantive nor adjective law covering these crimes and misdemeanors when committed by restricted Indians on lands upon which the United States still maintains restrictions. Some states have attempted to assume this jurisdiction and to apply state law, but they have generally withdrawn when their efforts are challenged. Except for the eight major crimes, law enforcement among the Indians on the reservations is in the hands of the Secretary of the Interior as a part of his duties in the administration of Indian affairs.

In some jurisdictions, Courts of Indian Offenses have been established, presided over by Indian judges, whose small salaries are specifically appropriated by Congress, thus giving congressional sanction to the system. The judges are administratively appointed. They operate under very general regulations propounded by the Indian Service. In a large measure they determine both law and fact. Their decisions are subject to administrative but not judicial review.

The Indian Service has been bitterly assailed for maintaining these courts. The survey staff, however, believes that they are well adapted to the needs of primitive Indians remote from organized white communities, and that on the whole they work well. They are more open to criticism for lenity than for severity. The penalties they impose are generally slight and are very humanely administered.

If criticism is to be directed against the Indian Service in this matter of crimes and misdemeanors, it should be directed primarily toward the fact that apparently it has not formulated a constructive program for bringing Indians under the state law and the state courts where the Indians are sufficiently advanced to warrant the application of this law to them and where the white communities in the neighborhood of the Indians are sufficiently developed to afford the requisite judicial administration.

The situation concerning the law of domestic relations is of course similar, since breaches of this law, in an ordinary white community, constitute crimes or misdemeanors. Tribal law and custom have been recognized, and among remote and primitive Indians it probably must continue to be for some years to come, but many Indians have advanced to a stage where the state law of domestic relations may properly be applied to them, thereby eliminating the confusion that now exists and leads to conditions which are open to criticism.

Although the Indian Service has rendered much valuable service in conserving Indian property, it has not gone far enough in protecting the individual Indian from exploitation. The explanation is in part the usual one of lack of adequate personnel, both in the Washington office and in the field, but the division of jurisdiction between the Department of the Interior and the Department of Justice must be noted. The Department of Justice conducts the court cases through the United States District Attorneys. Under this system long delays are inevitable, minor cases are likely to be ignored as too small to warrant starting the involved machinery, and at times, the United States District Attorneys are not active and aggressive in protecting the Indians' rights, even if their sympathies are not actually with the Indians' opponents. There is a notable absence of adequate organization to protect the Indians in petty cases and to educate them in how to secure legal aid.

The exploitation of Indians in Oklahoma has been notorious, but this exploitation has taken place under the state courts and the guardians appointed by them. Recent legislation, largely restoring the old authority of the national government over the property of restricted Osage Indians, has wonderfully improved the situation in that jurisdiction, and the work of the Indian Service for the protection of the property of these Indians is an outstanding achievement worthy of high commendation, although much remains to be done for the social advancement and adjustment of the Osages. The condition among the Five Civilized Tribes leaves much to be desired. This jurisdiction is largely in the hands of state courts, and although improvement has taken place, possibly after the horse has been stolen, much remains to be done. The national government there maintains probate attorneys to aid the Indians and the state courts, but their position is anomalous and they can scarcely be regarded as effective in protecting the Indians.

Under existing law the remaining restrictions on the property of the restricted Indians of the Five Civilized Tribes will expire in 1931 unless they are further extended by congressional action. Past experience warrants the conclusion that the wholesale removal of these restrictions in 1931 will result in another carnival of exploitation. The view of the survey staff is that these restrictions should be extended. The Secretary of the Interior can then remove them from time to time from such Indians as are found ready to manage their own property.

Many Indian tribes still have outstanding against the government claims arising out of the old treaties and laws. The existence of these claims is a serious impediment to progress. The Indians look forward to getting vast sums from these claims; thus the facts regarding their economic future are uncertain. They will hardly knuckle down to work while they still hope the government will pay what they believe is due them. Some Indians, mostly mixed bloods, are maintaining their tribal connections and agitating because they have rights under these claims. Attorneys are naturally interested, and a few are perhaps inclined to urge the Indians to press claims which have comparatively little real merit.

The settlement of an old claim involves a long and extremely detailed procedure and hence is necessarily slow. The question must be raised, however, as to whether the government is pressing for their settlement with maximum promptness. The evidence suggests that material improvement is practicable. Until these claims are out of the way, not much can be expected of Indians who are placing their faith in them.

Failure to Develop Coöperative Relationships. The Indian Service has not gone far enough in developing coöperative relationships with other organizations, public and private, which can be of material aid to it in educational developmental work for the Indians.

The present administration has given one outstanding illustration of what can be achieved through the coöperation with other federal agencies by its action in bringing in the Public Health Service to aid in the reorganization of the medical work. The Secretary of the Interior, too, has secured aid from the Department of Agriculture for his much needed committee to determine the facts regarding Indian irrigation projects. Here and there in the field are found other instances of coöperation with the Department of Agriculture.

Even if every single instance were listed, the surprising fact would be how little coöperative effort there is. In the same department with the Indian Office is the United States Bureau of Education, with its staff of specialists and its experience in caring for the Indians of Alaska, but apparently it has never been invited to coöperate in any large way or to make a survey of the Indian Service schools, although it is frequently invited to make surveys of state and municipal school systems. The Children's Bureau, the Bureau of Labor Statistics, and the United States Employment Service of the Department of Labor, have staffs of specialists who could be of great aid to the Indian Service if they were called in, and far greater use than at present could be made of the Department of Agriculture, especially the Bureau of Home Economics, and even of the Public Health Service.

Coöperation with state and local governments offers outstanding possibilities, because the Indians will ultimately merge with the population of the states wherein they reside, and every forward step taken coöperatively will simplify and expedite the transition. Considerable progress has been made in getting Indian children into public schools. In Minnesota some progress has been made in coöperation with the state department of health. The stimulating effect of this coöperation in the Indian medical service in Minnesota is noteworthy. Possibilities for coöperation appear to be particularly promising in California, Minnesota, Oregon, Washington, and Wisconsin. Had the Indian Service the funds and the personnel to devote to effective coöperation with the governments of these states it could go a long way toward writing the closing chapters of federal administration of the affairs of the Indians.

Many quasi-public national organizations, such as the National Tuberculosis Association, the American Red Cross, and the American Child Health Association, are deeply interested in Indian welfare and have done work among the Indians with the sanction of the Indian Service, or in coöperation with it. It may be questioned, however, whether in any instance there has been active coöperation in planning and executing a carefully worked out constructive program. At times the quasi-public organization has wanted to do or has been invited to do a particular thing. In other instances it has supplied some specific material for use among Indians. The program of the government and these agencies has not been co-

ordinated, and the Indian Service has not had the benefit of the expert staff that some of these agencies maintain.

The question must also be raised as to whether the relationship of the Indian Service to the churches and the missionaries could not be materially improved by closer coöperation, particularly in developing and executing social and economic programs. In several jurisdictions there was some evidence of friction between the government personnel and the missionaries or between missionaries of different denominations. Where this friction exists the Indians often take sides and constructive developmental work is retarded. Responsibility for such a situation is not invariably one-sided. Several missionaries suffer materially from lack of adequate support, from isolation, and from lack of close contacts with the churches or boards that have sent them into the Indian field. Under these circumstances it is not surprising that they sometimes lose perspective and become involved in controversies over what are after all relatively minor matters. When such controversies arise they frequently involve religious matters in a degree sufficient to make them extremely difficult and delicate from the standpoint of government administration. One of the problems of the Indian Service is how to reduce this friction and to prevent it from hampering progress.

Recommendations. The fundamental requirement is that the task of the Indian Service be recognized as primarily educational, in the broadest sense of that word, and that it be made an efficient educational agency, devoting its main energies to the social and economic advancement of the Indians, so that they may be absorbed into the prevailing civilization or be fitted to live in the presence of that civilization at least in accordance with a minimum standard of health and decency.

To achieve this end the Service must have a comprehensive, well-rounded educational program, adequately supported, which will place it at the forefront of organizations devoted to the advancement of a people. This program must provide for the promotion of health, the advancement of productive efficiency, the acquisition of reasonable ability in the utilization of income and property, guarding against exploitation, and the maintenance of reasonably high standards of family and community life. It must extend to adults as well as to children and must place special emphasis on the

family and the community. Since the great majority of the Indians are ultimately to merge into the general population, it should cover the transitional period and should endeavor to instruct Indians in the utilization of the services provided by public and quasi public agencies for the people at large in exercising the privileges of citizenship and in making their contribution in service and in taxes for the maintenance of the government. It should also be directed toward preparing the white communities to receive the Indian. By improving the health of the Indian, increasing his productive efficiency, raising his standard of living, and teaching him the necessity for paying taxes, it will remove the main objections now advanced against permitting Indians to receive the full benefit of services rendered by progressive states and local governments for their populations. By actively seeking coöperation with state and local governments and by making a fair contribution in payment for services rendered by them to untaxed Indians, the national government can expedite the transition and hasten the day when there will no longer be a distinctive Indian problem and when the necessary governmental services are rendered alike to whites and Indians by the same organization without discrimination.

In the execution of this program scrupulous care must be exercised to respect the rights of the Indian. This phrase "rights of the Indian" is often used solely to apply to his property rights. Here it is used in a much broader sense to cover his rights as a human being living in a free country. Indians are entitled to unfailing courtesy and consideration from all government employees. They should not be subjected to arbitrary action. Recognition of the educational nature of the whole task of dealing with them will result in taking the time to discuss with them in detail their own affairs and to lead rather than force them to sound conclusions. The effort to substitute educational leadership for the more dictatorial methods now used in some places will necessitate more understanding of and sympathy for the Indian point of view. Leadership will recognize the good in the economic and social life of the Indians in their religion and ethics, and will seek to develop it and build on it rather than to crush out all that is Indian. The Indians have much to contribute to the dominant civilization, and the effort should be made to secure this contribution, in part because of the good it will do the Indians in stimulating a proper race pride and self respect.

Planning and Development Program. To plan and develop such a broad educational program obviously requires the services of a considerable number of persons expert in the special fields of activity which are involved in it. They must not be burdened with the details of routine administration, but must have their time almost entirely free to devote to research, planning, and the establishing of contacts and coöperative arrangements essential to the preparation of such a program. The Indian Service as it is at present organized does not possess such a staff of specialists in the several fields. Without any reflection whatsoever on its central staff, it may fairly be said to consist mainly of persons with administrative experience rather than technical and scientific training for planning and developing a program in specialized fields. Those specialists that it does have are primarily engaged in administration and cannot devote their energies to planning and development unless arrangements can be made to free them from their present heavy administrative responsibilities.

The survey staff, therefore, recommends that the Secretary of the Interior ask Congress for an appropriation of at least $250,000 a year to establish, in connection with the central office but with many duties in the field, a scientific and technical Division of Planning and Development.

The functions, organization, and procedure of this recommended division, the positions in it, and the qualifications required for them are discussed in detail on pages 113 to 128 of the main report and the various functions of the staff are mentioned repeatedly throughout the report. The survey staff regards the establishment of this division as the first essential in making the Indian Service an efficient educational agency and, therefore, it seems advisable even in this brief summary to give the chief features of the recommendations.

The functions of the division should be:

1. To advise the Commissioner of Indian Affairs in matters requiring technical or scientific knowledge of particular problems.

2. At the request of the Commissioner and subject to his approval, to formulate programs and develop policies to be carried

out by administrative officers or to assist in planning coöperative programs with state and local authorities or with missionary organizations or other private agencies.

3. To visit schools and agencies and to report to the Commissioner upon the effectiveness of the administration in those branches of the work that are professional, technical, or scientific in character.

4. To visit schools and agencies to advise and counsel with superintendents and other employees regarding the development and improvement of these specialized activities.

5. Upon direction of the Commissioner to investigate and hold hearings upon matters of special complaint that involves technical or scientific subjects.

The division would operate on the project or assignment basis. For the development of fundamental programs for important jurisdictions committees would be organized, primarily from this division but often including administrative officers, and these committees would together formulate the recommendations after thorough field surveys.

Positions in the division would be of two types, permanent and temporary. Permanent positions should be established in those scientific and technical fields that are of major and fairly general importance. Temporary positions should be utilized to secure from time to time expert consulting service from other government agencies, from colleges and universities, from strong quasi public organizations specializing in particular fields, or from any other source from which recognized authorities may be secured. Temporary positions should also be utilized to employ representatives of agencies whose coöperation is essential or desirable in carrying out the plan, especially state and local government agencies or institutions, quasi public organizations specializing in restricted fields, church or missionary organizations doing work in the jurisdictions involved, and organizations particularly concerned with the protection of Indian rights. Representative Indians could also be secured through temporary appointments.

The number of temporary positions would of course vary from time to time. The survey staff wishes to make the following recommendations for permanent positions to be established at the outset:

In the field of the promotion of health and the relief of the sick, the Service now has as medical director a trained, experienced public health officer detailed from the Public Health Service, and a position has been authorized for an epidemiologist. It needs in addition five specialists for consulting and developmental work, one in each of the following fields: Tuberculosis, trachoma, infant welfare and maternity, venereal diseases, and hospital and sanatorium management. In this field profitable use can be made of temporary positions and of the highly coöperative spirit of the Public Health Service.

In the field of formal education but one specialist is recommended at the outset, a person who has high standing in his field and can establish contacts. Many other positions will be required in this field, but it is believed that the best results will be secured through the free use of temporary positions because the Indian Service can draw freely from the United States Bureau of Education, the Federal Board for Vocational Education, and the colleges and universities of the country.

For the fundamentally important work of increasing the economic productivity of the Indians, at least six permanent positions are needed, all concerned primarily with the education of the Indians in production. These six are: (1) An agricultural economist, so that agricultural resources may be evaluated and the program developed with due regard to possibilities; (2) one specialist in cattle raising and (3) one specialist in sheep raising, because so much of the land of the Indians is of economic value only for grazing; (4) a specialist in agricultural demonstration work, who can bring to the Indian Service the knowledge, experience, and contacts gained in agricultural demonstration work among the general population; (5) a person to arrange for increasing production and better marketing of native Indian products, a work which will interest the Indians, permit them to make a distinctive contribution, and materially increase their income; and (6) a specialist in vocational guidance and placement, to aid Indians who wish to find employment in white communities.

To raise the standard of family and community life and incidentally to promote health, three positions are suggested: (1) A specialist in public health nursing; (2) a specialist in home demonstration work; and (3) a person who can bring to the Indian Ser-

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vice, what, for want of a better term, is called social case work, and who can develop contacts with organizations and specialists in that field. The Indian Service has at present a supervising public health nurse. Much of her time is now given to administration, and more administration and supervision is needed. Another public health nursing specialist is needed so that one can give full time to planning and developmental work largely freed from administrative responsibility.

In the field of law, one lawyer with social vision and experience is needed to advise on legal matters, especially those relating to domestic relations and to criminal law and jurisdiction.

The five specialists in health might well be attached administratively to the office of the medical director. The other eleven would be attached administratively to the Division of Planning and Development.

These positions should be classified as senior professional (Grade 5) of the Professional and Scientific Service, as established by the Classification Act of 1923. The duties of incumbents will require them to perform advisory and research work based upon the established principles of a profession or science and requiring professional, scientific, or technical training equivalent to that represented by graduation from a college or university of recognized standing and many years of practical successful experience in the application of these principles. They will be required to serve as consulting specialists and independently to plan, organize, and conduct investigations in original research or developmental work in their special fields. They should be persons of established reputation and standing. Their salaries under the low scale of the present act would range from $5200 to $6000.

The appropriation for this division should be a lump sum, to be available for salaries and traveling expenses, including by all means attendance at meetings at government expense.

Adequate Statistics and Records. The Division of Planning and Development just described cannot function effectively without reasonably reliable and complete data, nor can the chief administrative officers of the Indian Office exercise proper control without them. The Bureau of the Budget and Congress and its committees need them as a basis for proper financing and control of the Indian Service. The survey staff therefore recommends the immediate

creation of a position of senior statistician in the Indian Service, with a salary of $5200 to $6000 and an aggregate lump sum appropriation of at least $20,000 available for the employment of clerical assistants and for the purchase of statistical equipment. The duties and qualifications of the statistician and the need for his employment are discussed in detail on pages 170 to 182 of this report.

Strengthening of Personnel in Immediate Contact with the Indians. The establishment of the Division of Planning and Development is the first outstanding need of the Indian Service. The second is the enormous strengthening of the personnel in immediate contact with the Indians. The Indian Service, because of low salaries and low appropriations, has been attempting to conduct its activities with a personnel inadequate in number and as a rule not possessed of the qualifications requisite for the efficient performance of their duties. Little progress can be expected until this situation has been remedied. Later in this summary, sections will be presented regarding each large group of activities, and under each of them will be included at least a paragraph on personnel. The needs for particular classes of personnel will not, therefore, be discussed here. Certain things which must be done to secure a stronger field personnel are, however, common to all lines of activity and they can best be treated generally.

Adequate Salaries. Salaries in the Indian Service, especially the field service, must at least be fairly comparable with those paid by other branches of the government service. If there is to be any difference, those in the Indian Service should be the higher because of the isolation, the high expense of maintaining and educating a family in a remote community, and the difficulty of work with a primitive people. Entrance salaries should be not only sufficiently high to attract a reasonable number of properly qualified applicants, but a fairly liberal scale for salary advancement should be adopted to reward efficiency and to hold competent employees. A high turnover among the field employees of the Indian Service will jeopardize the success of any program however well designed.

Better Living and Working Conditions. Persons with high qualifications cannot be expected to enter and remain in the Indian Service unless a material improvement is made in living and working conditions. The government must appreciate that at best the conditions will be hard, especially for employees with families.

The living quarters furnished should invariably be reasonably comfortable. Few field employees outside of the offices can hope to restrict their activities to an eight-hour day or secure regularly and uniformly one day's rest in seven. The effort should, however, be made to approximate these standards, through an increase in personnel and definite provisions for relief from duty. Special effort should be made to see that employees take vacation leave each year and that they have opportunity to maintain the contacts necessary for keeping abreast of developments in their special lines of work.

Those employees who are required to drive about the reservations in all kinds of weather should be provided with closed cars in good condition, or they should be permitted to use their own cars and charge the government for mileage at a reasonably liberal rate with due consideration of the nature of service required of the car.

Retirement. The Indian field service is no place for an employee of advanced age. Only the exceptional person in the late sixties is physically fitted for the rigors of outside work in the Indian country. It is recommended that retirement be made permissible at age 60, and, except in unusual cases, compulsory at age 65. The retirement allowance should be increased and made more closely proportional to salary so that the more highly paid employees will have less incentive to remain in service after their physical capacity for the work has begun to wane.

Employment of a Qualified Personnel Officer. The Indian Service has almost five thousand employees and it is under-staffed. In no branch of the national government is personnel more important, nor does more depend on the character, initiative, and personality of the employee. These three factors are the most difficult to measure in advance through civil service tests. They can be tested effectively only through a long probationary period on the job in the Indian country. The Service should have an able personnel officer to keep in close contact with the work of the employees, particularly during the probationary period. The civil service tests for entrance into the Indian Service need radical revision, and much work must be done in establishing contacts with sources of supply of qualified employees and in encouraging qualified persons to apply for the Service. Living and working conditions require thorough investigation and constructive work. The amount of field

and office work involved in personnel duties of this character is too much for one employee. The survey staff therefore recommends the immediate creation of a position for a senior personnel officer for the Indian Service and an assistant personnel officer. The salary of the senior officer should be from $5200 to $6000 and that of the assistant from $3800 to $5000. To allow for traveling and other expenses an appropriation of at least $15,000 is recommended.

Maximum Decentralization of Operation. When the Division of Planning and Development has been established and the field personnel in immediate contact with the Indians has been materially strengthened, the time will be ripe for bringing about maximum decentralization in the operation of the Indian Service. The survey staff does not recommend the further development of the district system and the placing of a district staff in the administrative line between the several jurisdictions and the Washington office, as this course would complicate the procedure and increase the overhead expense without compensating advantages. Because each jurisdiction has its own peculiar problems and must have its own particular program adapted to local conditions, the local superintendent should have maximum administrative control and responsibility in the execution of the program. His work should be inspected and reviewed by administrative officers and specialists from the Division of Planning and Development in the Washington office, but he should be as far as possible the responsible directing head of the local work and he should be replaced if he is not effective.

As soon as the Service can work out for a jurisdiction a comprehensive program and furnish the necessary personnel for it, the rules to govern it should be promulgated to replace the existing rules. Recommendations for the necessary legislation to repeal or amend existing law which is no longer applicable or which hampers efficient administration should be drafted by the Indian Service and submitted to Congress, through appropriate channels, accompanied by a brief setting forth the reasons for the recommendations.

Medical Service. Adequate appropriations should be made markedly to accelerate the progress of the present administration in developing a real system of preventive medicine and public health service for the Indians.

As has already been said, immediate provision should be made for a corps of specialists to assist the chief medical officer in each of the special fields which are of vital importance in Indian health, namely, (1) Tuberculosis, (2) trachoma, (3) infant welfare and maternity, (4) venereal diseases, and (5) hospital management.

Immediate steps should be taken toward strengthening the personnel engaged in public health work at schools and reservations, doctors, dentists, public health nurses, and home demonstration workers competent to attack the problems of diet. Both the number and the qualifications of these employees should be materially increased; this will necessitate offering salaries comparable with those paid by other government agencies doing comparable work.

The number of supervising district medical directors should be increased by at least two, so that the distances and the amount of time spent in travel will be reduced and the amount of supervision of local medical employees will be increased.

Public health clinics, properly staffed and equipped, should be available to all Indians within a reasonable distance of their homes.

Medical examination of Indian children should be exceptionally complete and thorough for two reasons. Many of them are in subnormal health. In matters of health the government is to an extraordinary degree *in loco parentis*. In medical examination of white school children, the authorities can to a very considerable extent count on the parents and their family physicians for coöperation and aid. The Indian families are generally not sufficiently advanced to give this aid, and even if capable are powerless in the case of children away at school. In dealing with Indian children the government must do the whole job until the Indians are much further advanced. The medical examination of the Indian children must therefore be of the highest standard.

As a vital measure in preventive medicine the Indian Service should take immediate steps to increase the quantity, quality, and variety of the diet of Indian children in boarding schools. For this purpose largely increased appropriations must be made. Money must be available for the purchase of milk, fruit, and vegetables until such time as a sufficient supply can be produced by the school farms and dairies.

Also as a measure in preventive medicine the existing overcrowding in boarding schools should be eliminated. As will be discussed more at length in the recommendations relating to schools, the first step in this direction should be the maximum possible elimination of young children from boarding schools. They should be left with their families and be provided with local school facilities.

Also as a health measure, the amount of routine production, as distinguished from educational labor, in boarding schools should be materially decreased. Now that Indian children are entering boarding schools at a comparatively early age, the half-day work plan for children above the fourth grade results in too much work for children even in normal health. The physician should in every instance have authority to order that a child below normal in health be relieved from even the small amount of work that may properly be required of well children. This recommendation involves increasing the amount of hired labor at Indian boarding schools, the introduction of more modern labor-saving devices, and possibly the purchase of factory-made clothing to take the place of that now made in the production sewing rooms of the schools.

The medical relief work, like the preventive work must be materially improved. Here again, more and better trained doctors and nurses are required. The plants of hospitals and sanatoria should be brought up at least to the recognized minimum standards for such institutions elsewhere. The practice of salvaging old buildings and converting them into hospitals should be discontinued unless they are in suitable locations and after alteration and repair will fully satisfy at least minimum standards and furnish facilities for efficient operation. The equipment should be reasonably complete. Hospitals and sanatoria should be administered by persons fitted by training and experience for that class of work. The per diem expenditure for maintenance should approximate what is spent in other federal hospitals, with due allowance for the additional costs that sometimes result from isolation. Patient labor should be utilized only when the physician certifies that it will not injure the patient and retard his cure. Additional expenditures for labor will be necessary not only to replace patient labor but also to provide for higher standards in maintenance. The salaries and the entrance qualifications for cooks in hospitals and sanatoria should be raised so that each institution has a good one, competent to prepare special diets and to serve well-prepared meals, often an

important factor in arresting and curing disease. Special emphasis should be placed on diet in the case of patients suffering from tuberculosis or trachoma.

School System. The first and foremost need in Indian education is a change in point of view. Whatever may have been the official governmental attitude, education for the Indian in the past has proceeded largely on the theory that it is necessary to remove the Indian child as far as possible from his home environment; whereas the modern point of view in education and social work lays stress on upbringing in the natural setting of home and family life. The Indian educational enterprise is peculiarly in need of the kind of approach that recognizes this principle; that is less concerned with a conventional school system and more with the understanding of human beings.

The methods must be adapted to individual abilities, interests, and needs. Indian tribes and individual Indians within the tribes vary so greatly that a standard content and method of education, no matter how carefully they might be prepared, would be worse than futile.

Routinization must be eliminated. The whole machinery of routinized boarding school and agency life works against that development of initiative and independence which should be the chief concern of Indian education in and out of school. The routinization characteristic of the boarding schools, with everything scheduled, no time left to be used at the child's own initiative, every moment determined by a signal or an order, leads just the other way.

For the effort to bring Indian schools up to standard by prescribing from Washington a uniform course of study for all Indian schools and by sending out from Washington uniform examination questions, must be substituted the only method of fixing standards that has been found effective in other school systems, namely, that of establishing reasonably high minimum standards for entrance into positions in the Indian school system. Only thus can the Service get first class teachers and supervisors who are competent to adapt the educational system to the needs of the pupils they are to teach, with due consideration of the economic and social conditions of the Indians in their jurisdiction and of the nature and abilities of the individual child.

The curriculum must not be uniform and standardized. The text books must not be prescribed. The teacher must be free to gather material from the life of the Indians about her, so that the little children may proceed from the known to the unknown and not be plunged at once into a world where all is unknown and unfamiliar. The little desert Indian in an early grade who is required to read in English from a standard school reader about the ship that sails the sea has no mental background to understand what it is all about and the task of the teacher is rendered almost impossible. The material, particularly the early material, must come from local Indian life, or at least be within the scope of the child's experience.

To get teachers and school supervisors who are competent to fit the school to the needs of the children, the Indian Service must raise its entrance requirements and increase its salary scale. The need is not so much for a great increase in entrance salaries as for an increase in the salary range which will permit of rewarding efficient teachers and offering them an inducement to remain in the Indian Service. To offer considerable opportunity for advancement in salary with increasing length of satisfactory service, is now the common practice of the better school systems of the country, and the government must adopt the same system if it expects to draw into its service some of the best of the new teachers. The Indian schools as a matter of fact require better teachers than do the city school systems for white children. The teacher in the Indian schools has the harder task and cannot secure so much assistance from supervisory officers.

The boarding schools demand special consideration. Under the section on health the recommendations have been summarized that relate to the health of the child, better diet, less over-crowding, less heavy productive work, more thorough physical examinations, and better correlation of remediable defects. These factors have an important bearing on education itself that need not be discussed in this brief summary. It should, however, be said specifically that the half-day plan, with its large amount of non-educational productive labor, tends materially to reduce the efficiency of the boarding schools as educational institutions.

The objection to the heavy assignments of purely productive labor must not be construed as a recommendation against industrial education. On the contrary it is specifically recommended that the

industrial education be materially improved. The industrial teachers must be free to plan the industrial teaching from the educational standpoint, largely unhampered by the demands for production to support the schools or the Service. The work must be an educational enterprise, not a production enterprise. The persons selected for industrial teachers must be chosen because of their capacity to teach and not because of their capacity to do the work themselves with the aid of the pupils as helpers. The industries taught must be selected not because they supply the needs of the institution but because they train the pupil for work which he may get at home on the reservation or in some white community to which there is some possibility of his going.

The industrial training must be subjected to the tests of practical use. The Indian Service must attempt to place the Indians who leave the school and help them to become established in productive enterprise either on the reservations or in white communities. It must be prepared to enter into coöperative arrangements with employers so that boys and girls shall have opportunity to gain experience in commercial employment while still having some official connection with the school. In this way the school can place its emphasis on helping the pupil to acquire the necessary fundamental skill and then getting him a job where he can apply this skill in an occupation for which there is a local demand. The schools cannot train for all occupations, but they can aid the boy or girl in acquiring those types of skill that are common to many occupations. The Service should make a survey of the economic opportunities for its pupils and plan its industrial training to meet these ends.

In the discussion of health it has been recommended that the over-crowding of boarding schools be corrected through the maximum possible elimination of young children from these schools. From the educational standpoint the young child does not belong in a boarding school. For normal healthy development he needs his family and his family needs him. Young children, at least up to the sixth grade, should normally be provided for either in Indian Service day schools or in public schools. Not until they have reached adolescence and finished the local schools should they normally be sent to a boarding school.

The survey staff appreciates that it is not practicable instantly to provide day school or public school facilities for every young Indian child and that in some instances the boarding school is the only practicable solution, but the movement away from the boarding school already under way should be accelerated in every practicable manner. One of the definite objectives of the Service, vigorously pressed, should be the elimination of pre-adolescent children from boarding schools.

Because of the nature of the Indian country, the boarding school will for many years to come be essential to provide secondary education of a type adapted to the needs of Indian youth. It can stress provision for their special needs in a way that the typical high school designed for white children already adjusted to the prevailing economic and social system could not do. It must emphasize training in health, in family and community life, in productive efficiency, and in the management and use of property and income to a degree probably unnecessary in general public schools.

Although the boarding school must be distinctive in the emphasis on the special needs of the Indians, it should not be so distinctive that it will not dovetail into the general educational system of the country. The promising Indian boy or girl who has attended an Indian boarding school and who desires to go on with his education should not encounter any educational barrier because of the limitations of the Indian boarding schools. The faculties and their courses of study should be such that they can meet the standards set for accredited high schools. It may prove necessary for the Indian youth who wishes to go on to higher institutions to spend a little longer time in the boarding school than he would have spent in an accredited high school, but the way should exist and should be plainly marked.

The Indian Service should encourage promising Indian youths to continue their education beyond the boarding schools and to fit themselves for professional, scientific, and technical callings. Not only should the educational facilities of the boarding schools provide definitely for fitting them for college entrance, but the Service should aid them in meeting the costs. Scholarships and student loan funds might well be established by the government and by organizations interested in the Indians. State universities in states with a considerable Indian population might be willing to offer

special scholarships for the leading graduates of Indian schools. The vocational guidance service should be thoroughly informed regarding the entrance requirements of the leading institutions and their arrangements in respect to scholarships and student aid. The Indian Service itself offers an excellent field for Indians with scientific, professional training in such fields as teaching, nursing, medicine, dentistry, social work, agriculture, engineering, and forestry.

The survey staff is inclined to question the advisability of attempting to establish in the boarding schools, courses to train persons for professions and callings where the more common general standards require high school graduation as preliminary to the special training. The object should be rather to give them in the boarding schools the required high school training and then aid them in going on into well organized schools where they can get the necessary professional training, and graduate equipped to meet the standard requirements.

The practice of conducting normal school training classes for Indian youth who have not the equivalent of an accredited high school course, and then giving these graduates preference for appointment in the Indian Service should, it is believed, be discontinued, because the training is sub-standard. The Indians who wish to teach should be given a sound high school education and then be sent to a recognized school so that when they finish they can secure teaching certificates which will open to them the general teaching field. In the long run this course will be best both for the Indian teachers and for the Indian schools.

The present policy of placing Indian children in public schools near their homes instead of in boarding schools or even in Indian Service day schools is, on the whole, to be commended. It is a movement in the direction of the normal transition, it results as a rule in good race contacts, and the Indians like it. The fact must be recognized, however, that often Indian children and Indian families need more service than is ordinarily rendered by public schools, as has just been elaborated in the discussion of boarding schools. The Indian Service must, therefore, supplement the public school work by giving special attention to health, industrial and social training, and the relationship between home and school. The transition must not be pushed too fast. The public schools must be

really ready to receive the Indians, and for some years the government must exercise some supervision to see that the Indian children are really getting the advantage offered by the public school system. The policy of having a federal employee perform the duties of attendance officer is sound, but more emphasis should be placed on work with families in this connection, in an effort not so much to force attendance as to remove the causes of non-attendance.

The Indian day schools should be increased in number and improved in quality and should carry children at least through the sixth grade. The Hopi day schools are perhaps the most encouraging feature of the Indian school system. More can perhaps be done in providing transportation to day schools. Where Indians come in to camp near the day schools, special activities should be undertaken for them. In general the day schools should be made community centers for reaching adult Indians in the vicinity as well as children, and they should be tied into the whole program adopted for the jurisdiction.

Improving General Economic Conditions. The primary object of the Indian Service in the field of general economic conditions should be to increase the amount and the productivity of Indian labor so that the Indians can support themselves adequately through earned income.

The first step in this direction should be to create a committee of specialists, consisting of representatives of (1) The Division of Planning and Development; (2) the local staff of the jurisdiction; and (3) state agricultural colleges. This committee should map out a program for economic development that offers maximum possibilities for success and that will not be subject to radical change with changes of local administrative officers or even with changes in the Washington office. The details will, of course, have to be modified and developed from time to time as experience dictates, but the fundamentals should rest on the natural resources of the country.

When the program has been worked out, the jurisdiction should be supplied with a sufficient staff of trained and experienced demonstrators to stimulate the Indians and to teach them the details both in production and in marketing. The number of these demonstrators will depend on local conditions, including the attitude of the Indians. If only a few Indians are ready to respond, a single

demonstration may be able to serve them. If response is general, several more will be required. The object should be intensive effort with those who will work so that they will be kept interested and kept at work until their efforts are rewarded. It would be a great mistake to economize by having so few competent demonstrators that their efforts are spread too thin. The aim should be an intensive campaign with those who are willing. As they make good, others will come in and the demonstrator can give special attention to the new recruits while still maintaining some contact with his successes. Special attention should be devoted to the returned student. The demonstrator and the superintendent should take him in hand immediately upon his return and lay before him a definite program and a definite challenge.

Although reimbursable loans are in disrepute in some jurisdictions, the survey staff is inclined to the belief that the explanation lies in the fact that the local staff available for economic training has been inadequate both in number and in ability. Provision should be made for reimbursable loans and the staff of demonstrators should be sufficient to supervise their application and use.

The tribal herd, as a means of establishing individual Indians in the stock business by selling them on credit the offspring of the herd, is likewise in disrepute, it is believed for similar reasons. Since much of the Indian land is suitable only for grazing, the experiment should be tried again with an adequate personnel.

At some jurisdictions the economic resources are apparently insufficient, even if efficiently used, to support the Indian population according to reasonable standards. In some cases the Indians were given poor lands; in others during the course of years the whites have gained possession of the desirable lands. Nothing permanent is to be achieved by trying to make the Indians wrest a living from lands which will not yield a decent return for the labor expended. Some Indians on more promising land are personally interested in pursuits which cannot be followed on the reservations. The "let down your bucket where you are" policy, wise as it is for certain conditions, cannot therefore be exclusively followed. The Indian Service must seek to find suitable employment off the reservation for Indians who have no real chance there or who desire to seek other employment. In some instances, as in the Navajo country, the situation can be met in part by securing them more land, but, in general, the solution lies in an intelligent employment service.

In developing an employment service the Indian Office will have to supply the motive force and the directing brains and in some jurisdictions full time employment workers, but much can be achieved through establishment of cooperative relationships with existing labor placing organizations. Fortunately the evidence tends to show that the Indians make good workers in industrial pursuits. Their main difficulty lies in making the initial contacts and in pressing for recognition and advancement.

This shift into industry cannot be made hurriedly or as a wholesale movement if it is to be successful. Employment finding should be individualized and should seek to place the Indians, usually the younger rather than the older Indians, in lines of work in which they are interested and which offer opportunity for advancement and for establishing a permanent home for themselves, and if they are married, for their families. The mass placing of large numbers of Indians in unskilled temporary jobs which offer no permanent opportunity and involve either separation from their families, or the makeshift of group camping, is at best a temporary expedient. Where it involves keeping children out of school and a low type of camp life, it probably does more harm than good. In placing Indians in temporary jobs of this character the government should see that their wages are fair and their living conditions are up to a reasonable standard. The Indians should not be exploited as a source of cheap labor.

The policy of the government should be deliberately directed toward reducing the amount of unearned income available to the able bodied Indian for living expenses. It is a stimulus to idleness and permits of a low standard of existence without work. Unearned income should be utilized to increase the economic productivity of the Indians.

The policy of the present administration in exercising extreme conservatism in giving fee patents to restricted Indians is eminently sound in theory. The practice can be materially improved by keeping much better records of the Indians' accomplishments in the fields that indicate competency, and basing decisions as to competency not so much on opinion as on definite achievements. A

suggestion worthy of consideration is that Indians who desire fee patents be required to serve a probationary period during which they must demonstrate their capacity to earn a living. In some instances Indians desire fee patents to all or a portion of their land in order to invest the proceeds in a business, in the purchase of a house, or in some other way that shows good business judgment. The policy of the Service in furthering sales for productive purposes or for permanent improvement of living conditions is to be commended.

Leasing of Indian lands should be materially curtailed. In theory, now, the Service opposes the leasing of lands of able bodied Indians, but in the absence of an adequate field force to encourage and help the Indian in the use of his lands, the temptation is great to permit it to be leased rather than to lie idle. In some instances Indians have not only never lived on their allotments, they have never seen them and have no desire to go to the place where their land is. In such cases the land should, if possible, be sold and the proceeds used to purchase land for the Indian in the neighborhood where he desires to live.

The problem of inherited land should be given thorough detailed study by the Division of Planning and Development. It is doubtful if the serious nature of this problem was appreciated at the time the allotment acts were passed. Because of this feature of the allotment system the land of the Indians is rapidly passing into the hands of the whites, and a generation of landless, almost penniless, unadjusted Indians is coming on. What happens is this: The Indian to whom the land was allotted dies leaving several heirs. Actual division of the land among them is impracticable. The estate is either leased or sold to whites and the proceeds are divided among the heirs and are used for living expenses. So long as one member of the family of heirs has land the family is not landless or homeless, but as time goes on the last of the original allottees will die and the public will have the landless, unadjusted Indians on its hands.

The solution appears to be for the government vigorously to exercise its power of guardianship in the control and regulation of property secured by inheritance. If the land itself passes to the heirs, they should not be permitted to sell without government sanction unless all the heirs are competent. So long as any of the

heirs are minors or incompetent the government should exercise its control. The money arising from inheritances accruing to incompetent Indians should be expendable only for land or for other productive purposes. The government itself, through the use of a revolving fund, should purchase the inherited land and sell it to the Indians subject to restrictions, using their accumulation of inherited funds as part or all of the purchase money. If the inherited funds are not sufficient liberal reimbursable terms should be arranged. The object sought would be two-fold, to prevent the rising generation of Indians from being landless and to stop the use of inherited money as a means of sustaining the Indians in a life of irresponsible idleness. This solution would meet the difficulty encountered when a young Indian has an inherited share in several different allotments, none of which are contiguous or large enough to give him a fair sized working area. The estates could be purchased by the government and sold to the Indians in workable units subject to restrictions.

Per capita distributions from tribal funds to be used for ordinary living expenses should also be rigorously restricted. They should only be available for expenditure for productive purposes. They are generally the proceeds of the sale or use of capital assets and do not represent Indian earnings. The government as guardian should conserve the capital of the ward and not permit him to dissipate his capital for living expenses. Let him know definitely that he must earn his living expenses, though he can use his capital as means for increasing his earnings.

These principles in the use of capital are believed to be sound, and the Indian must be taught them. Teaching them will be one of the duties of the superintendents and their field workers in the program of increasing the economic and productive efficiency of the Indians.

The policy of individual allotment should be followed with extreme conservatism. Not accompanied by adequate instruction in the use of property, it has largely failed in the accomplishment of what was expected of it. It has resulted in much loss of land and an enormous increase in the details of administration without a compensating advance in the economic ability of the Indians. The difficult problem of inheritance is one of its results. Before more allotments are made the Service should be certain that it has the

staff to do the educational work essential to the success of the policy.

In some jurisdictions the tribe is possessed of great natural resources which are not susceptible of individual allotment and which from the standpoint of sound national economy should be preserved in large working units so that they may be conserved and used effectively. The two outstanding illustrations are the timber lands on the Klamath Reservation in Oregon and the timber lands and the power sites on the Menominee Reservation in Wisconsin. Only to a limited extent is it possible for these Indians to work with these great resources.

The more progressive Klamath Indians are anxious to get possession of their share of the tribal wealth so that they may use it as capital in individual enterprise. The programs for the economic advancement of the Indians will often require that they have some small capital with which to work. Neither the allotment of the timber lands nor their sale *in toto* appear to offer a solution for reasons which are set forth at length in the economic section of this report (pages 460 to 462). The present policy of the gradual sale of timber and distribution of the proceeds in per capita payments is objectionable because the small doles are consumed for living expenses.

The survey staff suggests that an experiment be tried in these jurisdictions with the modern business device of the corporation. The corporation would own the property, keep it intact, and conserve and operate it as a great national asset. Shares in the corporation would be distributed pro rata among the Indians. The shares of incompetent Indians would be held in trust by the government. Indians of demonstrated competency could be given full possession of their shares to do with as they will. As the restricted Indians advance they could be given limited control over a part of their shares. They could be authorized, for example, to pledge them as collateral for a loan for working capital to be utilized in productive enterprise. As they demonstrate competency and success they could be given increased control. On the death of an Indian his shares could be distributed among his heirs without involving any sale of real property. The device would permit of the effective utilization of the great property and at the same time meet the needs of the advancing Indians.

The board of directors of the corporation could be made up in part of government officers and in part of elected representatives of the shareholders, with the government officers in the majority and in control. The representatives of the shareholders would, however, have a voice in the management and would have the opportunity to participate in the business, to understand its problems, and to learn how things are done. It is believed that the business committee of the Klamath Indians is made up of Indians sufficiently advanced to profit from the experience and to contribute to its success. If the experiment is tried at Klamath and Menominee and proves successful, it could be extended to other jurisdictions. This subject is discussed at greater length on pages 462 to 466 of the general economic report.

Taxation of Property of Indians. The question of subjecting the property of Indians to state and county taxes should be approached from the educational standpoint. It is essential that the Indians be educated to utilize the services furnished by local and state governments and that they learn the obligation to contribute to the support of these activities. On the other hand, the educational process should be gradual and the relationship between benefits received and tax payments therefor should be obvious. It is a serious mistake suddenly to change the status of an Indian from that of a tax exempt person to a person subject to the full burden of state and county taxes, especially where the general property tax is in force, the brunt of which falls on land. The Indian has land value out of all proportion to his income from the use of that land, and thus the general property tax, when applied to him, violates the fundamental canon that taxation should be related to capacity to pay. An income tax would be a far better form of taxation for first lessons for the Indians. The imposition of the full weight of the general property tax tends to the loss of the Indians' land.

The Division of Planning and Development, in working out plans of coöperation with state and county governments, should give special consideration to this question of taxation and seek to reach an agreement with the state and local governments whereby the Indians will pay taxes with due regard to the value of the benefits received by the Indians and of the capacity of the Indian to pay. In the long run the state and local governments cannot

profit from levying taxes against Indians which still further depress their already low standard of living and tend to make them landless. The Indians thus made landless are often Indians who have been released from federal supervision as competent. Under the law they become the responsibility of the state and county governments. These governments should be made to see the ultimate price which they must pay for the immediate privilege of subjecting Indian property to the full weight of state and county taxes.

Improving Family and Community Life. The program developed for each jurisdiction should place special emphasis on family life and community activities. Experience has abundantly demonstrated that the family as a whole is the social unit of major importance in the development of a people. The importance of community activities has also been generally recognized. Among the Indians, community activities are probably even more important than among white people because the Indians' social and economic system was and is communistic. Individualism is almost entirely lacking in their native culture. Thus, work with communities as a whole will follow a natural line and will result in accelerated group progress.

The program should embrace health, home making with special emphasis on diet, the use of money, the supplementing of income by home activities, and organized recreation and other community activities.

In all these activities the Indian point of view and the Indian interests should be given major consideration. In home design and construction the effort should be made to adapt characteristically Indian things to modern uses. For example, among Indian tribes the outdoor arbor in some form is almost universal and is used for many purposes. Several of the wealthy Osages with elaborate modern houses, the like of which relatively few white men can boast, have erected in addition elaborate adaptations of the arbor. These arbors gave them the chance for self expression. The Indians will take more interest in their homes and in the improvement of them if the construction appeals to Indian taste and is well adapted to Indian uses. There is no reason at all why the Indians should be urged to have dwellings which are replicas of what white men would build. Some of the Indian's ideas regarding outdoor rooms may be found worthy of adoption by the whites.

In supplementing the Indian incomes and in home decoration, encouragement should be given to native Indian arts and industries. They appeal to the Indians' interest, afford an opportunity for self expression, and, properly managed, will yield considerable revenue, much more than can be secured by encouraging them to duplicate the handiwork of the whites. Their designs can be readily adapted to articles for which the commercial demand is reasonably good. Persons who have interested themselves in this field uniformly report that the demand for Indian art work of high quality materially exceeds the supply, and that insofar as there is an over supply it consists of work of poor quality. A little intelligent coöperation and aid in marketing would doubtless tend rapidly to correct this difficulty.

In recreation and in other community activities the existing activities of the Indians should be utilized as the starting point. That some of their dances and other activities have objectionable features is of course true. The same thing is true of the recreation and the community activities of almost any people. The object should be not to stamp out all the native things because a few of them have undesirable accompaniments but to seek to modify them gradually so that the objectionable features will ultimately disappear. The native activities can be supplemented by those activities borrowed from the whites that make a distinct appeal to the Indians, notably athletics, music, and sewing, and other close work demanding manual skill. The Indians themselves should have a large hand in the preparation of the program.

The work for families and communities must be done by a well trained, well qualified personnel because to an exceptional degree its success turns on the quality of the workers employed. Mention has already been made of the personnel needed in these fields for the Division of Planning and Development. On the reservation five distinctive types of service must be rendered to families: (1) Health promotion, (2) adult education for home making, (3) promotion of economic efficiency, (4) treatment of personal maladjustments, and (5) community recreation. Through the Civil Service Commission eligible registers should be established for each of these five classes of positions so that specially qualified persons may be available for communities with outstanding problems of a specialized character. It will not generally be found necessary or

advisable even on large reservations to have a special employee for each type of service. On most reservations the present health situation will require for some time to come, the entire time of the public health nurse. The other classes of duties will have to be combined and one well qualified employee will have to perform several of them. The exact division will have to be worked out by the specialists from the central office, working in conjunction with the local authorities.

Maintenance of Order and Administration of Justice. The differences existing among the several jurisdictions with respect to such vital matters as the degree of economic and social advancement of the Indians, the homogeneity of the population, and their proximity to white civilization are so great that no specific act of Congress either conferring jurisdiction over the restricted Indians on state courts or providing a legal code and placing jurisdiction in the United States courts appears practicable. The law and the system of judicial administration to be effective must be specially adapted to the particular jurisdiction where they are to be applied, and they must be susceptible of change to meet changing conditions until the Indians are ready to merge into the general population and be subjected, like other inhabitants, to the ordinary national and state laws administered by United States and state courts exercising their normal jurisdictions.

The questions of how far the Indians in a given jurisdiction have advanced, or of what body of law relating to domestic relations and crimes and misdemeanors is best suited to their existing state of development and of what courts can best administer these laws, are too minute and too subject to change to warrant a recommendation that Congress attempt to legislate in detail for each jurisdiction.

The situation is clearly one where the best results can be secured if Congress will delegate its legislative authority through a general act to an appropriate agency, giving that agency power to classify the several jurisdictions and to provide for each class so established an appropriate body of law and a suitable court system. The power should also be given to advance, from time to time, the classification of any jurisdiction and to modify either the law or the court organization insofar as they are made by the agency and not by state law or act of Congress. The actions of the agency with

respect to this authority should be given full publicity by suitable proclamation, orders, or regulations.

The officer with final authority to promulgate the decisions should be either the Secretary of the Interior or the President of the United States. The detailed study and the recommendation should originate in the Indian Service. The perfecting of this system should be one of the major projects of the Division of Planning and Development.

The details of this recommendation and the supporting arguments will be found in the section on legal aspects, pages 779 to 787.

Protection of the Property Rights of Indians. No evidence warrants a conclusion that the government of the United States can at any time in the near future relinquish its guardianship over the property of restricted Indians, secured to the Indians by government action. The legal staff of the Indian Service charged with the duty of protecting Indian rights should be materially strengthened and should be authorized to act more directly. The Service should have one high position for a general counsel or solicitor, who should be directly in charge of the legal work of the Service under the general direction of the Commissioner. It should have a number of either full or part time attorneys in the field, in close touch with the several jurisdictions, who may give prompt and energetic attention to matters involving Indian rights. Although the United States District Attorneys will doubtless have still to be generally responsible for the actual conduct of cases involving Indian rights, they should be assisted by these local attorneys of the Indian Service, who should be held primarily responsible for the full and detailed preparation of the case.

In cases where the Indian is poor and unable to pay court costs and attorneys' fees, he should be aided by these attorneys, and money should be made available to meet the costs.

The attitude of the Indian Service as a whole, and especially of its legal department, should invariably be that its duty is to protect to the utmost the rights and interest of the Indians. Even if some of the officers believe that the Indian's opponent has in some respects a meritorious case, the Service itself should be extremely slow in effecting any compromise. As a guardian or trustee its compromise should properly be acceptable to the court and subject

to its approval. It would seem, as an almost invariable rule, much safer to carry the litigation through and to let a duly constituted court make the decision rather than for the Service itself to compromise without court action.

The Settlement of Claims. The unsettled legal claims against the government should be settled at the earliest possible date. A special commission should be created to study those claims which have not yet been approved by Congress for submission to the Court of Claims. This commission should submit recommendations to the Secretary of the Interior so that those claims which are meritorious may be submitted to Congress with a draft of a suitable bill authorizing their settlement before the Court of Claims.

The affairs of the restricted Indians of the Five Civilized Tribes in Oklahoma require serious attention. It is specifically recommended that the period of restriction which under existing law will expire in 1931 be extended for at least ten or fifteen years. The duties and functions of the government probate attorneys among these Indians should be materially increased, and they should be made a strong organization for the protection of the rights and interests of these Indians.

Citizenship. All Indians born in the United States are now citizens. The Supreme Court of the United States has held that citizenship is not incompatible with continued guardianship or special protective legislation for Indians. The soundness of this decision is not open to question. It is good law and sound economic and social policy. In handling property, most of the restricted Indians are still children. True friends of the Indians should urge retention of restrictions until the Indian is economically on his feet and able to support himself by his own efforts according to a minimum standard of health and decency in the presence of white civilization.

Missionary Activities. The outstanding need in the field of missionary activities among the Indians is coöperation. Coöperation is needed both in the relationships between the government and the missionaries and in the relationship among the churches and the missionaries themselves. Positive action looking toward improvement, therefore, must take the direction of improving the mechanism through which coöperation can be made effective.

In discussing the recommended Division of Planning and Development in this summary it has been pointed out how it would provide a mechanism for cooperation between the missionaries and the government. This subject is further discussed in the chapter on organization, pages 103, 139 to 140, and in the chapter on missionary activities, pages 812 to 820. No attempt will be made here further to elaborate this subject of the operation of the Division of Planning and Development.

It would seem as if the government might take one further step in providing a mechanism for coöperation. A national advisory council composed of representatives of each of the churches engaged in missionary work among the Indians would, it is believed, serve a valuable purpose. To it the government officers might refer for consideration and recommendation those major problems in the administration of Indian affairs which involve missionary activity. Thus the churches would get a clear, definite understanding of their problems from the standpoint of responsible government officers. Faced with concrete problems such a council might quickly see that a sound decision would be greatly facilitated if the churches themselves would alter certain of the facts in the case. The council would serve, too, as a clearing house for information. The recommendation is therefore made that the Secretary of the Interior communicate with the appropriate officers of the various church organizations to ascertain the feasibility of establishing such an advisory council.

The churches should give special consideration to the serious problems arising from the isolation of their missionaries. These workers should be given fairly adequate support and normal human contacts, and they should be visited more frequently by representatives of the churches or boards.

Unless funds are available satisfactorily to maintain all stations in operation, the question should be raised as to whether more effective results could not be secured through concentration of the resources on a smaller number of stations.

The missionaries should consider carefully a material broadening of their program and an increase in the number and kinds of contacts with the Indians. Their best work has usually been in the field of education. For adult Indians their main offering has been church activities similar to those conducted in white com-

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munities, and those activities apparently make little appeal to the Indians. The missionaries need to have a better understanding of the Indian point of view of the Indian's religion and ethics, in order to start from what is good in them as a foundation. Too frequently, they have made the mistake of attempting to destroy the existing structure and to substitute something else without apparently realizing that much in the old has its place in the new.

The Economy of Efficiency. The survey staff appreciates that these recommendations designed to make the Indian Service an efficient educational organization to accelerate the progress of the Indians will involve a material increase in the present federal appropriations for the Indians. The appropriations for the fiscal year 1928, including the $2,151,800 appropriated from tribal funds belonging to the Indians, total $14,991,485. The staff has not attempted to estimate in detail what will be required for outlays for new construction and for remodeling the existing plant, for higher salaries for existing positions, for new positions, for vastly improving the food supply for boarding school children and patients in hospitals and sanatoria, for furnishing noon meals to undernourished children in day schools, and for effecting cooperative arrangements with state and local governments. Conceivably, for several years, the additional amount required will be almost as much as the present appropriations.

In from five to ten years the heavy expenses for outlays to bring the plant and equipment of Indian Service institutions to a standard comparable with that maintained by other national, state, and private institutions should materially decrease. From that time on, if the Service is brought to a high state of efficiency, a gradual but progressive reduction should be possible in the number of positions required as more and more Indians become self-supporting by their own efforts and as progress is made in getting the states and local governments to render the service necessary for Indians in return for taxes paid by the Indians.

The fact must be remembered, however, that in some jurisdictions the Service is dealing with the first generation of Indians that has come in close contact with the white man. In some schools adult primary classes are found consisting of boys and girls in their teens who have never been to school before, who do not know how to read and write, and have to be taught English. They come from

homes which are primitive in the extreme. When they return their parents, or more probably their grandparents, may destroy the white man's clothing that they wear and hold ceremonials to purge them of their contact with the white man. Even if the work with these Indians is highly efficient, it will take three generations to prepare them for modern life. These Indians are not ready for the schools and other agencies maintained by the states and local governments, nor are the states in which they live ready to receive them. With the most favorable developments it hardly seems probable that the national government can completely work out its Indian problem in less that from thirty to forty years, although its expenditures for this object should materially decline long before that if the work is well done.

The belief is that it is a sound policy of national economy to make generous expenditures in the next few decades with the object of winding up the national administration of Indian affairs. The people of the United States have the opportunity, if they will, to write the closing chapters of the history of the relationship of the national government and the Indians. The early chapters contain little of which the country may be proud. It would be something of a national atonement to the Indians if the closing chapters should disclose the national government supplying the Indians with an Indian Service which would be a model for all governments concerned with the development and advancement of a retarded race.

CHAPTER II

RECOMMENDATIONS FOR IMMEDIATE ACTION

A demand may reasonably be made that the survey staff present in exceedingly brief outline its recommendations for action, in the order in which it believes action should be taken by the administration.

1. To improve the quantity, quality, and variety of diet available for Indian children in boarding schools, seek from Congress at the earliest possible moment an additional appropriation of one million dollars, to be immediately available.

2. For the directing, developmental, and planning work of the Service, seek from Congress at the earliest possible moment, to be immediately available, appropriations for the following purposes:

a. The establishment of the recommended Division of Planning and Development, $250,000.

b. The employment of six medical specialists to aid the director of medical work and for their necessary expenses, $50,000.

c. The employment of a senior personnel officer and an assistant personnel officer and for their necessary expenses, $15,000.

d. The employment of a senior statistician and of statistical clerks and for the purchase of statistical equipment, $20,000.

3. For the general improvement of the Indian Service, seek from Congress for the next fiscal year an emergency lump sum appropriation of $5,000,000, to be available for:

a. Classification and salary standardization of existing positions in the Indian Service according to the Classification Act of 1923, such classification and salary standardization to be subject to the approval of the Federal Personnel Classification Board and to be based on the duties and qualifications which will be required to bring the positions up to a reasonable standard. This subject will be explained at some length in a subsequent paragraph.

b. The creation of new positions in the fields of health, economic advancement, education, and social development at salaries to be fixed according to the new Indian Service classification, as approved by the Federal Personnel Classification Board.

c. Bringing institutions already authorized by law which are to be kept as permanent to a reasonable standard with respect to state of repair and equipment.

d. Establishing public health clinics.

e. Adding additional grades to existing Indian day schools, opening new day schools and providing school transportation for day school pupils, with a provision that not to exceed $300,000 may be spent for necessary construction. The object should be to provide for children not now in school and to reduce the present overcrowding in boarding schools by making provision for children to attend school in the neighborhood of their homes.

f. Hiring additional labor force at the boarding schools to reduce the amount of purely productive labor required of Indian children, with the provision that not more than $200,000 may be expended for the purchase of labor-saving machinery.

The classification and salary standardization of existing positions requires further explanation. The basis for the classification should be what the duties of the position will be when the Service has been brought to a reasonably high standard and what qualifications will be required for the efficient performance of those duties. The classification should not be based on the duties and qualifications of existing incumbents in those cases where the present incumbents are deficient in training and experience and hence cannot perform efficiently the duties which should be attached to the position for good administration. Such positions should be classified according to what they should be. The present incumbents who do not possess the qualifications for the positions as thus classified should be treated as temporaries, holding the positions only until they can be replaced with qualified employees. Since they are not qualified to occupy the positions permanently, they should not be given the salaries of qualified incumbents. So long as the position is occupied by a sub-standard temporary employee, the salary should be that which the temporary occupant has been receiving. As soon as a

qualified employee is appointed to the position, the salary should be advanced to the standard range as determined by the new classification and the salary schedules of the Classification Act of 1923.

Every possible consideration, consistent with efficient service, should be shown those present employees who cannot at once qualify under the new standards. In many instances they can be transferred to other positions for which they are qualified. In some instances they can be given leave of absence so that they can make up their deficiencies. If it seems probable that they can make up these deficiencies in a reasonable time, they might well be regarded as probationary employees whose permanent retention depends on meeting the requirements within such reasonable time. Due consideration should be given to the value of practical training and experience, but the ultimate test must be their ability efficiently to perform the full duties of the position. The necessary reorganization of personnel would be greatly facilitated, if the retirement law could be so amended that present employees of sixty years of age or over could be immediately retired if they are not qualified for the positions as reclassified.

4. Take up with the United States Civil Service Commission the matter of securing promptly an adequate supply of properly qualified employees for the positions as reclassified with the new salaries. Eligible registers of persons possessed of the new entrance requirements should be established for: (a) Doctors, (b) dentists, (c) public health nurses, (d) graduate general nurses, (e) dental hygienists, (f) agricultural demonstration workers, (g) employment agents, (h) home demonstration workers, (i) social case workers, (j) recreation workers, (k) school teachers, (l) school supervisors, (m) industrial teachers of various types, (n) director of boys' activities in boarding schools, and (o) director of girls' activities in boarding schools.

Insofar as it proves necessary to fill positions in the Division of Planning and Development by appointments from outside the federal service, the Civil Service Commission should be urged to give the widest possible publicity to the announcement for the examination so that the competition may be general.

This immediate program will give the Indian Service the much needed planning and directing force and will enable it to make

marked headway in the next eighteen months in correcting the outstanding defects. It should then be in a position to make concrete specific recommendations to Congress for further development. Further additional appropriations will be required and should be expected each year for about five years.

In establishing new services Congress has frequently recognized the necessity for granting a lump sum appropriation because of the difficulty, if not the impossibility, of prescribing in detail exactly how the the money shall be expended. The situation in the Indian Service is in many ways similar. An emergency exists. Meeting of the emergency will be materially delayed unless Congress will give to the administration the resources to make the major initial steps for its correction without requiring minute plans and specifications. To get minute plans and specifications, will require a much larger force, both in the Washington office and in the field, than the Service now possesses. The recommendations here made are designed to permit marked advancement along the obvious lines and to furnish to the Bureau of the Budget and to Congress well designed plans and adequate supporting data for further development.

CHAPTER III

FOREWORD TO THE DETAILED REPORT

Origin of the Survey. In the spring of 1926, Dr. Hubert Work, Secretary of the Interior, initiated a series of informal conferences between representatives of the Department of the Interior and representatives of the Institute for Government Research regarding the possibility of having the Institute undertake an independent survey of Indian affairs, embracing particularly the educational, industrial, social, and medical activities maintained among the Indians, their property rights, and their general economic condition.

These informal conferences promptly disclosed a complete agreement regarding the desirability of having such a survey made by an impartial group of specialists in the fields of health, education, agriculture, economics, family life, and law, working under the auspices of an agency like the Institute, entirely free from governmental support and control. A common understanding was also readily arrived at regarding the broad general methods which should be followed in making such a survey. The Secretary of the Interior emphasized the importance of having the work done promptly, once it was undertaken, so that the results might be quickly available for administrative action. He suggested the desirability of having it completed in six months. The representatives of the Institute, on the other hand, were impressed by the variety of the problems presented and the great distances to be covered in absolutely essential field work. Their initial view was that approximately two years would be required. It was then pointed out that a report submitted in two years might come in too late in the administration of the Secretary to be of any real value to him. As the Institute was more concerned with the production of a report that might be adequate and sound for administrative purposes than with preparing possibly a more finished one which might prove only of academic interest, because of the time spent in its preparation, it agreed so to plan and conduct its work that a report might be submitted approximately a year after field work should be started.

The Institute made it clear to the Secretary that the only member of the permanent staff of the Institute who could be detailed to the survey was Mr. Lewis Meriam, who would be placed in charge of the project as technical director. The other specialists would have to be secured temporarily for this particular undertaking. The Institute at that time was not prepared to submit to the Department the names of the persons whom it would appoint to the survey staff, as it could not make such selections until the project had been agreed upon and funds for its prosecution had been secured. It did, however, describe the type of personnel it would endeavor to secure; persons highly qualified as specialists in their respective fields, scientific in their approach, not sensationalists, and free from preconceived views and opinions that would interfere with their impartiality and fairness in gathering and interpreting the facts. It was recognized that to get this impartiality and fairness it would often be necessary to select persons who had not previously made any special study of Indians and Indian affairs. The Secretary was further assured that, although the Institute for Government Research would make the selections for appointment to the staff, it would discuss with the proper officers of the Interior Department the training, experience, and personal qualifications of the persons considered for special employment so that it might be sure that these officers were reasonably satisfied at the outset. The Institute had no desire to appoint anyone whose work would be discounted from the beginning by officers of the Department or by public spirited citizens interested in the problems considered. Its object would be not to have different sides represented on its staff but to select persons qualified as specialists who had not previously taken sides.

On June 12, 1926, the Secretary of the Interior sent the following letter to the Director of the Institute for Government Research:

THE SECRETARY OF THE INTERIOR

WASHINGTON

June 12, 1926.

Dr. W. F. Willoughby, 26 Jackson Place, N. W., Washington, D. C.

MY DEAR DR. WILLOUGHBY:

Referring to your letter of May 26 in reply to mine of May 21, I am pleased to note that we are in substantial agreement regard-

ing the nature of the survey of Indian affairs and the general procedure which should be followed in conducting it. It should embrace the educational, industrial, social and medical activities maintained among the Indians, their property rights and their general economic conditions. It should be conducted by persons selected because of their impartiality and special qualifications who will command the confidence of those concerned, the government officials, the Indians and the general public. The correspondence with you and my knowledge of the Institute for Government Research convince me that the Institute is specially well qualified to conduct such a survey in a thoroughly impartial and scientific spirit with the object of making the result of its work a constructive contribution in this difficult field of government administration. I wish, therefore, formally to request that the Institute for Government Research undertake a comprehensive survey and to assure you, if you can undertake it, of the full coöperation of the Department of the Interior.

Sincerely yours,
(Signed) HUBERT WORK, *Secretary.*

The Survey Privately Financed Through the Institute. Upon receipt of this letter the Institute agreed at once to take steps to see if it could raise the funds necessary for this special project, as its regular funds were appropriated for other activities already under way. It secured very promptly a small special gift to enable it to carry on the preliminary planning of the project. By the first of October pledges had been received guaranteeing to the Institute the entire amount which it believed would be required. All the money came from private sources. The Institute is entirely supported from private funds and receives no contributions or grants from the government. All expenses of the survey were met from the special funds of the Institute, except that the government contributed to the project indirectly in two ways. It generally furnished members of the survey staff with local transportation about the schools and reservations, and where guest rooms or other lodgings were available the members of the survey staff were permitted to use them without charge or with a very nominal charge for care and cleaning. When staff members were accorded the privileges of the employees' mess at a school or reservation, they paid the standard price for meals.

The Survey Staff. The Institute during the summer had been making its tentative selections for its special technical staff. This staff was made up as follows:

Technical director: Lewis Meriam, a member of the permanent staff of the Institute for Government Research.

Specialist in legal aspects of Indian problems: Ray A. Brown, Assistant Professor of Law, University of Wisconsin.

Indian adviser: Henry Roe Cloud, President of the American Indian Institute, Wichita, Kansas.

Specialist in economic conditions: Edward Everett Dale, Head of the department of history of the University of Oklahoma, specialist in the economic history of the West.

Specialist to study conditions of Indian migrants to urban communities: Miss Emma Duke.

Specialist in health: Dr. Herbert R. Edwards, on appointment, Medical Field Secretary of the National Tuberculosis Association, now Director, Bureau of Tuberculosis Control, New Haven Department of Health.

Specialist in existing material relating to Indians: Fayette Avery McKenzie, Professor of Sociology and Dean of Men, Juniata College.

Specialist in family life and activities of women: Miss Mary Louise Mark, Professor of Sociology, Ohio State University.

Specialist in education: W. Carson Ryan, Jr., Professor of Education, Swarthmore College.

Specialist in agriculture: William J. Spillman, Agricultural Economist, Bureau of Agricultural Economics, United States Department of Agriculture.

For the use of persons who desire to know in detail the training and experience of the specialists that led to their selection, a statement of the essential facts regarding each of them is given at the end of the present foreword (pages 79 to 85).

In addition to the technical staff the survey has been assisted by a corps of clerks and research assistants. Mr. R. B. Stambaugh served as executive field clerk. Special mention should be made of the statistical clerks under the direction of Mrs. Ada T. Briggs,

who have been continuously employed since the organization of the survey, compiling existing statistical material and other data from the files of the Indian Office.

In every instance the persons appointed were selected by the Institute for Government Research upon its own motion without suggestion either from the Indian Office or the Department of the Interior. In no case was any objection raised by any officers of the Department to any of the names submitted by the Institute.[1]

The Area Covered. The selection of the special staff was of course the first administrative problem that confronted the Institute. The second was how effectively to cover the Indian country and to prepare a report within the time limit of approximately one year from the beginning of the field work.

[1] The question of whether several years of service in the Indian Office and on an Indian reservation should be considered as a barrier to appointment was discussed informally with one officer of the Indian Service. It was agreed that such a selection would be inadvisable. If a person who had been long in the Service made findings favorable to it, he would be open to the charge of undue friendliness and if he made adverse reports, he might be alleged to be actuated by personal motives. A member of the board of trustees of one of the Indian associations took the same view, and felt it would be unwise even to select as executive field clerk one who had been employed in the Department, despite the fact that such a previous knowledge of the reservations and transportation arrangements would be invaluable to the survey. The Institute made it a rule not to select employees or former employees of the Indian Service; but Dr. F. A. McKenzie's year as teacher at the Wind River School in Wyoming in 1903-04, when he was gathering material for his doctor's thesis, was not regarded as a barrier. Similarly, in seeking a lawyer the Institute took the position that it would be unwise to select a person who had been actively engaged in Indian cases either before the courts, the Department, or Congress. Although such a lawyer would have brought valuable knowledge of Indian law and procedure, he would be open to a charge of bias. It seemed preferable to turn to the law schools for recommendations. Mr. Ray A. Brown was suggested independently, by both Dean Pound and Professor Frankfurter of the Harvard Law School.

Henry Roe Cloud was mentioned among the outstanding representative Indians by all who were consulted on this appointment. His name was used from the very beginning of the informal conferences with the government officials as the type of Indian the Institute would seek as Indian adviser, if it should be decided, as it ultimately was, to have a single Indian adviser for the entire work of the survey.

The Institute was extremely fortunate in being able to secure the services of Mr. Cloud and is under deep obligation to the Board of Trustees of the American Indian Institute for releasing him for the year from his duties at his school.

The Institute had before it the statistical tables in the annual report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs showing the number of Indians in the United States and their distribution. It was extremely fortunate, too, in the fact that Dr. Laurence F. Schmeckebier, of the permanent staff of the Institute, already had nearing completion a descriptive monograph on the Office of Indian Affairs, covering its history, activities, organization, plant, basic law, and finances, one of the series of service monographs being prepared by the Institute for each of the important units of the government service.[1] Dr. Schmeckebier, an experienced statistician, had compiled for this monograph a great body of statistical data which was available for the use of the survey staff. For this monograph a bibliography had already been prepared. The bibliographer of the Institute, Mrs. Sophy H. Powell, therefore, was already prepared promptly to gather for the survey staff an effective working library.

According to the statistics in the report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, which in part are compiled by the Office of Indian Affairs and in part are taken from the report of the Census Bureau,[2] the Indian population numbers approximately 325,000, excluding the Freedmen and the inter-married whites of the Five Civilized Tribes, with both of which non-Indian groups the Service had something to do. If they are included the number approximates 350,000.

In this figure of 350,000 are included 101,506 of the Five Civilized Tribes, of which 75,519 are Indians by blood, 23,405 Freedmen, and 2582 inter-married whites. Among the 75,519 Indians by blood are many who have so small an admixture of Indian blood and who are so far advanced in their social and economic status that they do not enter into the real Indian problem. The figures

[1] This monograph is now published as "The Office of Indian Affairs," 591 pp., Service Monograph No. 48, Institute for Government Research. The Johns Hopkins Press, 1927. It is purely descriptive in character and is based on a study of the documentary material and the general literature. This monograph, with the present survey report, gives a fairly complete study of the Indian Service.

[2] The Indian Service compiles figures only for the states in which it operates. For other states it accepts census figures. For Indian Service states there is a discrepancy between the Indian Office and the Census Bureau figures. For the figures of the two organizations by states and for a discussion of the discrepancy see Schmeckebier, Office of Indian Affairs, pp. 310-12.

for the Five Civilized Tribes, too, may be very far from showing the present number, as they are those of the present roll made in 1907. Exclusive of the Five Civilized Tribes, the number of Indians is about 250,000.

Every state in the Union has some Indians, but in most of the eastern states the numbers are small. According to the report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs for 1926, twenty-three states each had one thousand or more. Arranged in the descending order, according to number of Indians, these twenty-three were:

Oklahoma[1]	120,487	Oregon	6,662
Arizona	44,729	Nevada	5,692
South Dakota	24,676	New York	5,342
New Mexico	22,527	Idaho	3,959
California	18,913	Nebraska	2,639
Minnesota	14,819	Texas	2,110
Montana	13,273	Wyoming	1,899
Washington	12,436	Utah	1,584
North Carolina	12,191	Kansas	1,527
North Dakota	10,119	Mississippi	1,200
Wisconsin	8,089	Louisiana	1,066
Michigan	7,610		

The Indian Service does not operate in Texas and Louisiana and is only nominally in charge of the Indians in New York. Of the Indians in North Carolina 2833 are under the supervision of the Indian Service and 9358 are scattered throughout the state; of those in Michigan 1193 are under the Indian Service and 6417 are scattered. In three states the Indian population under the Indian Service is less than 1000, namely, Colorado 790, Florida 460, and Iowa 374, although in Colorado the total number of Indians according to the Census figure for 1920 is over 1000.

Study of such figures quickly disclosed that it would be impracticable in a year's time to have the entire survey staff visit each jurisdiction and make a thorough first-hand investigation. Examination of existing material and interviews with persons familiar with the Indian situation disclosed that conditions in the various jurisdictions were very different, and that it would be impossible to study a few and generalize from them to the remainder, a fact

[1] The 120,487 figure for Oklahoma is made up as follows: Indians other than those of Five Civilized Tribes, 18,981; Five Civilized Tribes Indians by blood, 75,519, Intermarried whites, 2582 and Freedmen, 23,405.

which was fully borne out by the subsequent work of the survey. The practicable course appeared to be to lay out an itinerary with due regard to geography and climate in such a way that most of the larger and hence more important jurisdictions could be visited by most of the survey staff, and insofar as practicable to send one or two members of the party on brief inspectional trips to smaller jurisdictions within reach from the main itinerary. Thus, although the staff as a whole had a more or less common itinerary, there were many individual departures from it. The departures were to a considerable extent governed by the relative importance of different phases of the problem in various sections. The specialist in the field of health modified the general itinerary to enable him to see most of the important health activities of the Service. Likewise, the specialist on education arranged to see most of the larger government schools. The specialist in agriculture had to make many departures from the general itinerary because of weather conditions. The legal specialist found relatively less to do in the field and more to do in Washington than did the others and governed his time accordingly.

The specialist studying the condition of migrated Indians worked generally apart from the rest of the staff. She secured such leads as were available from Indian schools and reservations and went to a number of centers where Indians were known to live. She visited their homes and secured case histories and also visited their places of employment, schools their children attended, and social and civic agencies which touched their lives.

What was covered is summarized in the following tabular statement, which lists the jurisdictions in the stub and gives the names of the members of the survey staff in the heading. The numeral one under the name of a staff member and opposite the name of a jurisdiction shows that the staff member named visited the jurisdiction indicated. The first column shows the population of the jurisdiction and the second column the total number of members of the staff who visited the jurisdiction. A statement of the jurisdictions not visited follows the table.

Table showing visits of the Survey Staff

Name of jurisdiction or unit	Population of jurisdiction or enrollment of school	Number of survey staff visiting	Brown	Cloud	Dale	Duke	Edwards	McKenzie	Mark	Meriam	Ryan	Spillman
Total visits by each member..	.....	..	11	50	49	13	55	50	46	48	43	35
Arizona												
Fort Apache	2,628	2	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	1	..
Fort Mojave School	250	4	..	1	..	..	..	1	1	1	..	..
Havasupai	181	1	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..
Hopi	5,074	6	..	1	1	..	..	1	1	1	1	..
Leupp	1,183	6	..	1	1	..	..	1	1	1	1	..
Navajo	12,360	8	..	1	1	..	1	1	1	1	1	1
Phoenix School	916	9	..	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
Pima	5,367	9	1	1	1	..	1	1	1	1	1	1
Salt River	1,311	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
San Carlos	2,511	7	..	1	1	..	1	1	1	1	..	1
Sells	4,942	3	..	..	1	..	1	..	..	..	..	1
Theodore Roosevelt School...	480	2	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	1	..
Truxton Canon	432	4	..	1	1	1	..	..	..	..	1	..
Western Navajo	6,900	6	..	1	1	..	..	1	1	1	1	..
California												
Bishop sub-agency	1,492	4	..	1	1	..	..	..	1	1	..	..
Fort Bidwell	597	1	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..
Fort Yuma	859	2	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1
Hoopa Valley	1,916	1	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..
Mission	2,723	8	..	1	1	..	1	1	1	1	1	1
Sacramento	11,326	9	1	..	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
Sherman Institute	1,055	8	..	1	1	..	1	1	1	1	1	1
Colorado												
Consolidated Ute	790	1	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Idaho												
Coeur d'Alene	799	3	..	..	1	..	1	1	..	..	..	..
Fort Hall	1,767	7	..	1	1	..	1	1	1	1	..	1
Fort Lapwai	1,393	8	..	..	1	..	1	..	..	..	..	1
Iowa												
Sac and Fox Sanatorium....	.....	1	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..
Kansas												
Haskell Institute	968	7	..	1	1	..	1	1	1	1	1	..
Potawatomi	1,547	5	..	1	1	..	1	1	..	1	..	..
Michigan												
Mt. Pleasant School	453	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	..
Minnesota												
Consolidated Chippewa	12,586	7	..	1	1	..	1	1	1	1	1	..
Pipestone School	274	2	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	1	..
Red Lake	1,721	1	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..
Mississippi												
Choctaw Agency	1,200	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	..
Montana												
Blackfeet	3,278	4	..	1	1	..	1	..	..	..	..	1
Crow	1,803	6	..	..	..	..	1	1	1	1	1	1
Flathead	2,726	3	1	1	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Fort Belknap	1,202	4	..	1	1	..	1	..	..	..	..	1
Fort Peck	2,301	4	..	1	1	..	1	..	..	..	..	1
Rocky Boy's	575	2	..	1	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Tongue River	1,440	3	..	..	..	..	1	1	..	1	..	..
Nebraska												
Genoa School	512	2	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	1	..
Omaha sub-agency	1,543	5	..	..	..	1	..	1	1	1	1	..
Winnebago	1,096	7	..	..	..	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
Nevada												
Carson	3,355	5	..	1	1	..	1	..	1	1	..	..
Walker River	1,465	4	..	1	1	..	..	..	1	1	..	..
New Mexico												
Albuquerque School	838	8	..	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	..
Charles H. Burke School....	281	4	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	1	1	1
Jicarilla	635	2	..	1	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Laguna Sanatorium	.....	5	..	1	1	..	1	..	1	1	..	..

Table showing visits of the Survey Staff—Continued

Name of jurisdiction or unit	Population of jurisdiction or enrollment of school	Number of survey staff visiting	Brown	Cloud	Dale	Duke	Edwards	McKenzie	Mark	Meriam	Ryan	Spillman
New Mexico cont'd												
Mescalero	661	1	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..
Northern Pueblos	3,335	9	1	1	1	1	..	1	1	1	..	..
Pueblo Bonito	3,000	1	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..
San Juan	7,000	2	..	1	1	..	1	1	1	1	1	..
Santa Fé School	505	8	..	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	..
Southern Pueblos	6,012	9	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	..	..
Zuni	1,884	4	..	..	..	1	1	..	..	..	..	..
New York Agency	5,342	1	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
North Dakota												
Bismarck School	124	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	..
Fort Berthold	1,334	3	..	1	1	..	1	..	..	..	1	..
Fort Totten	957	2	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	1	..
Wahpeton School	241	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Oklahoma												
Cheyenne and Arapaho	1,181	1	..	1	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..
Chilocco School	1,009	7	..	1	1	..	1	1	1	1	1	1
Kiowa	5,135	7	..	1	1	..	1	1	1	1	1	1
Osage	2,820	9	1	1	1	..	1	1	1	1	1	1
Pawnee	1,366	2	..	1	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..
Ponca	1,431	6	..	1	1	..	..	1	1	1	..	1
Quapaw	1,886	1	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Seger	761	7	..	1	1	..	1	1	1	..	..	..
Shawnee	3,771	3	..	..	1	..	1	..	..	..	..	..
Five Civilized Tribes	101,506	9	1	1	1	..	1	1	1	1	1	1
Oregon												
Klamath	1,249	10	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	..
Salem School	977	7	..	1	..	..	1	1	1	1	..	..
Siletz sub-agency	1,118	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1
Umatilla	1,113	7	..	1	1	..	1	..	1	..	1	..
Warm Springs	988	3	..	..	..	..	1	..	1	..	1	..
South Dakota												
Canton Insane Asylum	.....	1	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..
Cheyenne River	3,036	4	..	..	..	..	1	..	1	1	1	..
Flandreau School	475	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..
Pierre School	313	2	..	..	..	..	1	1	1	1	1	1
Pine Ridge	7,820	6	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	..
Rapid City School	347	1	..	..	..	..	1	1	1	1	1	1
Rosebud	5,860	6	..	..	..	..	1	1	1	1	..	..
Sisseton	2,477	4	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..
Yankton	3,636	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Utah												
Uintah and Ouray	1,178	2	..	1	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Washington												
Colville	3,530	3	..	1	..	..	1	1	..	..	..	..
Neah Bay	660	2	..	1	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..
Taholah	2,624	5	1	1	1	..	1	..	1	1	1	..
Tulalip	2,581	5	..	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	..	1
Yakima	3,042	8	..	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	..	1
Wisconsin												
Grand Rapids	1,328	1	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Keshena	1,911	6	..	1	1	..	1	1	1	1	..	..
Tomah School	360	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	..
Wyoming												
Shoshone	1,899	3	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	1	..	1

Jurisdictions not visited are as follows: In Arizona, Camp Verde 418 and Kaibab 94; in Michigan, Mackinac 1193; in Nevada, Moapa

River 192 and Western Shoshone 680; in North Carolina, Eastern Cherokees 2833; in North Dakota, Standing Rock 3626, and Turtle Mountain 4202; in Oklahoma, Cantonment, 724; in South Dakota, Crow Creek 924, and Lower Brule 595; in Wisconsin, Hayward 1365, Lac du Flambeau 839, Laona 875, and La Pointe 1731.

The time spent by any one person at any one place was of course limited. Only in exceptional instances did it exceed three or four days. The several specialists, however, had more or less separate and distinct fields to which they mainly devoted themselves, and thus a great deal could be covered in any one jurisdiction even if the time spent there was short. A three-day visit from all ten of the staff was much more than the equivalent of thirty days' work by one person, because each individual was a specialist in his particular field, and brought to the problems the years of experience in that field. Then, too, despite the differences in jurisdictions, much was common to all, especially as it related to matters of administration of more or less standardized activities. Thus the evidence was often cumulative. The outstanding illustration of this similarity is perhaps the uniform course of study in government Indian schools, though much else about the schools was almost equally so. Civil Service standards and practices have been fairly uniform so that conditions with respect to personnel tended to repeat themselves. The conditions with respect to accounting, purchases, supplies, and so forth, are other illustrations. Fairly early in the work it became possible in many fields to note quickly general conformity and to look mainly for differences.

The Methods of the Survey. Several persons interested in Indian affairs have expressed a desire for information regarding the methods followed by the survey staff. It seems advisable therefore in this foreword to attempt to give a brief statement of the methods pursued.

Study of Existing Material. Before the survey staff visited a jurisdiction the effort was made to have compiled from the records of the Indian Office the available statistics relating to the major subjects of interest for that jurisdiction. For the first jurisdictions visited Dr. Dale had found it practicable, while in Washington, to examine the narrative reports of the superintendents for the past several years, and the reports of the Board of Indian Commissioners, and to prepare from them summaries of their statements of existing conditions and needs which were studied by the members of the staff before visiting the jurisdictions. For the jurisdictions visited later, it was not practicable to take his time from field work for this task. Through the courtesy of the Indian Office and the Board of Indian Commissioners, however, duplicates of reports asked for were kindly forwarded to the survey staff while in the field so that they could be studied prior to the visit. For the Five Civilized Tribes the survey had the advantage of a special memorandum prepared for it from existing reports by Dr. L. F. Schmeckebier of the regular staff of the Institute. Each member of the staff had also a set of documents regarding the Service as a whole, furnished by the Indian Office, and the executive clerk carried a small library, including recent congressional hearings and certain of the reports of the Bureau of Ethnology, Smithsonian Institution.

Conferences with Superintendents. Upon arrival at a jurisdiction the first step was generally to hold an informal staff conference with the superintendent and such of his assistants as he called in. These conferences generally began with a general discussion of conditions on the reservation. The object was primarily to get the views and opinions of the superintendent himself. Some superintendents took the lead and presented fully and freely a comprehensive general statement. Others waited for specific questions from the survey staff and confined their answers fairly closely to the questions asked. These differences were due primarily to differences in temperament, for almost all the superintendents apparently welcomed the visits and sought to give the staff all the information desired and to furnish them with all facilities for studying the situation.

After discussing the general situation with the superintendent each member of the staff took up with him the question as to the most practicable means of seeing those activities that lay in his particular field. At the schools this problem was generally simple enough because everything was close at hand, the different staff members could say fairly precisely what they wished to see and all could be arranged in a few minutes. On reservations the problem was very different, complicated as it was by the factors of distance, road conditions, means of transportation, and sometimes lodgings at the far end of the trip. An outstanding illustration was at San

Carlos, Arizona, where the members of the survey staff were not only tremendously interested in Superintendent Kitch's description of his work with the tribal herd and the Indian cattle, but expressed the keen desire that Dr. Dale, the cattleman of the survey and Mr. Meriam should actually see the activities. Superintendent Kitch explained the difficulties, such as distance, mountain roads, early start and late return. He expressed the view that the trip would be too rough an experience. For a few moments it seemed somewhat doubtful whether he wanted the two members of the staff to make the trip, but as they continued to insist his real attitude became apparent. He was really extremely anxious for his work to be seen, but he did not wish to assume the responsibility for the decision. He promptly arranged not only to have his chief stockman go but to go himself, thus providing two cars in case of an accident to one. Mr. Hunter, assistant district superintendent for the district, was present and arranged to go too. Such a trip, lasting from early morning to late at night, afforded the opportunity not only for seeing the cattle and the activities in connection with them but also for full, free, and uninterrupted discussions with the superintendent, the assistant district superintendent, and the chief live-stock man and some chance to visit the cowboy in immediate charge of the herd at Ashe Flat.

In a general way that illustration typifies the arrangements made. Each member of the survey staff would indicate the particular activities he or she wished to see first hand and the superintendent would arrange that he be taken to see them, usually by the persons on the reservations most intimately concerned with that particular brand of work. Many superintendents themselves accompanied some one of the party. Others took a somewhat different attitude and preferred not themselves to accompany any of the groups.

Examining and Checking Statistics. The specialist on existing information generally went to the office where he checked and verified the statistics secured from the Washington Office and discussed problems in general with the chief clerk and others in the office.

Examining Health Activities. The specialist on health would meet the doctors and the nurses and would visit the hospitals, sanatoria, clinics, and other medical activities. Often he would accompany the doctors in their visits to the homes, and he would see and examine patients, both in the homes and in the institutions. In

some instances he checked up on the diagnosis of tuberculosis, he watched examinations, treatment, and operations for trachoma, and examined cases previously operated, and he was present at clinics for venereal disease. At all jurisdictions visited he inquired into the matter of records of work done and into the accuracy and completeness of mortality and morbidity statistics. At schools he not only inquired into the strictly medical work but also inspected the dormitories, the kitchen and dining room, and the dairy herd, and gave special consideration to the diet and the preparation of the food. At most of the meals served at the schools during the visit of the survey staff, some member of the party was present despite the early breakfast hour.

Visiting Schools. The specialist on education devoted himself primarily to visiting non-reservation boarding schools, reservation boarding schools, day schools, and public schools having Indian children. His contacts were primarily with superintendents, principals, teachers, and day school inspectors, and with the Indian children in the class rooms. He also visited Indian homes and attended Indian councils to get first hand impressions of the school problems from the Indian point of view.

Visiting Farms. The specialist in agriculture sought out primarily the school and the agency farmers. At the schools it was generally a simple matter to visit the farms, the dairy barns, the horse barns, the hog pens, and the poultry houses and to attend the class room work in agricultural education. On the reservations the problem was to get out on the Indian farms to visit the Indian farmers in their homes, to inspect their fields, stock, barns, and equipment, and to discuss agriculture with them. Often this meant days of riding about the reservation, generally with the local farmer as a companion. The superintendents and the farmers were invariably told that the desire was to see not the best or the worst but a fair sample; some good, some bad, but perhaps more just average. The most practicable general procedure was to take a given route and to visit all along the way who were found at home. Sometimes unquestionably superintendents and farmers were eager to show the best, and equally unquestionably others were anxious to show the worst, but in general they caught the spirit of the survey and visited farms as they came. Occasionally special trips were made to see someone who was

an outstanding success or someone who was an equally outstanding failure.

Visiting Homes and Schools to Observe Work with Girls and Family Life. The specialist in family life and the activities of women had a most varied and difficult assignment. At the schools she was primarily concerned with the work done by and for girls. This embraced not only the formal education given them in academic subjects, in domestic arts and science, and in training for definite occupations, such as teaching, nursing, and clerical work, but also their industrial work in the school and that most difficult and intangible subject, the effect of the school upon them and their relationship to the white persons with whom they came in close contact, especially teachers and matrons. She had to consider not only what they were formally taught but also what they got indirectly as training for the life which was ahead of them. She had to visit and talk with the teachers and matrons, attend class rooms, spend sometime in the domestic science and arts classes, study the production work in cooking and sewing, inspect the girls' living quarters and determine the conditions under which they live and especially the discipline, leadership, and recreation, and wherever possible to talk with the Indian girls themselves and with Indian women employed in the school or living at or near it. On the reservation her problem was to talk with the field matrons, field nurses, farmers, superintendents, and others to learn what was being done for women, girls, and families, to visit as many families as possible and to talk with Indian women and girls in their own homes to get their point of view and to see for herself the conditions under which they lived. So many comments had been made regarding the difficulties of interviewing Indian women and getting them to talk, that the members of the survey staff were much surprised at the quiet cordiality and friendliness with which they were received by the Indian mothers. Kipling's observation that the Colonel's lady and Judy O'Grady are sisters under the skin is of wider application; it extends across lines of race. Miss Mark has had wide experience in interviewing different classes of women, the poor of urban communities, immigrants, negroes, and native mountain whites in the Appalachian hills; and she found the Indian women, if anything, more approachable if allowance is made for the difficulties of language. Possibly the greatest difficulty encountered was in

ascertaining the number living in the household and their relationship. The families often have not only three generations, but also friends and relatives; and the Indians apparently do not think of relationship in such precise terms as the whites use. Here again the effort was to see the best and the worst, but mostly the average.

A word should be said regarding the almost hungry eagerness with which this woman from the outside was seized upon by the woman employees of the more isolated schools and reservations. In part it may have been due to the fact that she was generally the only woman in the visiting group, but it is also true that since most of the administrative officers and inspectors from Washington are men and the reservations are rarely visited by women interested particularly in the problems of women, women employees naturally feel that a woman's viewpoint on many important matters is not given due consideration.

Work to Determine General Economic Conditions. The specialist in general economic conditions had likewise a subject of great diversity. At the boarding schools he paid particular attention to the prevocational and vocational industrial work and to the purely productive work of maintaining the institution. On the reservations his main work was to look into the chief economic resources and to visit the various economic activities in company with those who were primarily responsible for them. In the cattle country, as has been pointed out, this meant going out to see the cattle with the cattle man. In the timber country it meant visits to the lumbering operations and the mills with foresters and mill men; in the oil country, visits to the oil fields and work in the office studying the methods of leasing and control. Where irrigation and water development have been undertaken these systems were generally gone over. Many family visits were made by Dr. Dale to get by original observation a general understanding of the economic conditions of the people.

The Work of the Legal Specialist. The legal specialist had little or no work at the schools. He visited several reservations to get a general background for his studies, especially with respect to the Indian courts, jurisdiction over criminal offenses and marriage and divorce, and Indian claims; and then concentrated on a relatively small number of special problems, notably the Pueblo Land Board, the legal affairs of the Osages and of the Five Civilized Tribes.

the water rights of the Pimas and of the Flathead Indians, and so on. So much of the material for the study of his problems was located at the Washington office that he returned there before the others, leaving to them the gathering of what more or less fragmentary data could be secured regarding Indian courts, marriage and divorce, and criminal jurisdiction. From time to time specific legal questions were referred to him by other members of the staff. Individual legal claims and individual tribal claims and tangles were often presented, almost any one of which might take months of study for an intelligent comprehension or court presentation. Obviously one lawyer on a survey staff could not assemble the material necessary for a full understanding of any of these. The problem was not one of understanding each individual claim, but of ascertaining or constructing a practical legal device designed to receive and quiet all peculiarly Indian claims within a comparatively brief period of years.

The Work of the Indian Adviser. The Indian adviser not only interpreted the survey to the Indians and the Indian to the survey, he participated actively in every field of endeavor. Himself the founder and head of an accredited high school for Indian boys, he was deeply interested in the schools. On the reservations he was particularly valuable in visiting homes. His particular achievement, however, was in establishing contact with the Indians. In all announcements of the arrival of the survey staff at a jurisdiction the fact was featured that the staff included one Indian. What is commonly termed the Indian "grape vine telegraph" also worked. Added to these aids was the fact that Mr. Cloud has a wide acquaintanceship among the Indians of the United States and has been active for years in constructive work in their behalf. The result was the one hoped for, namely, that the Indians would come to him. Thus conferences with Indians and Indian councils became a regular part of the work of the survey.

Indian Councils. Whenever any group of Indians expressed a desire to hold council with representatives of the survey staff, their wishes were met. At times the entire staff present in the jurisdiction sat in these councils. When this practice too seriously interfered with other activities, only a part of the group would sit. The ordinary practice was for the director of the survey or someone acting for him to make a brief statement of the origin and purposes

of the survey and to invite the Indians to present any matters that they desired to bring to its attention. The Indians' representatives would then come forward in turn with due formality and speak, generally without any interruptions or questions from members of the staff. Members of the staff made careful, but generally not complete verbatim notes. Ordinarily the Indians spoke in their native tongue and their remarks were interpreted. Younger Indians who themselves spoke good English, used the Indian tongue out of respect for the older Indians, sometimes themselves interpreting their own remarks. Often the Indian chief as presiding officer formally requested that all Indians use the native language so that each Indian might understand what was said. In several cases where the Indians offered no objections government employees were present and in certain instances the Indians expressed a preference to have them present. Wherever the Indians expressed any objection to having government officers present, they were either not invited or if they happened to be present, they good naturedly withdrew. At times the Indians wished to express themselves with considerable positiveness with respect to certain government employees. Curiously in one instance in which the superintendent was tactfully requested to withdraw by a motion from one of the Indians that the council go into executive session with the survey staff, nothing was presented in any way that reflected on the superintendent or the other employees and the meeting was characterized by the high general level of the discussion and the freedom from petty and personal complaints. Later when certain fact material was desired, the Indians themselves suggested that the government men be requested to participate in the discussion.

At the close of these councils, as at the beginning, the spokesman for the survey would endeavor to make it clear that members of the survey staff were not government officers, that they had no power to take any administrative action, that their sole function was to investigate and report to the Secretary of the Interior. Occasionally an Indian would come up and ask that every word of the speeches would be personally transmitted to the Secretary, a request with which it is of course impossible to comply.

The survey made no effort to verify and substantiate every complaint and grievance which was presented or to consider the merits of every claim regarding boundaries and treaty rights that was

brought forward. To have done so would have required far more than ten persons for one year and would have taken the staff far beyond the scope of the present undertaking, but everything that was said was given careful consideration as indicative of at least one Indian point of view. Much of what was said was of course verified and confirmed by other work which the survey had done, notably with respect to matters of health, education, economic conditions, and encroachment upon Indian rights.

One fact noted at several of the councils was that the Indians were apparently uninformed regarding the actions of the government in respect to matters of vital concern to them and did not understand the motives and purposes that underlay them. To some extent responsibility for this situation seemed to be with the superintendents. That much time and effort are required to make these matters clear to the Indians and that a superintendent's life is a busy one, are facts readily admitted; but to keep the Indians informed as to the actions and objects of the government in matters of great concern to them is a task of first importance. That it can be done, and done most effectively, has been demonstrated by several superintendents. Especially noteworthy is the issuance of bulletins, pictures, and cartoons, mimeographed in the Indians' own language. They read them. Where the superintendents neglect the opportunity of informing the Indians, they leave the field to the agitators who thereby become the main source of information or misinformation for the Indians. Where the superintendents make it a rule to keep the Indians informed, the most effective antidotes for the irresponsible agitators is the more substantial industrious Indian who is accurately informed as to actions taken and the purposes thereof.

Numerous informal meetings were held with single Indians or small groups, generally at the hotels or rooms where the staff was staying. Often these meetings would come in the evening. Sometimes the Indians wished to present personal grievances which were listened to attentively for what bearing they might have on the general situation. Sometimes the Indians would come to express the fear that the staff would not be shown certain conditions which the Indians felt should be seen. In most cases such matters had already been inquired about by the staff or had been presented by the superintendent or other employees and arrangement had already been made for such first hand examination as seemed necessary. In a few instances the Indians presented new leads which were followed up. When they volunteered themselves to take certain of the staff out and show them, the invitations were accepted. Otherwise the superintendent would be told that certain members of the staff especially desired to visit certain sections or certain homes. The general impression of the staff was not so much that the superintendents were trying to hide something as that in the selection of what should be seen in a limited visit, judgments necessarily varied. In one instance the suggestion of the Indians necessitated a long, all-day trip in extremely cold weather to a remote part of the reservation, which the superintendent had not suggested because of the discomforts involved. The conditions there were not unlike the worst which the superintendent had already shown. The only difference was that they were more uniformly depressing and accentuated by the distance from the agency.

Interviews with Missionaries. At each jurisdiction visited the effort was made to visit the missionaries who were within reach, to see their work and equipment, and to talk with them about the Indian problem in general. Right Reverend Monsignor William Hughes, Director of the Bureau of Catholic Indian Missions, most courteously supplied each member of the survey staff with a general letter of introduction to the Catholic missions in the field. The staff was everywhere most cordially received by missionaries of all denominations, and is deeply indebted to them for the opportunity of seeing their work in considerable detail and of discussing with them freely the problems from their point of view.

Interviews with Indian Traders. At several jurisdictions the staff found traders with a great fund of valuable information. In a few cases the traders were able to supply accounts of Indian purchases which were believed to represent practically all purchases made for a given family in a given period, thus throwing considerable additional light on the way in which the native diet was supplemented from the white man's store. More often they could only discuss Indian purchases in a very general way. Several traders are well posted on the production and sale of the Indians' output, both native Indian articles and ordinary commercial goods. No effort was made, however, to make any detailed examination of the trader's accounts or to attempt to determine whether the Indians

were dealt with fairly, because such work was impracticable in a survey such as this. Such evidence as is available suggests the very plausible conclusion that traders differ widely. That some exploit the Indians, especially where the government cannot readily control the situation, is notorious. That others are actually philanthropic, extending a very considerable amount of credit where prospects of early repayment are, to say the least, doubtful, is not so commonly known. In the Navajo country it was almost the rule to find the traders with large collections of native silver work upon which they had advanced goods or money, sometimes in very considerable amounts. Although under the law or the regulations they could sell those pawns after a certain time, they almost invariably declined to take advantage of this means of liquidating assets. The general comment was to the effect that "these are good Indians, they pay when they can, and we don't want to sell these things which they prize as long as they are living." At Darrington, Washington, two members of the staff visited some desperately poor Indians, who were said to have been, several years ago, summarily ejected from their homes, built on land which they believed to have been allotted to them, because the land had been included in a national forest. Because of the inaccessibility of their old homes they said they were obliged to leave behind practically all their household goods, among which they enumerated such things as stoves, beds and bedding, sewing machines, and a phonograph. They had for some years been squatters on a rough hillside, living by casual labor. The local trader and his wife had extended them considerable credit. At the time of the visit the trader's store was a smouldering ruin having been destroyed by fire that very night. Both the Indians and the trader and his wife were wondering how the Indians would manage without the credit which the store had been willing to extend. Several of the traders have lived for years in their present locations and know the Indians more intimately than do the changing government officers. In a few cases traders took members of the staff out to see Indians whom they thought the staff ought particularly to meet.

Contact with Officers of State and Local Governments. Insofar as the limits of time and distance would permit members of the staff visited officers of state and local governments who were concerned with Indians. The ones most commonly seen were in the

departments of education, health, and welfare, although at times county agricultural agents were found who had given considerable attention to the Indians. In California, Minnesota, Washington, and Wisconsin the state officers were actively interested and supplied much valuable information. At Independence, California, the district attorney who grew up in the vicinity, and also the county sheriff gave valuable material on general conditions in that vicinity.

Relations with Friends of the Indians. At several places it proved feasible for individual members of the staff to call on white persons who can perhaps be best described as "friends of the Indian." Some of them were simply private individuals who have taken a deep personal interest in the Indians in their vicinity. Others are members of associations interested in Indian welfare. Special mention should be made of the courtesies extended to the survey staff by the Indian Defense Association. At San Francisco the files of this association were opened to the staff and Miss Alida C. Bowler, at that time its secretary in California, rendered invaluable assistance in gathering together for each specialist the particular papers which she thought he or she ought especially to see. She also arranged for conferences between members of the staff and members of the association particularly interested in special subjects, and the staff of the survey attended a general luncheon of the membership held specially for it, at which there was general discussion. Mr. John Collier, executive secretary of the association, after a meeting with Mr. Meriam in Washington, kindly furnished from time to time names of persons whom he believed the survey would find helpful. Unfortunately, he was not present when the staff was in San Francisco, but later it proved possible for almost the entire group to meet him in Albuquerque. One very helpful meeting was arranged at Santa Fé by Mr. Francis Wilson, former attorney for the Pueblo Indians, which enabled the members of the staff then present to meet a considerable number of friends of the Indian. Here again there was general discussion.

Technical Aid and Advice. When the survey was first considered, some thought was given to the possibility of organizing more or less formally a board of advisers composed mainly of persons distinguished in their respective fields who could help the active staff members by their expert knowledge of special subjects.

This plan was abandoned in favor of the more informal and more practicable one of having each staff member consult experts in the different fields as he felt that he needed expert aid. The Institute for Government Research wishes to express its indebtedness to the large number of persons who have in this way generously given of their time in aiding different members of its staff.

How the Report was Prepared. In the preparation of the report, the survey staff resorted to the committee system. Each specialist was the chairman of a committee upon which were placed all other members of the staff whose fields overlapped that of the special committee. The specialist on existing data, the Indian adviser, and the technical director were members of all or practically all committees. The chairman of each committee, in informal conference with the members of his committee, then outlined his section of the report. When the outline was completed in first draft it was gone over in detail in committee meetings and was revised on the basis of discussion. The chairman of the committee then wrote the text on the basis of the outline. The report in its entirety, after necessary editorial revision, was submitted to each member of the staff for further suggestions regarding revision. The various sections of the report represent, therefore, insofar as possible the work of the staff as a whole rather than of individual members.

It will be found fairly frequently that the same general subject will be considered in the different sections of the report. For example, native arts and handicrafts are mentioned in the chapter dealing with education, activities of women, and general economic conditions, because they are directly related to each of these three subjects. The treatment of these major subjects would be incomplete without reference to native arts and handicrafts. Although the point of view from which they are approached is always different, there is inevitably some duplication. No special effort has been made to eliminate it and to substitute cross references, because it seemed preferable to make each section reasonably complete in itself. It may be found, too, that there are some slight variations in the wording or form of the detailed constructive recommendations in the several chapters, but if one will look not at the precise wording but at the underlying principle, it is believed that what may seem to be slight inconsistencies are chiefly differences in

emphasis or in the way the thought is clothed in words. If such differences were to have been avoided and if all differences in style of writing were to have been eliminated, it would have been necessary for one person to have written the entire final draft of the report, something which would have been repugnant to the whole spirit of the survey, which was one of cooperation of specialists in different fields with a maximum of team work.

The survey staff and the Institute for Government Research wish to express their appreciation of the cordiality and cooperativeness with which the staff was received by the officers and employees of the Indian Service. Although both the Secretary of the Interior and the Commissioner of Indian Affairs asked to be notified personally if the staff found any difficulty in getting access to material desired, it was never necessary to take any such matter up with them. Here and there a little skepticism was naturally encountered, but the usual attitude was one of wanting to do everything possible, not only to further the work but also to make the staff comfortable. The superintendents generally appreciated the reasons that underlay the request of the survey staff that no special entertainments or exhibits be arranged for them and that the work be permitted to run as nearly as possible in a normal channel. Yet many of them and their associates were ingenious in finding little ways in which they could show hospitality. Many employees and many Indians expressed the belief and the hope that the survey would prove of great benefit to the government and to the Indian race. This is the hope of the survey staff, the Institute for Government Research, and those who made the survey possible. It is the purpose of the whole undertaking.

THE SURVEY STAFF

TECHNICAL DIRECTOR. Lewis Meriam, a member of the permanent staff of the Institute for Government Research.

Education: A. B., Harvard (1905); A. M., Harvard (1906) (in the fields of economics and government); LL. B., National University Law School (1908); L. B., Law School of George Washington University (1909).

Positions held: United States Census Bureau (1905-12), Editorial and Statistical Assistant, Special Agent, and Chief, Division

of Revision and Results; United States Children's Bureau (1912-15), Assistant Chief of Bureau; New York Bureau of Municipal Research (1915), member of the staff; Institute for Government Research (1916 to date), member of staff; United States Shipping Board (1918-19), Production Manager, Division of Planning and Statistics; Congressional Joint Commission on Reclassification of Salaries (1919-20), Statistician; Congressional Committee, on Civil Service, Technical Aide on Reclassification Bills; Salary and Wage Commission of North Carolina (1925), Technical Aide.

Publications: Census Bureau Bulletin 94, Statistics of Employees Executive Civil Service, Census Report on Marriage and Divorce (with Dr. Joseph A. Hill), Sections of Census Reports on Women at Work and Child Labor; Principles Governing the Retirement of Public Employees, for the Institute for Government Research, Appleton, 1918, and several papers on social statistical subjects for National Conference of Charities and Corrections, American Statistical Society, International Congress of Hygiene and Demography, American Political Science Association, etc.

SPECIALIST IN LEGAL ASPECTS. Ray A. Brown, Assistant Professor of Law, University of Wisconsin.

Education: A. B., University of Minnesota (1913); LL. B., University of Minnesota (1915); S. J. D., Harvard Law School (1923); Yale (summer of 1921).

Positions held: Private practice of law, Minneapolis and Duluth (1915-20); University of Minnesota Law School Assistant (1916-17); University of South Dakota Law School (1920-22); University of Wisconsin Law School since 1923.

Publications: Author of articles in Harvard Law Review, Wisconsin Law Review, and American Law School Review.

INDIAN ADVISER. Henry Roe Cloud of the Winnebago Tribe, Founder and President of the American Indian Institute, a non-governmental accredited high school for Indian boys at Wichita, Kansas.

Early history: Born in a tepee in Nebraska about 1884; attended Government Indian School at Winnebago, Nebraska (1891-97), attended Santee Mission School (1899-1901), attended Mount Hermon School (Mass.) (1901-06).

Higher education: A. B., Yale (1910); Oberlin Seminary (1910-11); B. D., Auburn Seminary (1913); A. M., Yale (1914) (in field of anthropology).

Publications: Editor of Indian Outlook, published by American Indian Institute. Has devoted entire life as teacher, minister, writer, and speaker, to Indian cause.

SPECIALIST IN GENERAL ECONOMIC CONDITIONS. Edward Everett Dale, Head of the Department of History of the University of Oklahoma. Specialist in the economic history of the West.

Early history: Born in Texas. Grew up on a homestead near the border of the Kiowa-Comanche Indian Reservation. Finished the common school course and worked for five years as cowboy and ranchman. Hunted and trapped for two winters. Kept post office and worked in a store that sold goods to Indians and whites. Served as deputy sheriff and taught country schools.

Higher education: Central State Normal School, Edmond, Oklahoma (1906-09); A. B., University of Oklahoma (1911) (Thesis: The Removal of the Indian Tribes to Oklahoma); A. M., Harvard (1914) (Subject: The White Settlement of Oklahoma); Ph. D., Harvard (1922) (Thesis: A History of the Range Cattle Industry in Oklahoma).

Positions held: Superintendent of Schools, Roosevelt, Oklahoma (1909-10); Superintendent of Schools, Blair, Oklahoma (1911-13); Special Instructor in Summer School, Central State Normal, Edmond, Oklahoma, summers of 1912 and 1913; Instructor in History, University of Oklahoma (1914-17); Assistant Professor (1917-21); Associate Professor (1922); Professor (1923); Head of Department (1924 to date). Was President of the Oklahoma State Folk Lore Association (1915-19); Research Agent, United States Department of Agriculture (1925); Special Instructor in History, University of Texas, Summer Session (1926); President of Agricultural History Society (1926-27); gives courses in Historical Research and Western History with special reference to the Indians, ranch cattle industry, and pioneer farmers.

SPECIALIST ON CONDITION OF INDIAN MIGRANTS TO URBAN COMMUNITIES. Emma Duke.

Education: George Washington University (1899-1901); Statistical Course, New York University (1915).

Positions held: United States Census Bureau, Division of Population (1900-07); United States Bureau of Labor Statistics, Special Agent, investigating conditions of women and children in industry (1907-08); United States Census Bureau, Revision and Results (1908-12); United States Children's Bureau, successively Child Field Agent, Director of Statistical Division and Director of Industrial Division (1912-18); National Child Labor Committee Specialist in Research (1919-20); American Red Cross, National Director of Statistics (1920-21); American Child Health Association in Coöperation with Commonwealth Fund, Director of Research in Child Health Demonstrations and Statistician of Research Unit (1921-26); Promotion of Birth Registration, American Public Health Association (1926).

Publications: Official reports for Bureau of Labor Statistics, Children's Bureau, National Child Labor Committee, Proceedings of National Tuberculosis Association, Illinois Academy of Sciences, magazine articles.

SPECIALIST IN HEALTH. Herbert R. Edwards, on appointment Medical Field Secretary of the National Tuberculosis Association, now Director Bureau of Tuberculosis Control, New Haven Department of Health.

Education: M. D., College of Medical Evangelists, Loma Linda and Los Angeles (1918).

Positions held: Intern, Alleghany General Hospital, Pittsburgh, Pa. (1918); Trudeau Sanitarium, Trudeau, New York, Volunteer on Medical Staff (1920); Bon Air Sanitarium, Bradford, Pa., Superintendent (1921); Virginia State Board of Health, Clinician to Bureau of Tuberculosis Control (1922-24); National Tuberculosis Association, Medical Field Secretary (1924-28). Has made tuberculosis surveys for the National Association in Delaware, Florida, Ohio, Indiana, Iowa, Nebraska, Idaho, Oklahoma, and Utah. These surveys were general in character and include a study of the facilities available, both governmental and voluntary, and recommendations for improvement.

SPECIALIST IN EXISTING MATERIAL RELATING TO INDIANS. Fayette Avery McKenzie, Professor of Sociology and Dean of Men, Juniata College, Huntingdon, Pa.

Education: B. S., Lehigh University (1895); Ph. D., University of Pennsylvania (1906), (Thesis: The American Indian); LL. D., Lehigh (1916).

Positions held: Juniata, Instructor, Modern Languages and Social Sciences (1897-1900); Blight School, Philadelphia, Instructor, Modern Languages (1900-03); Wind River Government Indian School, Teacher (1903-04); Ohio State University, successively Instructor to Professor of Sociology (1905-15); Fiske University, President (1915-26); Public Recreation Commission, Columbus, Ohio, President (1910-12); Universities and Social Settlement Division of Ohio State Conference of Charities and Correction, President (1909-15); United States Census Bureau, Joint Editor of Indian Census (1910); Recreation Survey of Washington, D. C., Joint Director (1914); The Society of American Indians, Founder.

SPECIALIST IN FAMILY LIFE AND ACTIVITIES OF WOMEN. Mary Louise Mark, Professor of Sociology, Ohio State University.

Education: B. A., Ohio State University (1903); M. A., Columbia University (1907).

Positions held: United States Immigration Commission, Special Agent in charge of New York and Chicago Studies, and Assistant Statistician (1907-10); United States Census Bureau, Special Agent detailed to editorial and research work (1911); United States Bureau of Labor Statistics, Special Agent detailed to retail and wholesale price studies (1912-13); Ohio State Board of Health, Statistician (1913-14); Ohio State University, successively Assistant to Professor of Sociology (1914-28).

Publications: The Upper East Side: A study of Living Conditions and Migration (master's thesis) in American Statistical Quarterly, 1907; Immigration Commission report on Immigration in Cities (with Dr. E. A. Goldenweiser); Section on Cost of Living in report of the Bureau of Labor Statistics on the Lawrence Strike; various articles in Ohio state bulletins.

SPECIALIST IN EDUCATION. W. Carson Ryan, Jr., Professor of Education, Swarthmore College.

Education: A. B., Harvard (1907); Columbia University (1907-10); Ph. D., George Washington University (1918).

Positions held: Nutley, New Jersey, High School, Teacher of Languages (1909-10); Private tutor (1910-11); University of Wisconsin, instructor (1911-12); United States Bureau of Education, successively assistant editor, editor, and specialist (1912-20); New York Evening Post, Educational Editor (1920-21); Swarthmore College, Professor of Education (1921-28). Also Lecturer on Education, summer schools of George Washington University (1915-18); University of Pittsburgh (1923); University of Pennsylvania (1924); Extension course for teachers, Woolman School and Pennsylvania State College (1924-26); School and Society, Associate Editor (1921-27); National Vocational Guidance Association, Secretary (1915-18), President (1926-27); British Educational Mission to the United States, Secretary (1918); Federal Employees' Union, Local No. 2, Washington, President (1919-20); National Education Association, Editorial Council, member (1923-28), Chairman (1927). Participated in many educational surveys, Province of Saskatchewan, Canada, vocational education and statistics (1916-17), District of Columbia School administration (1924), Porto Rico, secondary schools (1925-26); Newark, New Jersey, all year schools (1926), Friends' schools elementary and secondary (1924-26), Carnegie Foundation, study of school and college athletics (1926-27); also editorial services on numerous state, local, and other surveys while in the U. S. Bureau of Education.

Publications: Various bulletins of the United States Bureau of Education and Chapters in annual report of the Commissioner of Education (1913-1923) including Vocational Guidance in the Public Schools (1918); numerous articles on education in School Life, School and Society, New York Evening Post and Journal of the National Education Association; survey reports, especially on secondary schools in Porto Rico (International Institute of Teachers' College) (1926) and on all year Schools of Newark, N. J. (Newark Board of Education) (1926), Annual reviews of education in the United States, originally in Report of the United States Commissioner of Education, later in the American Year Book and since 1924 in the Year Book of the International Institute, Teachers' College, Columbia University.

SPECIALIST IN AGRICULTURE. William J. Spillman, Agricultural Economist, Bureau of Agricultural Economics, United States Department of Agriculture.

Education: B. S., University of Missouri (1886); M. S., University of Missouri (1889); D. Sc., University of Missouri (1910).

Positions held: Washington State College, Head of Department of Agriculture (1896 to 1902); United States Department of Agriculture (1902-28, except 1918-21), Office of Grass and Forage Plant Investigation (1902), Chief Office of Farm Management (1915-18), Consulting Specialist (1921-28); Farm Journal, Associate Editor (1918-21).

Publications, etc.: Farm Grasses in the United States; Farm Science, Farm Management; The Law of Diminishing Returns; Balancing the Farm Output; many bulletins of the Washington State College and the United States Department of Agriculture and also many magazine articles on agricultural subjects, especially in Farm Journal and Country Gentleman.

By breeding and selection developed wheat seed better adapted to dry conditions in eastern Washington. Several of these wheats are now standard crops in Pacific Northwest, notably Hybrid. 128.

CHAPTER IV

A GENERAL POLICY FOR INDIAN AFFAIRS

At the outset of this report the effort will be made to state briefly the position taken by the survey staff with respect to certain fundamental matters of general policy in Indian affairs. Subsequent sections will deal fairly minutely with the subjects of organization and management, health, education, economic condition, family and community life, and legal aspects of the problem. Each of these sections rests on substantially the same assumptions regarding the general policies which should govern in the conduct of Indian affairs. If these assumptions are sound, as the survey staff believes they are, the findings and recommendations in these detailed sections follow logically and more or less inevitably. If these fundamental statements of policy are acceptable, one may differ here and there with respect to matters of detail but not with general principles. The best course therefore seems to be to present these assumptions as clearly as possible at the outset, so that they may be definitely understood, in order that those who wish to take issue on fundamentals may do so at the beginning. In this way it is hoped that thinking and discussion may be clarified, that fundamentals may be considered as fundamentals and the details of practice and procedure as details, highly important though they are and vital in giving effect to general policies.

The Object of Work with or for the Indians. The object of work with or for the Indians is to fit them either to merge into the social and economic life of the prevailing civilization as developed by the whites or to live in the presence of that civilization at least in accordance with a minimum standard of health and decency. The first of these alternatives is apparently so clear on its face as to require no further explanation. The second, however, demands some further explanation.

Some Indians proud of their race and devoted to their culture and their mode of life have no desire to be as the white man is. They

wish to remain Indians, to preserve what they have inherited from their fathers, and insofar as possible to escape from the ever increasing contact with and pressure from the white civilization. In this desire they are supported by intelligent, liberal whites who find real merit in their art, music, religion, form of government, and other things which may be covered by the broad term culture. Some of these whites would even go so far, metaphorically speaking, as to enclose these Indians in a glass case to preserve them as museum specimens for future generations to study and enjoy, because of the value of their culture and its picturesqueness in a world rapidly advancing in high organization and mass production. With this view as a whole if not in its extremities, the survey staff has great sympathy. It would not recommend the disastrous attempt to force individual Indians or groups of Indians to be what they do not want to be, to break their pride in themselves and their Indian race, or to deprive them of their Indian culture. Such efforts may break down the good in the old without replacing it with compensating good from the new.

The fact remains, however, that the hands of the clock cannot be turned backward. These Indians are face to face with the predominating civilization of the whites. This advancing tide of white civilization has as a rule largely destroyed the economic foundation upon which the Indian culture rested. This economic foundation cannot be restored as it was. The Indians cannot be set apart away from contacts with the whites. The glass case policy is impracticable.

Even among the Rio Grande Pueblos, the Hopis, and the Zunis, where more of the old culture apparently remains than among any other group, the Indians are by no means unanimous in their desire for the preservation of every detail of the old. Some pueblos, notably Laguna, taken as a whole seem to be seeking and finding the white man's path. Even in the most conservative pueblos individual Indians will be found who have no desire for a glass case existence, who want to take their place in the white civilization, to make their living in a distinctly white industrial pursuit, to dwell in a house with modern sanitary conveniences, to dress like a white man, to have their wives in childbirth attended by skilled physicians in a hospital, to have the doctor in illness as the white man does, to have for their children the educational equipment needful for

vance in the white civilization, and to spend their earnings for tomobiles and other things made possible by the white man's s production. These Indians are as much entitled to direct their es according to their desires as are the conservative Indians. It uld be as unjust and as unwise to attempt to force them back to e old or to withhold guidance in the achievement of the new ends ey seek as it would be to attempt to force the ones who love the l into the new.

The position taken, therefore, is that the work with and for the dians must give consideration to the desires of the individual dians. He who wishes to merge into the social and economic e of the prevailing civilization of this country should be given all acticable aid and advice in making the necessary adjustments. e who wants to remain an Indian and live according to his old lture should be aided in doing so. The question may be raised Why aided? Just leave him alone and he will take care of him-lf." The fact is, however, as has been pointed out, that the old nomic basis of his culture has been to a considerable extent stroyed and new problems have been forced upon him by contacts ith the whites. Adjustments have to be made, economic, social and gal. Under social is included health. The advent of white civili-tion has forced on the Indians new problems of health and sanita-n that they, unaided, can no more solve than can a few city dividuals solve municipal problems. The presence of their villages close proximity to white settlements make the health and sanitary nditions in those villages public questions of concern to the entire ction. Both the Indians and their white neighbors are concerned having those Indians who want to stay Indians and preserve their lture, live according to at least a minimum standard of health and ecency. Less than that means not only that they may become a enace to the whites but also that they themselves will go through long drawn out and painful process of vanishing. They must be ded for the preservation of themselves.

Whichever way the individual Indian may elect to face, work in s behalf must be designed not to do for him but to help him to for himself. The whole problem must be regarded as funda-entally educational. However much the early policy of rationing ay have been necessary as a defensive, preventive war measure on e part of the whites, it worked untold harm to the Indians because

it was pauperizing and lacked any appreciable educational value.[1] Anything else done for them in a way that neglects educating them to do for themselves will work in the same direction. Controlling the expenditure of individual Indian money, for example, is pauperizing unless the work is so done that the Indian is being educated to control his own. In every activity of the Indian Service the primary question should be, how is the Indian to be trained so that he will do this for himself. Unless this question can be clearly and definitely answered by an affirmative showing of distinct educational purpose and method the chances are that the activity is impeding rather than helping the advancement of the Indian.

The Probable Duration of Special Work. Probably no question is more frequently asked than how much longer must special work for the Indians continue. The argument runs; the government of the United States has been working at this job from the very beginning and something was done by the colonies even before that. The aggregate expenditure has been enormous. When is this expenditure going to stop? The suggestion has even been made that the survey staff should attempt to say with some definiteness how many years it will take to wind up the Indian business and to hold forth a definite date as to when the public may look forward to marked reductions in appropriations for Indian affairs.

The answer of the survey staff to this question must be distinctly disappointing to those who seek definite statements in years. The number of years will depend in no small measure on how effectively the work is done, for special work with or for an individual Indian will be necessary until he can by his own efforts maintain himself in the presence of white civilization in accordance at least with a minimum standard of health and decency. Until he reaches that development he continues a problem either for the national, state, or local government or for private philanthropy.

Some people seek a single mass criterion to give the answer, such as "When they have all been educated," using education in its narrow sense as meaning when they have all been to school. Unfortunately the facts are apparently against all mass criteria. The question of whether an Indian is able to maintain himself by his

[1] For reasons for rationing policy and extent at various times, see Schmeckebier, The Office of Indian Affairs, pp. 66-70, 252-55, 313-14.

own efforts in accordance with a minimum standard is a personal individual one. This level is reached by Indians a few at a time, not by whole tribes or bands or even by whole families. Although extent of schooling and degree of Indian blood may have some relationship to capacity to maintain this standard, the relationship is not sufficient to permit either extent of schooling or degree of Indian blood to be used as an index of capacity. Any careful study of the conditions among the Indians will reveal many mixed bloods and many with a fair degree of formal schooling who are far more out of adjustment to the prevailing economic system than are many full bloods with far less formal schooling. On some of the reservations it almost seems as if the balance turns in favor of the full bloods who have never left their reservations to attend school; that they have made better use of their economic possibilities before them and are more nearly reaching the minimum standard by their own efforts. Any generalization is, however, unsound. The facts must be considered for each individual.

The question may then be raised, "Must work be done for Indians so long as any remain who cannot maintain this standard?" If the question of "By whom shall this work be done," be postponed for subsequent consideration, and if it is definitely understood that the present answer does not mean that the national government must continue indefinitely to do the work, this major question may be answered by simply "Yes." Persons who are not able to maintain themselves and their dependents in accordance with a minimum standard of health and decency, whatever their race, constitute a definite well recognized public problem.

Services Which Must Be Rendered. If the doctrine of the survival of the fittest is resorted to, and if these people are let alone and nothing is done for them, they do not quietly and promptly vanish from the face of the earth as unfit. It is here that the theory of the survival of the fittest breaks down at least in modern highly organized society. They become centers for the development and spread of infectious and contagious diseases. Their offspring tend to become progressively less fit physically and mentally for making their way in the world. They contribute out of proportion to their numbers to those who have ultimately to be cared for in penal, correctional, or charitable institutions. They increase the number

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of persons who cannot be used effectively in the highly developed modern industrial system and must find what employment they can as sub-standard unskilled workers. In this country, with its great use of power and machinery, the possibility for the utilization of sub-standard labor is rapidly disappearing not alone in manufacturing enterprises but also in mining, lumbering, and agriculture. The whole tendency is toward a large investment in power and machines and the employment of a relatively small number of skilled workers. The future holds less opportunity for the Indians than the past unless better work can be done for their economic advancement.

A further objection to leaving sub-standard people alone is that they furnish fertile fields for the lower type of agitators who take advantage of discontent and ignorance to promote movements which are destructive rather than constructive.

Private philanthropic organization, especially the churches, actuated by the teachings of the Christian religion, notably the second great commandment, "Thou shalt love thy neighbor as thyself," have for centuries recognized the obligation to make determined efforts to aid sub-standard groups. To an increasing extent governments, actuated in part doubtless by ethical motives but also by more material ones, have recognized the necessity for really educating the members of such groups.

The earlier efforts in behalf of the retarded classes were of course palliative, but with growth of knowledge and experience they have become corrective and preventive. Thus today the modern state has many departments concerned with advancing the social and economic condition of its people. Although these functions are well known it will perhaps be advantageous briefly to mention certain of them because some agency must furnish for Indians the kinds of service which are being rendered by modern states for their people. Again it must be emphasized that at this time the contention is not that these services must indefinitely be rendered by the federal government. The point is that they must be rendered by some government or private agency, and that it is important first to recognize the type of services which must be rendered before the effort is made to say what agency can best render them. These services can, however, be briefly enumerated in outline form without much exposition. They are:

. Public school systems providing education from the nursery
ool and kindergarten through large well equipped universities.
. Departments of public health developing from institutions for
control of disease to constructive organizations for prevention
lisease. Among their functions may be mentioned activities look-
to immunization for the prevention of disease; instructive
iting nursing and home care of the sick; the establishment of
natal, infant, and pre-school clinics; medical inspection of school
ldren with intelligent follow-up work so as to secure corrections
the field of dentistry and also defects of eye, ear, nose, and
oat; corrective and educational work for crippled children; the
ablishment of such hospitals, sanatoria, and special clinics as may
needed to provide adequate care in childbirth, tuberculosis,
ereal disease, and other special cases.
3. Departments of public welfare doing constructive work for
dependent, neglected, defective, and delinquent, and for the
or and the aged.
4. A socialized court system working in close coöperation with
artments of public welfare providing special handling of cases
olving children and domestic relations and furnishing probation
cers for constructive work with persons who have been before
courts; and emphasis on reform in penal institutions.
5. Agricultural departments supplying to the rural population
h county agricultural demonstration agents and home demon-
ation agents.
6. Public employment agencies to disseminate information con-
ning industrial opportunities in various localities, to bring to-
her the man and the job and at times to help the man get the
cessary training for the job, to make job analyses, and to en-
urage the establishment of vestibule schools in various industries.

Services such as these will have to be rendered to the Indians by
encies not of their own creation and not fully supported by their
n contributions. No evidence warrants a conclusion that at any
ne in the near future the number of Indians requiring construc-
e social service will be so far reduced that there will be no Indian
oblem and no call upon public treasuries or private benevolence
r Indian aid. The practical question to be faced at present is what
ency or agencies shall supply the constructive developmental

work which the Indians who are below the minimum standard require and will require for many years to come.

What Agencies Shall Render the Needed Service? The agencies at present doing active work are: (1) The national government, (2) the state and local governments, (3) the Christian missionaries, (4) certain national organizations of general scope such as the Red Cross, the National Tuberculosis Association, the American Child Health Association, (5) special organizations concerned with Indian welfare, and (6) social welfare agencies in urban communities to which Indians have come.

Although constitutionally and historically the care of the Indians is a function of the national government,* some tendency toward the withdrawal of the national government from this field is apparent. A great increase, for example, has taken place in the number of Indian children in the state or local public school systems, although the federal government frequently pays tuition for them. In Oklahoma, by Congressional enactment, large numbers of Indians have been released from federal supervision and have become entirely dependent for developmental social service on the state and local governments.

In a few states, notably California, Minnesota, Washington, and Wisconsin, the state governments have evidenced a growing sense of responsibility for Indian affairs. Their state departments concerned with education, health, and public welfare appreciate that it is a matter of grave concern to the state to have in its midst groups of people living below reasonable hygienic and social standards. To them the question of whether the responsibility rests on the state or on the national government is very properly being relegated to a minor place and the real question is being faced as to whether these inhabitants of the state are being fitted to be assets rather than liabilities.

In several states with a fairly numerous Indian population the tendency is still to regard work for the Indians as purely a federal function. Even in these states, however, it is probably true that a minority, a growing minority, appreciate that the state cannot well continue in this attitude and that it must actively coöperate with

*For review of the reasons for control of Indian affairs by the national government, see Schmeckebier, pp. 2-11.

the national government to help solve what legally may be a national problem but actually is of vital concern to the state.

Oklahoma, which has evidenced a great desire to get control or possession of Indian property, has evidenced little tendency to protect the Indians or to provide the requisite developmental work. Many Indians in eastern Oklahoma who have been released from national supervision, are suffering from lack of suitable developmental work, especially in such fundamentals as health, schooling, and economic instruction. Oklahoma, despite its enormous wealth and prosperity, is storing up great future difficulties for itself by neglecting the social welfare of its rural population both white and Indian, but especially Indian. The situation there offers great opportunities for the departments of social science in its state university and for its agricultural college to furnish real technical leadership in bringing the state abreast of states such as Iowa, Minnesota, and Wisconsin in the work for rural populations. The question may be raised whether the people in the northwestern part of the state are fully awake to the conditions in the eastern portions, especially the hill country in the southeast. Many white persons and some mixed bloods in this eastern section are vigorously advocating the removal of restrictions from the full bloods of the Five Civilized Tribes. Any such action would greatly increase the social liabilities of the state and would result promptly in the dissipation of the present resources of these Indians. The national government should oppose the removal of restrictions until the state of Oklahoma has shown as much interest in the social welfare of its Indians as it has shown in securing control of their property.[8]

The Question of Taxation. Any program for the gradual withdrawal of the national government from its function of administering Indian affairs and the transfer of this function to state and local governments is complicated by the question of the taxation of Indian property, especially land and other real property. Most of the property of restricted Indians under national supervision is exempt from taxation. The fact that many Indians pay no direct state and county property taxes is advanced as a reason why the state and local governments should perform no service for the

[8] For comment on conditions in Oklahoma, see Schmeckebier, pp. 138-42.

restricted Indians. Even when they migrate from reservations and as regular industrial workers in a white community contribute as great a share to the prosperity of a community as do the poorer white workers, they are frequently denied rights accorded recently arrived Mexican immigrants and other workers, such as free attendance at public school and county hospital care when unemployed or otherwise unable to pay full fees.

Several different devices have been used to meet this situation. When an Indian is declared competent to manage his own property and is given a fee deed to it, his property becomes subject to state and local taxation and he is in a large measure free from national supervision and to a considerable extent ceases to receive aid or service from the national government. In certain instances, notably among the Omahas and Winnebagoes in Nebraska, property held under trust patents has by action of the national Congress been subjected to state and local taxation, provided the Indian has any money from which the taxes can be paid, but, if the Secretary of the Interior certifies that the Indian has no funds, the property is not subject to tax sale. In other instances the cost of highways and bridges across Indian territory needed as connecting links in state road systems have been paid out of Indian or national funds. Tuition fees have been paid by the national government in lieu of taxes for the children of restricted Indians attending public schools.

The fact is, however, that the problem of taxation of Indian property has not been given the study and coöperative consideration by both national and state officials that it requires. No plans have been worked out on the basis of a thorough analysis of the problem and an application of sound economic and social principles in its solution.

The primary concern of both the national and the state and local government should be that the Indians, citizens of both the nation and the state, should be developed to the point where they are able to maintain themselves and their dependents in accordance at least with a minimum standard of health and decency in the presence of white civilization.

To subject to taxation Indians who are already below this standard, who have not yet acquired the capacity and the spirit to make their property sufficiently profitable both to maintain themselves and their families and to pay taxes, results either in a further

depression of their standard of living, or the forfeiture of their property, or both, as is abundantly evidenced by conditions in eastern Oklahoma. A cardinal principle of taxation is violated, namely, that taxation must not exceed the capacity to pay.

The effect of taxing Indian property is of course to force the Indians off their lands and to put the territory into the hands of whites, generally able to secure credit. Thus they can buy implements, and generally their experience, persistence, and superior training enable them both to make a living and to pay taxes, thus adding to the revenues of the state. Although this movement appears for the moment to be an advantage to the state, the fact must ever be borne in mind that it leaves the state with the problem of the unadjusted Indian, deprived of any resources of his own which may be applied to his advancement.

In this connection it should be noted that frequently the steps taken by the shrewder, more experienced whites to deprive the Indians of their lands are unethical if not actually criminal. They get the Indian property at a fraction of its true value. They can well afford to pay taxes, considering how little capital they had to invest to get possession of the natural resources that belonged to the Indian. These not over scrupulous whites are aided in their exploitation of the Indian by the fact that the Indian is finding it difficult to pay taxes and make a living. A sum of unearned ready money, the value and use of which he does not very well understand, seems an easy way out of having to work and pay taxes and affords an immediate way of satisfying his very pressing wants. With little or no means of determining the real value of his property and with a very real sense of immediate need of food and clothing, he falls an easy victim.

Those states which have a considerable number of Indians who have already lost their lands and have not been developed to a reasonable standard of efficiency, will ultimately realize the price they paid for taxes on Indian property. The price is a body of Indian citizens, unassimilated, poverty stricken, and diseased; a liability to the community, not an asset. The resources which these Indians once possessed, which might have furnished the means for a solution of their problem, have been converted, often improperly, to the private use and advantage of white citizens. The state is left to hold the bag. It will ultimately be under obligation to meet the resulting problems through general taxation, whereas they might have been more quickly and more cheaply solved by a policy of leaving the Indians in possession of a sufficient amount of their property to supply the foundation for economic stability.

In some jurisdictions where Indian property has been subjected to the full weight of state and county taxes, it is questionable whether the Indians have actually been placed on a plane of equality with the whites with respect to the services and benefits accruing from the state and local governments. The giving of real governmental service to Indians is often still regarded as a function of the national government. The states are ready to take over the assets but not the liabilities.

The Problem Before the Nation and the States. The real problem before the statesmen in the national and the state governments can be summarized somewhat as follows:

1. What constructive social services are necessary to develop the Indians to the level of self support according to a reasonable minimum standard?
2. How can this necessary service best be rendered?
   a. By the national government?
   b. By the state and local governments?
   c. By private agencies, coöperating with the governmental agencies?
   d. By a coöperative program worked out jointly by the national, state, and local authorities, with or without the cooperation of private agencies?
3. How can the costs of the necessary work be best apportioned between the state and local governments?
4. What part, if any, of these costs can be assessed against the Indians with due recognition of the value of benefits and due consideration of their capacity to pay?
5. If the Indians are to pay any of the costs, what form of taxation is best adapted to meet the special economic and social conditions of the Indians?

The present survey has been concerned primarily with the first of these questions, the governmental service that is needed to develop the Indians to self support according at least to a minimum standard of health and decency.

The Position Taken with Respect to Division of Responsibility Between the Nation and the States. With respect to the division of authority and responsibility between the national and the state and local governments, the survey has proceeded upon these principles.

1. That under the Constitution of the United States and in accordance with the historical development of the country, the function of providing for the Indians is the responsibility of the national government.

2. That the national government should not transfer activities incident to this function to individual states unless and until a particular state is prepared to conduct that activity in accordance with standards at least as high as those adopted by the national government.

3. That the transfer of activities from the national government to the state governments should not be made wholesale, but one activity at a time, as the willingness and ability of the state justify.

4. That no great effort should be made toward uniformity in the treatment of all the states, as the question of the willingness and ability of the states is an individual one, with very different answers for different states.

5. That when a state assumes responsibility for a particular activity, as in the case of admitting the children of non-taxed Indians to public schools or providing for non-taxed Indians in hospitals, it is eminently proper that the national government should make contributions to the cost in the form of payments for tuition or hospital fees, and that so long as national funds are thus used the national government is under obligation to maintain officials such as the day school inspectors, to coöperate in the work done by the states to see that it is up to the required standard and that the Indians for whom the national government is primarily responsible are receiving the agreed service.

6. That the national government is under no legal or moral obligation to make the real property of the Indians subject to the regular state and county taxes until such time as the Indians are prepared to maintain themselves in the presence of white civilization and the states are prepared to render full governmental service to the Indians according to standards which will protect them from neglect and retrogression.

7. That it is in general highly desirable that the states should as rapidly as possible assume responsibility for the administration of activities which they can effectively perform alike for whites and for the Indians with a single organization, with the exception of activities that are directly concerned with Indian property. Experience tends to demonstrate that national control and supervision of property must be about the last of the activities transferred to the states.

To avoid any possibility of misunderstanding regarding the position taken with respect to the taxation of Indians, it should be clearly stated that it is regarded as highly desirable that the Indians be educated to pay taxes and to assume all the responsibilities of citizenship. The survey staff by no means advocates the permanent existence of any body of tax exempt citizens or a policy of indefinitely doing for people what they should be trained to do for themselves. The matter of taxation, however, like other problems in the Indian Service, should be approached from the educational standpoint. In the first lessons in taxation the relationship between the tax and the benefit derived from it by the Indians should be direct and obvious. The form of the tax should be one that has real regard for the capacity of the Indian to pay. The old general property tax has many defects as a system for well established white communities; it is often ruinous as a first lesson in taxation for an Indian just stepping from the status of an incompetent ward of the government to one of full competency. His chief asset is land which bears the full brunt of his tax, and he has relatively small income from which to meet it. An income tax would be far better for the Indian just emerging from the status of incompetency than the general property tax. What is advocated, is not that the Indian be exempt from taxation, but that he be taxed in a way that does not submerge him.

A few words should also be added to prevent misunderstanding with respect to the position taken in the matter of coöperation with the states. Such coöperation is highly desirable. Ultimately most of the Indians will merge with the other citizens and will secure governmental service mainly from the state and local governments. The sooner the states and counties can be brought to the point where they will render this service and the Indians to the point where they will look to the government of the community in which

they live, the better; but the national government must direct and guide the transition. It must not withdraw until the transition has been completely effected; otherwise the Indians will fall between two stools.

In the ensuing section of this report, the survey staff recommends the establishment in the Indian Service of a professional and technical Division of Planning and Development free from immediate administrative duties. One of the great services such a division can render is to aid in developing effective coöperative programs with the different states, adapted to the local conditions. The time is apparently ripe for marked advances in this direction.

The Issuance of Fee Patents. In the vital matter of the issue of fee patents and the release of Indians from wardship, the view taken is naturally that the ultimate goal is to advance the Indian to the point where he is competent to take care of himself and to manage his own property. The survey staff is inclined to endorse the definition of competency given by one very able superintendent to the effect that "That Indian is competent who although he might lose his property could and would still make his own way by his own efforts." The evidence warrants the conclusion, however, that in the past fee patents have been issued too freely, that they have been given before the Indian has given sufficient demonstration of his capacity to make his own way. Too much reliance has been placed on the theory that the way to teach a boy to swim is to throw him overboard and let him swim or drown. The Indian faces too swift and treacherous a current for such an experiment at this period of his development. Enough attention has not been given to keeping actual records of his achievements and basing the decisions regarding competency on facts rather than opinions. Too little attention has been paid to what has happened to Indians declared competent. The proof that the Indian is in fact competent is not the issuance of the fee patent and the release from wardship but what becomes of the Indian after he is released. The problem of the government is to train him for self support in our civilization. Its real responsibility does not end with the fee patent and release from wardship. These actions may evidence not competency on the part of the Indian but a serious error in judgment on the part of the officials who declared him competent.

Great pressure is unquestionably brought to bear on the Indian Service to issue fee patents and to release Indians from wardship. A considerable body of people regard the status of wardship as repugnant to our institutions, and they are inclined to quote from the Declaration of Independence, "All men are created equal." They forget apparently that wardship and the control of property by trustees also exist among the free and independent whites. Children below legal age cannot control their own property or make a valid contract. Courts declare adults incompetent to manage their own estates and place them in the status of wards. Many a head of a family himself provides for trustees to control the property given or bequeathed to his wife and children. Life insurance contracts, living trusts, and wills often result in depriving a person of the power to control the property of which he has the use. The difference lies in the assumptions. The white man on reaching legal age is assumed to be competent unless deprived of his power over his property by a court or by someone from whom he received his property. Indian guardianship was assumed when the Indians as a race were unquestionably incompetent. Relinquishment of this trust cannot lightly be made. The Indian, therefore, is assumed to be incompetent until formally declared to be competent. His status is that of the child below legal age, except that he can be declared competent whereas the child cannot be. The facts seem abundantly to warrant this assumption in the case of the Indians. With respect to knowledge and experience in the use of property, many of them are still children and must be given training in the use of property and its value before they are declared competent to handle it independently. The national government is their safest trustee. Any improvement in that trusteeship must be brought about by a reconstruction of the machinery to discharge it.

Another group bringing pressure to bear on the Indian Service believes in the sink-or-swim theory. Turn the Indians loose. Let them shift for themselves. The difficulty with this theory as has been pointed out is that the issue is not quickly settled with the disappearance of those who are not able to shift for themselves. Theorists of this school need to spend a considerable time facing the actual facts in eastern Oklahoma where they can see at first hand the disastrous effects of an actual application of this policy.

There they will find many Indians who have been turned loose who are not able to shift for themselves. The problem is too complicated to be solved by any such simple device, because the only sound solution is the long slow process of real education.

Persons who look for quick results should be mentioned next. They say of the Indian Service, "It has been at this job for a hundred years. It ought to be through. Its officers and employees must be trying to hang onto their jobs. All the Indians ought to be turned loose and the Indian Office closed. Time enough has been spent on the Indian problem." These people need to visit particularly the Indians of the southwest. A visit to an adult primary class, where big boys and girls in their teens are attending school for the first time, would be helpful. They know no English, they cannot read or write. They are having their first contact with that white man's civilization in the presence of which they and their children and their children's children are to live. The fact that they are in school is evidence that at last, after all the centuries since the advent of the white man, his civilization has penetrated to their remote desert homes. Some visitors may shake their heads and say, "You can't do much in educating these children; you have started too late." Despite some exceptions, there seems to be some truth in their assertion unless one looks to the future. Many of these children will be back in their desert homes in a year or two and they will doubtless soon forget their scanty knowledge of English and of reading and writing, but they will have had their contact with the white race, they will know what schools are, and they will have seen other Indian children with a more favorable start getting ahead. When they themselves have children they will not be where their parents were. They themselves have passed the first gulf. Their children will as a rule go to school at a far earlier age and stay much longer, advancing much further in studies and in understanding. The third generation has not only the advantage of getting to school early; it has some help in the home in such things as speaking English, reading, and knowing the white man's ways. The pride which some of the first and second generations take in the achievements of the third shows that Indians are much like white people. The truth seems to be that much cannot be expected on the average in less than three generations, and in some jurisdictions the first generation is just beginning.

A word here should be said regarding missionary activities. Here too, many persons look for quick results. Several elderly missionaries were visited who look back over their efforts and almost despair at their lack of converts who measure up to their standards of what a Christian should be. Others, notably the Roman Catholics, have a different view. They appreciate that their task is a long, slow one extending over many generations. A little is achieved here, a little there, but a primitive people are not made over in a generation. What they are and what they have cannot be hurriedly crushed out and something else quickly substituted. The only way is to take them as they are with what they have and patiently guide and slowly build, having faith that in the fullness of time, devoted and intelligent service will bring results.

Finally should be mentioned two classes of Indians who want fee patents and release from wardship. The first are those who are not getting along very successfully and see in a fee patent and release from wardship the opportunity to sell their capital and live on the proceeds, without the vision to look into the future and consider what will become of them and their children when the capital is gone. The second are able, intelligent, often well educated Indians who are themselves fully competent. Many of them have already received fee patents and been released from wardship. They think of themselves and cite themselves as typical Indians. They say, "We are Indians. Why should the government keep us as wards." The truth is that the government should not keep competent Indians as wards, but these Indians are not by any means typical. Often they are mixed bloods, not full bloods. Sometimes they come from tribes where many of the full bloods are still far too primitive to be entrusted with the defense of their property against white greed. A well educated mixed-blood Indian farmer on one reservation felt this situation very keenly. He said in effect, "These educated advanced Indians can't think of the Indians who haven't had the opportunities and haven't advanced like they have. On this reservation we have hundreds of Indians who would be ruined if they were turned loose, and yet these educated Indians go about all the time agitating to have all Indians turned loose. Many of our Indians aren't making a living without having to pay taxes. They won't be ready to be turned loose for a good many years."

The sentiment of the Indians on this subject is divided. Those who favor abolition of wardship are unquestionably the more articulate. Among their number are many mixed bloods and many whose schooling has given them a good command of English. They are effective speakers with the Indian's gift for direct and vivid statement. Some have but a modicum of Indian blood. On the other side are many full bloods who in their way are very solid and substantial people deeply attached to their lands and homes. They are disturbed to see what has happened to those who have had fee patents. One of them, with a very promising young pecan grove coming along, the result of his own labors, replied to the question whether he wanted a fee patent, "Nothing grows on the section line." Another, president of the Indians' livestock association of the reservation, said he did not want a fee patent. If he took one, the other Indians would say he had gone white and he would lose his influence with them. He felt that the great bulk of his tribe were far from the level where they could shift for themselves, and he personally preferred to stay as one of them rather than be regarded as an outsider. Included in this number are several, perhaps many, who value their status of wardship because it relieves them from taxation. The survey staff had no means of determining how a referendum on this subject would turn out, but it found in personal interviews and in councils a very considerable sentiment in favor of continued wardship.[4]

Despite the pressure that different groups bring to bear on the Indian Service, its present policy is toward marked conservatism in the issue of fee patents and release from wardship. This present policy is believed to be fundamentally sound. Fee patents and release from wardship should as a rule only be issued where fairly conclusive factual evidence is available indicating that the Indian has reached a position where he can maintain himself by his own efforts.[5] The Indian Service is to an increasing extent realizing that its work is primarily educational in the broad sense, and is to

[4] An indigent Indian woman who had dissipated the thousands of dollars received for her allotment appealed for rations. She ranted against the government for giving her control of property she was unable to handle. To the superintendent's statement: "You clamored and fought to get a fee patent," her reply was: "But the government should have known better."

[5] For further detailed discussion of policy of issuance of patents in fee, see Schmeckebier, pp. 148-65.

be judged not by the number of Indians it turns loose so much as by the ability of those turned loose to make good. This subject is further considered in other sections of the report.[6] It has been presented here to indicate the position taken by the survey staff with respect to this matter of general policy.

The Function of the Indian Education Service. The Indian Service, as has been said, is recognizing to an increasing degree that its work in all fields is primarily educational. The problem of the Service is to translate this principle into action. The greater part of the present report is devoted primarily to a consideration of what needs to be done, in the light of conditions found by the survey, to promote the efficiency of the Indian Service as an educational organization confronted with a difficult and diverse educational task.

The Question of Cost. Early in the work of preparing this report the question was raised as to what consideration the survey staff should give to the element of cost in making its recommendations. The question was vividly brought home in an interview with a doctor on one of the reservations. He had previously been visited by Dr. H. R. Edwards, the medical specialist on the survey staff, and they had discussed at length what the real health needs of the service were on that reservation. This reservation doctor said in substance. "Your doctor is all right; he knows what we need; but Congress will never appropriate the money." The reply at the moment was that Congress was the body to say whether it would or would not appropriate the funds; that the duty of the survey staff was to determine conditions and to make the best constructive recommendations it could devise which in its judgment were practicable. More careful deliberation has tended to confirm the soundness of that general position. It would be entirely improper for a survey staff to presume to predict what Congress would or would not do and to frame its recommendations to fit its guess as to the attitude of Congress or the attitude of the administration or anybody else who is concerned with Indian appropriations or administration. The effort has been to keep both feet on the ground and not to get above reasonable standards as set by other organizations

[6] See pages 472 and 473.

doing work in the several fields comparable with that of the Indian Service.

The recommendations contained in this report if carried into effect will involve a substantial immediate increase in appropriations for the Indian Service. The aggregate annual appropriations for this service for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1928, are approximately fifteen million dollars of which more than two million dollars are from tribal funds not the property of the government and more than two million more are reimbursable expenditures, mainly for irrigation and water supplies.[1] The survey staff has not had the time nor the facilities to estimate closely the amount that will be required for additional positions, for raising the salaries and qualifications of existing positions, for outlays for new construction, for bringing existing plant and equipment up to a reasonable standard and for materially improving the quantity, quality and variety of the food furnished the Indian children in boarding schools. The best available evidence, however, suggests that for a number of years at least ten million dollars additional will be required, if the Indian Service is to be raised to a standard approximating that of the Department of Agriculture, the United States Public Health Service and the efficient private agencies doing comparable work.

The position taken in making these recommendations is that it would be sound business policy for the national government to expend enough on the Indian Service to bring it to a reasonably high state of efficiency in order greatly to accelerate the rate at which the Indians may be absorbed into the dominant white civilization or be fitted to maintain themselves adequately in the presence of that civilization. The country apparently has its choice of alternatives; the first, comparatively small expenditures from national, state, local, or charitable funds spread over a very long period with a resulting slow rate of progress in winding up the Indian problem; the second, heavier expenditures over a much briefer period with greatly accelerated rate of progress and a much more rapid elimination of the distinctively Indian problem. The situation may

[1] For a statement of the finances of the Indian Service for 1903, 1913, 1923 and 1928, see Schmeckebier, Appendix 6, pages 509-36. The three brief summary tables from his monograph are presented as appendices to the present report, pages 183 to 186.

be likened to diverting a stream to a new course. The diversion dam must be built strong enough to hold the stream. To economize on the dam may mean the loss of all that was put into it. In the past much money put into the Indian Service has been lost because enough was not put in to get employees really qualified for the task before them.

The recommendations for heavier appropriations are made on the ground of efficiency in performing the task before the government. It could be sustained on purely humanitarian grounds. The Indians are wards of the richest nation in the world, if not the most enlightened and most philanthropic, yet the fact is that Indian children in boarding schools maintained and operated by the government of the United States are not receiving a diet sufficient in quantity, quality, and variety to maintain their health and resistance. Conditions at these schools with respect to medical attention, housing, and sanitation leave much to be desired. The general death rate is ordinarily accepted as the best single index of the social wellbeing of a people. As is pointed out elsewhere in this report[1] the statistics for the Indians are incomplete and more or less unreliable, and the published death rates for Indians are in many cases obviously understatements of the true conditions. The existing figures, unreliable as they are, indicate, however, a high general death rate among Indians with all that connotes of suffering both physical and emotional. The Indian is like the white man in his affection for his children, although Indian mothers and fathers often do not know how to care for them, especially in matters affecting health. This lack of knowledge does not lessen their suffering and grief at the loss of a child or lessen their resentment when they feel that responsibility for the death rests in part at least upon failure of the government boarding schools adequately to safeguard the health of their children, who may be kept away from their parents for years at a time. The economic and social conditions on most of the reservations are such that the typical Indian family is living materially below any standard which will give health and a very minimum of physical comfort. The fact that many of them look backward with regret to the days before the advent of the white man destroyed the economic basis of their

[1] See pages 170 to 175 on Statistics, and pages 191, 196, 197-203, 266-270 in the chapter on Health.

existence is not surprising; nor, if their history be considered, is it strange that they accept their conditions with an almost oriental fatalism and resignation, and in many cases seek the temporary relief that is to be found in alcohol, peyote, and narcotics or in primitive dances and festivals. The surprising thing is to find many who have preserved their sense of humor. Although at times they complain bitterly of individual government officials, yet the majority of them look to the government as their best friend. Often they ask too much from it in the way of rations and relief and do not value highly enough what it gives in the form of constructive educational service, but this attitude is the inevitable aftermath of the old policy of rationing now largely abandoned.

Some white people are inclined to say, "You can't do anything humanitarian for them. They are Indians and they will always be that way. They would rather be that way than work." To these people two answers may be made. The first is that there are too many instances of marked success with individual Indians and with groups to warrant any such conclusion. The second is that many methods used with the Indians in the past, notably that of rationing, produce the same results with any people. They pauperize them instead of educating them to do for themselves. The errors in past methods are too obvious and too glaring to permit of past failures being fairly and justly attributed to peculiar racial characteristics of the Indians. Abundant evidence shows them to be a people of real capacity with many characteristics of outstanding worth. For example, one of their outstanding traits is their Christian virtue of loving their neighbors as themselves. The poorest Indian will share what he has with his neighbors. To Indians, selfishness and stinginess are cardinal vices. One of the difficulties the government has is to keep the lazy and the shiftless from living off the products of the labor of their more energetic tribesman who is attempting to follow the white man's economic ways. Mention should also be made here of their artistic ability. With nothing but a few cans of house paint, one Indian boy has painted theater curtains for several of the Indian schools which make the ordinary commercial curtains look insignificant and commonplace. In those schools where the children have been permitted to draw Indian designs and things which appeal to them they have shown an exceptionally high artistic ability. Some of the musical organizations, for example, the band

of the Saint Francis Mission School at Rosebud and the Glee Club at Haskell, are demonstrations of their capacity in music. They have the capacity to make real contributions to our American civilization; and as their humorists frequently remind us, they are after all the nearest approach to the hundred per cent American. With intelligent coöperative educational aid, there is every reason to look for a rich return for efforts expended in behalf of the Indians.

More adequate expenditures properly directed would not only tend to relieve fairly promptly the present suffering and distress. They would tend to raise permanently the economic efficiency of the Indians and thus remove many of the fundamental causes of ill health and poverty. The material return for this expense would come in the increased productivity of this element of the population. They would take their place in our American civilization with its high productivity and its correspondingly high standard of living. Already several far sighted merchants in the Southwest are showing their appreciation of the economic and commercial importance of increasing the productivity of the Indians. Here selfish and altruistic motives combine, because no section can be really prosperous if a large body of its population lacks the ability to produce and the resulting ability to consume. Markets for goods cannot be found unless the people produce enough to pay for them. This fundamental fact of economics is becoming increasingly apparent in the Southwest.

In favor of heavier immediate expenditures for the economic advancement of the Indians, the further fact should be cited that failure to seek much more rapid advancement for the Indians will speedily result in the development of difficulties more serious and less easily corrected than those which now confront the nation.

The white population in the Indian country is coming into closer and closer contact with the Indians. This movement appears inevitable and unescapable. As a consequence the Indians will have less and less opportunity to carry on a moderately independent existence. It is becoming more and more essential for them economically and socially to rise more nearly to white standards. Unfortunately the trend of American industrial development, as has been pointed out, makes it increasingly difficult for the Indians to make this transition as the country is more and more demanding fairly skilled and reliable workers and affords fewer openings for the illiterate, the unskilled, and particularly the casual.

Where they become surrounded by whites without having achieved these higher standards, they are menaced themselves and also become a menace to the better things in the white civilization. Sexual relationships between low types of the two races tend to develop. From what evidence the survey staff could secure in this difficult field of investigation it appears that Indian girls rarely become commercial prostitutes. They may, however, be the victims of white men. The more apparent relationship is a marriage or other union lasting for some little time. Often a white man or woman marries an Indian for the sake of securing possession or use of the Indian's property; or, an extremely low grade white, a misfit in the economic and social life of the white civilization, forms a union with a low grade Indian. These low grade whites turn Indian in a way that is quite shocking, and they may be found existing in shacks that are below rather than above those of the purely Indian dwellings in the neighborhood. Children of these unions have frequently the handicap of both bad heredity and bad environment. The white father, too, is apparently fairly prone to desert the Indian woman, leaving her with the burden of caring for the children.

On the other hand it must be said there are numerous examples of successful inter-racial unions where the Indians have risen to white standards and are sought by the whites because they possess qualities which make for the establishment of strong families.*

The unassimilated, undeveloped Indian readily becomes the victim of the bootlegger, the dope peddler, and the gambler. From its earliest days the Indian Service has been struggling to keep liquor from the Indians. The task becomes increasingly difficult as the white civilization comes closer to the Indians. White communities just off the Indian country tend to become centers for the trade. More officers are needed to clean things up. In some of these towns one has only to walk into the pool room to see open gambling going on between whites and Indians with money on the table. Whatever view may be taken regarding gambling between Indian and Indian in their own homes on the reservation, commercial gambling between whites and Indians in pool rooms in a white man's town is obviously a much more serious matter. Dope peddling is undoubtedly the most serious of the three evils noted, and no effort should be spared to stop the traffic. In Nevada the evidence indicates that the Chinese are behind the trade in Yen-she, an opium derivative, but that the immediate dispensers are Indians, possibly themselves victims. This situation is particularly dangerous as the Indians can spread the habit among their own people in a way that neither whites nor Chinese could do themselves. When the survey staff was in Nevada it was reported that the dispensers were trying to break into Fallon, which had been practically free from its use and which presented an attractive example of effective economic work for Indians. In one important jurisdiction in Oklahoma, it was reported that low grade white physicians were the dope dispensers, finding this an easy means of separating wealthy Indians from their money. Naturally the methods of the survey were not of the detective type necessary to verify such reports, but if they are not true it would be an exceptional failure to resort to an obvious device for debauching these wealthy Indians. The persistence of such statements by reliable persons, however, would at least indicate that certain channels of supply should be blocked, either as a preventive measure or as a means of checking an existing evil.

Again for completeness mention must be made of the astute and unscrupulous whites who take advantage of the Indians' ignorance of money matters, of their food needs, and their desire for luxuries, notably automobiles, and separate them from their valuable property. Pressure from this source increases as the contacts between the races become closer.

Mention must again be made, too, of the Indians' low standards of living and their poverty. It has already been pointed out that these factors result inevitably in bad health so that the Indians do, from the standpoint of public health, become a menace to the neighboring white communities. Prevalence of disease among them, their poverty, and their low standards of living make them objectionable to the whites and raise opposition to the admission of their children to the public schools and other community activities neces-

* At one Indian school the members of the survey staff were delightfully entertained by the Indian girls of the senior class in domestic science. Two members of the survey sat at each table with four Indian girls and were served a simple yet delicious meal prepared by the four girls. One girl at each table had to occupy the difficult position of hostess, a task performed with a quiet grace and dignity which the survey staff came to regard as characteristic of Indian women. One hostess said, "My daddy always teases my mother by telling her he married her for her biscuits," and then by the way of explanation she added, "Daddy is a white man." Judging that union by its fruit, one would conclude that the biscuits were symbolic of substantial domestic virtues. Any man might well be proud of a daughter like that girl.

sary to their advancement. Curiously, in several instances the most vigorous objection to them comes not so much from native born whites as from foreign born whites, themselves recent immigrants to this country. This condition can be overcome by more effective work in improving social and economic conditions, thus improving health.

Obviously all such difficulties of an inter-racial nature become greater as long as the cultural gap is wide and the personal contacts close. It will be cheaper and easier to work to close the gap by improving the conditions of the Indians now than to do so after these degenerating contacts have had a longer time to operate.

Although the actual amount of money required to bring the Indian Service to a reasonably high state of efficiency is a large sum itself (probably not less than ten million dollars), it would still be a relatively small item in the total of national expenditures. The nation could make the appropriation without any serious strain on the taxpayers, and if the economic efficiency of the Indians could be raised, as seems entirely possible, the material returns from the investment would be high. Failure adequately to deal with this whole question with reasonable promptness can have no other result than a yearly growth of the problem to such dimensions that greater strain to meet it will be inevitable.

The history of the relationship between the whites and the Indians contains much to which the whites cannot point with pride. No attempt will be made in this report to discuss some of these darker pages in American history.* They are reasonably well known to every student of American history and nothing is to be gained by reviewing them here. They are mentioned because the nation has at present the opportunity, if it will, to write the closing chapters in the history of the treatment of the Indians by the government of the United States. To really patriotic citizens who love and admire their country and who like to view with pride its achievements, it would be something of an atonement and a worthwhile accomplishment if these closing chapters should disclose the national government giving to the Indians the highest quality of expert service to make them capable and efficient citizens of the nation, able to take care of themselves and to contribute to the nation from the best of their own original American culture.

*For history of Indian relations, see Schmeckebier, pp. 11-90.

CHAPTER V

ORGANIZATION OF THE FEDERAL INDIAN WORK

Three fundamental recommendations must be made for strengthening the organization of the Indian Service. Briefly summarized, they are:

1. The creation, in connection with the Washington office, of a professional and scientific Division of Planning and Development.

2. A material strengthening of the school and reservation forces that are in direct contact with the Indians and are responsible for developing and improving their economic and social condition through education in the broadest sense of the word.

3. The maximum practical decentralization of authority so that to the fullest possible extent initiative and responsibility may be vested in the local officers in direct contact with the Indians.

Each of the recommendations requires elaboration and each will be taken up in turn.

A PROFESSIONAL AND SCIENTIFIC "DIVISION OF PLANNING AND DEVELOPMENT"

The functions of the recommended "Division of Planning and Development" may be outlined briefly as follows:

1. To advise the Commissioner in matters requiring technical or scientific knowledge of particular problems.

2. At the request of the Commissioner and subject to his approval to formulate programs and develop policies to be carried out by administrative officers or to assist in planning and arranging cooperative programs with state and local authorities.

3. To visit schools and agencies and to report to the Commissioner upon the effectiveness of the administration in those fields of work that are professional, technical, or scientific in character.

4. To visit schools and agencies and to advise and counsel with superintendents and other employees regarding the development and improvement of these specialized activities.

5. Upon direction of the Commissioner to investigate and hold hearings upon matters of special complaint that involve technical or scientific subjects.

No one who studies the Indian Service can fail to be impressed with the diversity of its activities. No other government agency exceeds it in the number and variety of the fields of human activity which it embraces. It must minister to all the needs of well over 200,000 Indians who are, without any possibility of legal quibble, still wards of the government, and it is deeply concerned with the entire Indian population numbering over 300,000.

In behalf of its wards the government must make provision for the promotion of health, education, economic development in agriculture, animal husbandry, forestry, and a great variety of other industries, advancement in social conditions including family life and community activities, and the maintenance of law and order. It must also conserve and often manage the property of its wards, in some instances a task of great financial responsibility.[1] These functions must be performed, not with respect to a concentrated homogeneous population embraced in a comparatively small area, but with respect to widely scattered groups often living in almost unbelievable isolation and varying all the way from extremely primitive to those who have reached approximately the same scale of development as the prevailing white civilization of their communities. The economic and social conditions with which the Service must deal are equally varied. Many different kinds of agriculture must be known to the Service—ordinary farming with a sufficient rainfall, dry farming, farming under irrigation in a climate which will give seven cuttings of alfalfa in a year, farming under irrigation where the season is so short that maturing a crop is a problem, livestock raising whose summer and winter feed are both available, and livestock raising where the problem of wintering stock is serious. The economic resources of the wards vary all the way from those of the Osages, submerged by a flood of unearned income,[2] to the many Indians submerged by extreme poverty occasioned by the utter lack of agricultural or industrial resources on their lands.

Add to the administrative problems the pressure coming from the encroachments of white civilization with both its good and its bad;

[1] The activities of the Service are discussed in detail in Schmeckebier, The Office of Indian Affairs, pp. 143-269.

[2] For information on poverty of the Osages at one time, and present economic and social condition, see Schmeckebier, pp. 111-15.

missionaries of many different sects and denominations, some broad, tolerant, and cooperative, and others not; whites anxious to help and protect the Indians but with an extreme divergence of views as to how it is to be done; whites anxious to despoil the Indians of their property without conscience as to the means to be employed; persons holding public office with views regarding Indians and their rights as widely variant as are those entertained by the different classes of whites. Scramble all these things together with many more not specifically mentioned and one gets a very much simplified picture of the job of the Indian Service, and of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs.

No Commissioner of Indian Affairs, however able and efficient, can possibly be master of all the fields of knowledge which must be brought to bear in the administration of the Indian Service. To a lesser extent this same statement may be made with respect to superintendents of agencies and schools. The jobs are too varied and diversified, the number of fields involved too great. It is not surprising therefore, frequently to encounter in the field intelligent and observing Indians who attribute some of their failure to advance to the frequent changes in programs and policies resulting from a change in the office of superintendent. One superintendent advocates stock raising as the economic salvation of his Indians, and his Indians attempt to follow his leadership. His successor says stock raising is no good, that the Indians must raise corn, and again they attempt to take his advice. A third superintendent follows who says the Indians cannot get anywhere with corn, they must try sheep. It is small wonder the Indians become skeptical of their Moses.

Astute observers say that what has happened on some of the reservations because of changes in officials and policies is to a considerable extent true of the Indian Service as a whole, that it has had similar reversals of policy and program; and considerable evidence warrants such a conclusion. A previous administration rode hard the theory that the salvation of the Indian was to turn him loose from government supervision. Competency commissions went through the Indian country applying this theory wholesale, and many a poor Indian found himself a patent-in-fee Indian without the knowledge and ability to stand on his own feet, without government advice and assistance. The present administration wisely

lled a halt, and is proceeding on a far more cautious and con-
rvative policy, with less regard for a radical theory and more
or practical facts. Tribal herds had their vogue. They probably
ent up too fast and came down too hard. They undoubtedly have
heir place, for on some of the reservations stock raising is the main
conomic possibility. The fact is, however, that the Indian Service
as lacked for its different jurisdictions a well considered, well
ounded program, arrived at after a full and careful consideration
f the various essential factors in the situation by persons com-
etent through training and experience to evaluate these factors
nd develop such a program.

Without stopping to discuss the more or less academic question of whether this failure has resulted from a lack of funds, or from a lack of vision of the necessity for such work, or a combination of the two, it may be said unqualifiedly that the Indian Service lacks expert technical advisers in most branches of its work. The duty of studying, planning, and developing has fallen on general administrative officers, whose days are already filled with myriads of administrative duties, some major and some minor. Although in some instances these employees have considerable technical knowledge and experience in some one or more special fields covered by the Indian Service, they cannot possibly be experts in them all. As administrators they must be general men, not specialists, and the work of surveying conditions and working out programs calls for specialists who can coöperate and develop a program which good general administrative men can carry out.

The Commissioner of Indian Affairs needs the advice and assistance of such men in addition to that of his administrative assistants. In the matter of school curriculum, for example, he needs not only the advice and experience of those who have devoted their lives to the administration of Indian schools, but also of those who, free from the burden of administrative work, have had the training and the opportunity to specialize in the study of curricula in all kinds of schools and can bring to the Indian Service the wealth of experience gained in educational enterprises conducted under widely differing conditions. Both types are necessary; one without the other is like a single blade of a pair of shears.

Superintendents of agencies and of schools are equally in need of expert advice and assistance in the varied activities of their

administration. Numerous instances can be cited of able efficient field administrators who would be quick to profit from suggestions for improvement in lines of activity which lie outside the range of their special training and experience. Again it must be emphasized that they are not being criticized because their training and experience do not embrace every line of activity they are called upon to supervise and administer. To get administrators who had such training and experience would be humanly impossible. They must have specialists to whom they can turn for aid. As an illustration of what may be done in this direction may be cited the progress made in the Indian schools in recent years in the teaching of home economics, an improvement brought about in no small measure by the employment of a specialist in this field to advise and work with the school administrators. What the superintendents need is far more assistance of this general character, so that in each important field they can secure expert technical aid.

These technically trained and experienced persons are also needed to investigate complaints from the field which are technical in their nature. As an instance, a group of Indians complain that they have been charged with heavy construction costs for the irrigation of their lands, a work undertaken by the government upon its own initiative, and that it is impossible for them so to use their lands that they can meet the construction charge and the operation and maintenance charge. They have the fear that the whole enterprise is a conspiracy ultimately to deprive them of their land and get it into the hands of white men. The hurried examination of this case by the present survey indicated that the Indians were probably right in their impression that under existing conditions in agriculture they could not make the land pay the charges; but it was extremely doubtful if any white people would take it over if they had to meet the same charges. The Secretary of the Interior has himself recognized the necessity for technical and scientific investigation in these fairly numerous irrigation cases and has appointed a well qualified fact finding committee to visit the various irrigation projects in the Indian Service. Similar investigations are needed in many fields and the Indian Service needs in its organization a definite provision for making them, hence the recommendation for a Division of Planning and Development.

This Division should as a general rule be kept free from regular routine administrative duties. The regular administrative duties should be left in the administrative units as at present. When called upon to do so by the Commissioner, members of the Division should study and report upon the work of the administrative units, but they should not issue orders to superintendents or attempt to assume any direct administrative authority. If orders are to be issued, they should come from the Commissioner so that there may be no confusion in lines of responsibility and authority. Heads of administrative units should, however, be free to seek the advice and suggestions of members of the Division when technical and scientific questions are involved.

Organization and Procedure. The Commissioner of Indian Affairs should be ex officio, the chairman or director of the Division. Routine matters of administration in the Division should be handled by an executive clerk or secretary. The members of the staff of the Division should each have a permanent or residual status of independence of other members of the Division and should report directly to the Commissioner for all assignments. Their temporary relations to each other should be established from time to time by assignments to projects made by the Commissioner. Thus an organization can be perfected for each project according to the needs of that project without undue embarrassment from previously established lines of authority and responsibility, and without undue commitment as to future lines.

To be more specific, an outstanding need for planning and development at the present moment relates to the Pima Reservation where the entire situation will be changed as the result of the building of the Coolidge Dam, and the irrigation of some 30,000 to 40,000 acres of land affecting about 4500 Indians. Here the Indian Service has a problem of the first magnitude calling for the best expert advice obtainable. It would be folly to entrust it to a single superintendent whose training and experience is that of a general administrator.

The Commissioner should be able to organize through his Division of Planning and Development a special committee to develop the entire program for the work. In this instance he might select as director of the particular project an agricultural economist or a broad gauged irrigation engineer. With them should be someone

who knows thoroughly farm demonstration work, another who can tie the schools into the program, and a third who can visualize the relation of the women to the enterprise. Some legal questions will doubtless arise, relating to water rights or to the possibilities of re-allotting certain families whose present allotments may not be within the area to be irrigated or of cancelling allotments where the present allottee cannot possibly make beneficial use of the water. A lawyer may have to be assigned to give some aid in the project, and others may prove necessary. The Commissioner should be as free to organize the project as is necessary without being hampered by previously established lines of authority and without committing himself as to what he will do in another assignment.

In such a Division of Planning and Development it may happen that a member of the staff may have simultaneously two or more assignments. In one he may be a subordinate with a minor assignment, in another he may be the responsible directing head. His position in each assignment will depend on the nature and needs of the particular project.

Although the Commissioner of Indian Affairs should be the official head of the Division, it does not by any means follow that he personally must do the detailed work of planning and organizing each project. Again to resort to a specific illustration, it is generally recognized that the present uniform standardized course of study for Indian schools has outlived its usefulness. The whole subject must be gone into again from the bottom up. The Commissioner might well consult the chief administrative man in charge of schools and the strongest specialist in his Division of Planning and Development in the field of school curriculum and ask them to prepare for him a plan for the organization of this project of radical changes to make the course of study fit the needs of the particular Indians who are being provided with schools. After consultation with them and after administrative review of their recommendations, he would issue substantially their plan for the conduct of the project.

Positions in the Division. The positions in the Division should be of two types, temporary and permanent. Temporary positions should provide opportunity for the retention for projects of special importance of specialists from other organizations. In some in-

stances the positions would be temporary because the Service does not have enough work in the particular field to justify the permanent retention of a specialist in it; in others, because the specialist needed is an outstanding man in the field and could only be secured temporarily for the single project. Some of these specialists would be drawn from other organizations in the national government, notably the Public Health Service, the Department of Agriculture, the Bureau of Education, the Federal Board of Vocational Education, the Children's Bureau, the Bureau of Labor Statistics, and the United States Employment Service. In many instances in developing an agricultural program for a reservation, it would be desirable to retain temporarily specialists from the local state experiment stations and the state agricultural colleges, not only because of their specialized knowledge of local agriculture but also because through them effective plans of coöperative work between the national and the state governments can be perfected, thus facilitating the ultimate passage of the Indians from their status of wards of the national government to that of full fledged citizens of the state. Often specialists from colleges or universities or from private foundations or organizations will be found desirable, especially when they are representatives of organizations such as the American Red Cross, the National Tuberculosis Association, the American Child Health Association, or others like them, which may be in a position to render substantial aid on a coöperative basis in the actual execution of the plans after they have been developed. At times it will be desirable to have on these projects staff representatives of private organizations, which are particularly devoted to Indian affairs, and of missionary organizations which are at work in the field and whose intelligent understanding of the plan and effective coöperation in its prosecution are greatly to be desired even though they may not be absolutely essential. This device of having them represented in the formative stage would bring to the Indian Service the advantage of their knowledge and experience, and would at the same time tend to minimize that friction, now fairly frequently encountered, which generally has its origin in misunderstandings.

For the major activities of the Service which are continuous, the effort should be made to retain permanently highly qualified specialists who will quickly acquire a detailed knowledge of the Indian

Service and bring that knowledge to such temporary specialists as may from time to time be retained, so that the division coördinates the specialized knowledge of the Indian Service with the best knowledge gained by other organizations doing related work. The permanent specialists, if well qualified for their positions, will know and be in contact with the workers in their field in other organizations and will know what they are doing, and thus can advise the Commissioner regarding whom to retain for special projects.

To attempt at this time to say precisely what permanent positions should be created would be unwise, because time has not been available for a thorough discussion of the subject with the various officers of the Service and others whose detailed knowledge should be brought to bear on it. A valuable purpose will, however, be served by discussing briefly the needs as they have been seen by the members of the staff of the present survey.

Health. Promotion of health and the relief of the sick are functions of such extreme importance that they always merit first consideration. Fortunately at present the Indian Service is probably better equipped for planning and developmental work in the field of health than in any other branch of its activities. The present administration has already taken a great step in advance in enlisting the whole-hearted coöperation of the Public Health Service. The chief medical officer of the Indian Service is a commissioned officer in the Public Health Service. He is well equipped for planning and developmental work. As is set forth at length in the special report relating to health, he should be supplied with a small staff of specialists to aid him in developing and perfecting the specialized medical services which must be rendered. The position of epidemiologist at present authorized should be filled. New positions should be created for specialists representing the fields of tuberculosis, trachoma, child hygiene, venereal disease, and hospital administration. Their duties should be primarily consultive rather than administrative, and much of their time should be available for work with the Division of Planning and Development. Other needs for medical specialists can doubtless be supplied from time to time by further details from the Public Health Service in such a way that the extensive and varied resources of that strong organization will be available for the Indian Service. As has previously been

pointed out, this proposed project method of planning and development will furnish an effective means by which the aid of other organizations such as state boards of health, the American Public Health Association, the National Tuberculosis Association, the American Red Cross, the Commonwealth Fund, and the American Child Health Association can be brought in, not to do an independent unrelated thing, but to do a particular part of a carefully worked out program.

The field of public health nursing also might properly be considered under this heading of health but it seems better to take it up later under family and community life as it is so closely concerned with the education and development of women for home life.

Education. As will be repeated again and again throughout this report practically all activities of the Indian Service should be educational in the broad sense. All employees in the Division of Planning and Development will be primarily concerned with Indian education, whether they are specialists in health, in economic advancement, in family and community life, in legal affairs, or in the more formal education given in schools. Under the present heading of education, however, will be considered only those positions concerned more directly with schools.

In the vitally important field of the school program much planning and development is needed to meet changed conditions and to bring the Indian schools abreast of the schools in progressive white communities, to make them fit better into the general educational systems of the states in which they lie, and to bring about that greater diversity of educational practice and procedure called for by the great diversity in the advancement of the Indians in the different sections of the country and in the economic and social conditions which confront them. Fortunately in this field the national government already has in its service a considerable body of well qualified specialists in the different branches of educational activity which will be involved, notably, in the Bureau of Education and the Federal Board for Vocational Education. Much can therefore be achieved through coöperative effort. It would seem as if the wisest procedure would be at the outset to secure for the Division of Planning and Development one permanent specialist in education, selected because of his breadth of knowledge of the general field and his contacts with the educational activities of the country. He should be able to advise with the Commissioner and with the administrative officers in charge of schools in planning projects and serve as the liaison officer to secure from other organizations, national, state, and private, the specialists needed for particular projects. Experience may demonstrate that some of these specialists brought in for temporary assignments are rendering such valuable aid that they will be retained for very considerable periods. In this connection it should be pointed out that colleges, universities, and educational systems are recognizing in an increasing degree the desirability of releasing their specialists for special service in projects of public importance. They recognize that they themselves profit in the long run from such a practice whatever may be the immediate inconvenience. Thus the Indian Service will probably find that it can enlist for its work some of the very best men and women in the country, persons who will accept temporary appointments though they would not consider a permanent position.

Economic Development. Possibly the outstanding need of the Indian Service lies in the general field of economic development, because here the Service is, at present, at its weakest.

Abundant evidence indicates the extreme importance of agriculture. It is by far the dominant industry among the Indians. The economic resources of most of them are predominantly agricultural. Agriculture in practically all its forms means an outdoor life. The Indian by inheritance is, of course, an outdoor man; and even if this were not the fact, the data regarding his health would indicate the necessity of directing him toward outdoor work. It follows therefore that great attention should be given the subject of agricultural development.

Agricultural Economist. The first need of the Service with respect to agriculture is an agricultural economist, who with other members of the Division of Planning and Development and with the administrative officers, can make a real study of the agricultural possibilities of the several jurisdictions and formulate a more or less permanent educational agricultural program which will be fitted to the resources of each jurisdiction and will not be subject to change with changing superintendents.

Cattle and Sheep Specialists. Since much of the Indian land is fit only for grazing and since cattle raising and sheep raising are each specialties, there is need, at least for several years, for a well qualified man in each of these two subjects. Sheep raising appears to offer exceptional opportunities.

Agricultural Demonstrator. Great improvement is needed in instructing Indians in agriculture and especially in furnishing them leadership and encouragement. The permanent staff should therefore include one man thoroughly posted on agricultural demonstration work, with wide acquaintanceship among the agricultural extension workers of the country, especially of the Middle West and the Far West. In this instance personality is important, for this official should be able to stimulate the local forces in the field and, more important, the Indians themselves. Several superintendents have demonstrated the possibility of rousing in the Indians pride in accomplishment. The person selected for this position should have this power to a marked degree.

Although other agricultural specialists would be needed from time to time in the temporary positions already described, it is believed that with these four positions created and ably filled, reasonably rapid progress could be expected in the formulating of well considered plans and in getting them under way. Again attention should be called to the fact that the form of organization proposed would permit of utilizing the temporary services of specialists from the United States Department of Agriculture, from state departments, and from state agricultural colleges and experiment stations.

Vocational Guidance. Since not all Indians wish to be agriculturists and since not all reservations offer real opportunities for agricultural development, consideration must be given to getting Indians established in other industrial pursuits. Some movement to cities is already in evidence and more rather than less lies ahead. Intelligent planning and development in this field affords a real opportunity for constructive service, which will bear fruit in two ways. First, it will aid Indians in getting placed and adjusted, something which they very much need because of their lack of contact with urban industrial conditions, their lack of knowledge of these conditions and requirements, and their natural timidity when in direct contact with white competition. Second, the experience gained in these efforts will give real data for revising and developing the industrial training given in the Indian schools. It would hardly seem as if the Indian Service itself would have to develop an elaborate machinery for finding positions. For this branch of the work it should establish connections with existing agencies national, state, and local. It will, of course, require field employees on the reservations to make this work effective. The first need is for a thorough study and a well developed plan. The person selected should be well qualified for making contacts and preferably should have a fairly wide acquaintanceship with persons engaged in placement work.

Native Arts and Industries. The survey staff has been impressed by the possibilities of the development of native Indian art and its application as an enrichment to our industry. Already possibilities in this direction have been demonstrated by private organizations and activities. The whole subject is considered more at length elsewhere, both from the economic standpoint[3] and from the social and psychological.[4] It would seem that, encouraged and developed, it would not only add materially to the economic resources of the Indians, many of whom are in great need, but it would also furnish them the opportunity to make a distinctly Indian contribution to our civilization which would appeal to their very proper racial pride. The possibilities are such that the national government could well afford for several years to retain at least one competent person, who with assistance from temporary specialists could go into the matter thoroughly and determine its possibilities.

Family and Community Life. The second broad field in which much remains to be done is in planning and developing well rounded programs relating to family life, home conditions, and recreation. These subjects are closely interrelated with health, school, and economic efficiency. The conditions found by the survey and detailed recommendations with reference thereto are presented in detail in other sections of the report.[5] The purpose here is briefly

[3] Pages 531 to 533.
[4] Pages 645 to 651.
[5] See the chapter on Family and Community Life, especially pages 629 to 638, the chapter on Health, especially 259 to 274, and that on Education, especially, pages 348 to 351 and 399 to 402.

to point out the positions in these fields which should be provided for in the Division of Planning and Development.

Public Health Nursing. Under the present administration the Indian Service has recognized the need for well trained public health nurses to visit the Indian homes, both to care for the sick and to give instructions in matters relating to health. It already has on its central staff a public health nurse whose duties are to develop this highly important activity. The beneficial results of this work are already apparent, although the Service has been handicapped by lack of funds for its rapid extension. The Division of Planning and Development should include at least one specialist in this field, so that as rapidly as possible the needs of the several jurisdictions for this important service may be determined and presented to Congress for appropriations. The necessity for the rapid development of this Service is so great as to warrant the recommendation that at least one well equipped person be free to devote all her time to planning and development, relieved of all responsibilities for the routine of administration.

Home Demonstration Work. The Indian Service has long recognized in the field the need for what is known generally as home demonstration work, but the standards which it set for this activity, arrived at years ago when such activities were in their infancy, have been too low to be effective. It has recently made a noteworthy advance in connection with teaching domestic science and home making in the schools, through the employment for its central staff, of a person technically trained and experienced in domestic science and home making. It needs to apply the same principle in its work on the reservation. The first step in this direction should be securing for its Division of Planning and Development a person thoroughly trained and experienced in home demonstration work in rural communities, so that it may have the benefit of the great body of knowledge and experience that has been accumulated in this field.

Social Service. The Service apparently has never had the advantage of the great body of knowledge and experience which has been accumulated through what, for lack of a better term, is called social work and which concerns itself with aiding handicapped families or individuals in adjusting themselves to their environment. The leading colleges and universities now give courses covering these fields and several special schools of high rank have been established to train persons in the principles involved and their application. Persons with this excellent training and with wide and successful practical experience are available. One such person should be on the central staff of the Indian Service, so that it will have the benefit of this type of knowledge and be kept in contact with the organizations that are now rendering such service in white communities, both urban and rural. The need for work of this character in the Indian Service is striking, as will be apparent from reading the section of this report regarding family life.[6]

Law and Order. The Division of Planning and Development would be incomplete without one permanent man with excellent legal training. He should have in addition a broad social background, as many of the legal matters with which he will be concerned are distinctly social in their nature, marriage and divorce, the handling of petty offenders, juvenile and adult, the provision of legal aid for the poor and ignorant in cases which are petty from a national standpoint but vital to the individual Indian who is trying to get on his feet and finds himself victimized by his sharper neighbor. The questions of whether the Indians should be subject to state laws regarding marriage and divorce and crime, for example, cannot be answered by one uniform decision, applicable to the entire Indian country; they must be answered by detailed studies of particular jurisdictions with due regard to the social and economic conditions of the Indians and their geographical location or, in other words, their isolation. These subjects are of course discussed in detail in other sections of the report.[7] It is believed that they demonstrate clearly the need for a permanent position to be filled by a person competent to bring to their consideration specialized knowledge and wide experience and to establish contacts with organizations having special experience in these fields.

Classification of Positions, Salaries, Appropriations, etc. These recommendations for permanent positions in the Division of Planning and Development would call for eleven specialists in addition to the five needed as assistants to the medical director who might administratively be attached to his office. One permanent

[6] Pages 547 to 661.
[7] Pages 743 to 811.

position should be created in each of the following fields; school education, agricultural economics, cattle raising, sheep raising, agricultural demonstration, vocational guidance and placement, development and application of native arts and industries, public health nursing, home demonstration, social work, and law in its social aspects. Again it should be emphasized that in the broad sense every one of these positions, whatever the specialty, would be primarily concerned with Indian education.

These positions should be classified as of senior professional grade (Grade 5) of the Professional and Scientific Service, as established by the Classification Act of 1923. Their duties will require them to perform advisory and research work based upon the established principles of a profession or science, and requiring professional scientific or technical training equivalent to that represented by graduation from a college or university of recognized standing, and many years of practical, successful and progressive experience in the application of these principles. They will be required to serve as consulting specialists and independently to plan, organize, and conduct investigations in original research or developmental work in their special professional, scientific, or technical fields. They should be persons of established reputation and standing. Their salaries under the Classification Act should range from $5200 to $6000.

In some instances it may prove practicable to fill these positions by the transfer of persons already on the professional and scientific staffs of other government offices, but in general they should be filled by open competition nationally advertised. This advertising could well embody an announcement of plans for the developing and improving the service for the Indians. Well done it would not only attract an able group of competitors but also would greatly strengthen the standing of the Indian Service with the public.

The appropriation for this Division, exclusive of the specialists to aid the medical director, should be a lump sum to be available for salaries and travelling expenses, including by all means attendance at meetings at government expense. To allow for freedom in employing temporary specialists and an adequate allowance for travelling expenses and clerical assistance an appropriation of $250,000 is recommended.

STRENGTHENING THE SCHOOL AND AGENCY FORCES IN DIRECT CONTACT WITH THE INDIANS

The second fundamental step in improving the Indian Service should be to strengthen those forces that come in direct contact with the Indians.

Superintendents' Salaries Should be Increased. The Service is to be congratulated on the high average level it has been able to maintain in the positions of school and agency superintendents, despite the relatively low salaries paid for these positions. To no small extent this situation may be due to the fact that many of these men are now past middle age and have spent many years in the Service. Several of the outstanding ones entered during the nineties, when opportunities were few and when men of excellent general training and ability could be secured for relatively small salaries. In these later years of higher prices and high costs of living, they have stayed on, partly because of their devotion to their work and to the Indians, and partly because training and experience as superintendent of an Indian reservation or an Indian school have little market outside the government. The question of comparative salaries was forced upon the attention of the survey staff when on the way from a fairly large reservation with all its intricate problems of human relations a stop was made to visit a strip coal mine, and it was learned that the man who operated the electrical scoop shovel got more for his comparatively short day than did the superintendent of the Indian reservation who could know no hours.

The salaries of superintendents have been adjusted somewhat through the so-called reclassification of the field services of the government, but further increases are warranted. The effort should be to make effective the plan of having a fairly wide salary range for each superintendency, with the minimum in the neighborhood of the present salaries and with a maximum materially higher; as much as a third to a half higher would not be in the least unreasonable. Efficient and able superintendents with fine records and long service should be advanced to the maximum.

Transfers of Superintendents Should be Minimized. The range between the minimum salary and the maximum should be especially wide in the case of the smaller jurisdictions. To a certain

extent it is perhaps necessary and inevitable that they be used as training schools for the superintendents, but such use is hard on the Indians. When a superintendent has established friendly relations with his Indians, has won their confidence, and is exerting real leadership, his success may be rewarded by his transfer to another jurisdiction where the salary is higher. His own emotions may be mixed; the natural satisfaction of having a higher salary offset by regret at having to leave a job just at a time when he believed that he had steam up and was ready for real progress. Time and time again in the course of the survey it was almost pathetic to talk with superintendents whose hearts were with the Indians they had left behind, and whose overwhelming desire was to know how things were going with them, and what the survey staff thought of conditions on that reservation. It was, moreover, pathetic to talk with the Indians and to hear from them the many expressions of admiration and regard for the superintendent who had gone. Perhaps a past superintendent always looks better than a present one, but often the Indians would give concrete evidence of the real positions of leadership that the past superintendent had achieved and which so far as could be observed the successor did not promise to reach.[1] Every effort should be exerted to hold transfers of superintendents to a minimum and to provide for rewarding successful work on a small reservation by higher salary on that reservation. Too great emphasis can hardly be laid on the necessity for a superintendent to know his Indians and have their confidence, and that is something which cannot be done in a day.

Retirement Ages Should be Reduced. The age of retirement, under the present retirement law, is seventy, an age altogether too high for the Indian field service, and especially for superintendents of reservations. Only the exceptional man in the sixties, especially the late sixties, is possessed of the physical vigor demanded for

[1] In one striking case the home of a comparatively young Indian man was visited. A former superintendent had inspired him to real effort and he had been well on the road to success. As the Indian farmer who was our guide expressed it "He was sort of a pet of Mr. —. Mr. — would go out evenings whenever he could get a few of the boys together and he would sit round with them talking farming, and he had this boy going. The next man was more of an office man and he didn't get out much with the Indians. After Mr. — left this boy quit, and nobody has been able to get him to take any interest since."

effective work in the real Indian country. Distances are great, roads often poor, sometimes passable only after strenuous physical labor in snow, rain, or mud, bridges are often doubtful and sometimes entirely absent, and the temperature ranges are extreme. Often a trip to a distant part of the jurisdiction requires the better part of a day, driving through a country so remote that the persons in the car are almost entirely dependent on their own resources in case of any trouble. Lunch must be carried or eaten out of cans at a trader's store along the road. When night comes the superintendent is fortunate if he can put up with one of his district employees in a warm house, where he can get a meal prepared by a good cook and have a good bed in a room with the chill off. He may be where he is thankful to have a bed at all and to have a stove and firewood.

Under conditions such as these, it is not surprising to find some of the superintendents of advanced age becoming office men, spending much of their time on paper work that more vigorous superintendents delegate to their chief clerks, making their Indians come long distances to them even regarding fairly petty matters, and depending almost entirely for the necessary information as to actual conditions upon the reports of their district employees, reports the reliability of which the more vigorous superintendents check by first hand observation. The district employees find themselves left pretty much to their own devices, with only such direction and inspiration as the superintendent can give them at the agency office. The Indians, quick to observe and often to criticize, do not miss the facts. Their feeling sometimes is bitter, especially if a considerable part of the cost of administering the reservation is paid from tribal funds, or if they have previously had a superintendent whose belief was that a superintendent's main job is to be out on the reservation with his Indians, stimulating them to economic effort and to the improvement of home conditions. The best superintendents do take this view, and although they require a great deal of their district employees and place responsibility on them, they really supervise and direct their work on the spot where they can see conditions with their own eyes, and talk with the Indians involved, not in a hurried interview in the office, dependent entirely upon words exchanged through an interpreter, but right on the Indian's own land or in his own shack with the family gathered

about. One can often see more in such a visit than the district employee could possibly report, especially where it is very evident that the Indian and the district man are not getting along.

The purpose of stating this situation clearly is not to blame the men of advanced age for not doing things which physically they are unfit to do. An attempt to do them would in some cases be almost suicidal. The purpose is to show the reason for recommending that retirement in the Indian Service be made permissible at age sixty and compulsory at age sixty-five with permissive extensions in exceptional cases to seventy. The employee at sixty should have the privilege of saying "the time has come for me to quit, I am too old to do the work," and the government should have the privilege of retiring him upon its own initiative. The adoption of this provision would materially raise the average level of the superintendents in the Service.

Retirement Allowances Should be Revised. In this connection it should be pointed out that a mere change in the ages of retirement will not be very effective in inducing voluntary retirement unless the retirement allowances for the higher paid employees in the government service are made more nearly adequate, and have some relationship to the salary of the position occupied. The superintendent occupying a position paying $3000 with a comfortable house, lighted and heated, is going to hesitate a long time before he voluntarily applies for retirement on $1200 with no allowances. It is a whole lot easier to degenerate into a swivel-chair superintendent. The administration, too, will be slow to act especially if the superintendent has a long record of good service, and if the decline is gradual and not marked by any bad breaks.

Higher Qualifications for New Employees. Future appointments to superintendencies should be made with more consideration of the technical requirements of the positions on the particular reservations and the qualifications possessed by the available candidates. On certain reservations the economic possibilities are of an outstanding type, such as farming under natural rainfall, farming under irrigation, stock raising, or forestry. Other things being anywhere nearly equal, a person with good fundamental training and experience in these fields is likely to prove superior to someone whose chief qualifications for the work are his knowledge of the

office and of an Indian agency and his familiarity with the rules and regulations of the Service. Personality and administrative ability must of course always be given major consideration, but it should be possible in a Service as large as that dealing with the Indians to find persons possessed of these qualities in addition to the highly desirable training and experience in the lines along which lie the principal opportunities for the economic advancement of the particular Indians. One of the reasons for the recommendations which are to follow for raising the requirements for farmers, foresters, industrial and other teachers, and other professional and scientific subordinate workers, and for the establishment of the scientific and professional Division of Planning and Development, already described, is that such provisions will give the Service a far larger body of well equipped persons from whom selection may be made for promotion to superintendents. Examination of the ages of the superintendents will disclose that in the course of the next ten years the Service will have to replace a very considerable number of its veteran superintendents; and it may be questioned whether the younger timber at present in sight is as good as the old, for in the past ten or fifteen years positions in the Indian Service have not been nearly as attractive as they were when the present older superintendents entered the Service. It must be stated clearly that many of the present younger superintendents are excellent men and that there is no intention of discrediting them as a class in any way; but the Service will probably have to make more replacements in the fairly near future than it has for a good many years, and it should be giving consideration to that fact because of the vitally important place that superintendents, both school and agency, occupy in work for the advancement of the Indians.

Raising Qualifications for Employees in Direct Contact with Indians. The entrance standards for all positions where the employee comes in direct contact with the Indians to aid and lead them in a technical field should be placed on a reasonably high professional basis. It must be constantly borne in mind that these persons are primarily teachers; that their duties are not to do for the Indians but to teach the Indians to do for themselves and to give them encouragement and leadership. In some of the more remote parts

of the Indian country these employees furnish the chief contact which the Indians have with the government and with the white race. Some of the day schools, for example, are literally outposts of civilization, miles away from agency headquarters,* miles away from the nearest white neighbors. There is altogether too wide a variation between the best and the worst employees. A few were found surprisingly effective, but others unfortunately were pitifully weak and ineffective. All turns on the ability of the teacher and the housekeeper, usually a man and his wife, out by themselves, far beyond the possibility of any really effective supervision. High standards must be maintained for positions such as these. It is a waste of funds to have qualifications so low that persons can meet the requirements who could not satisfy those set up by many states for positions in an ordinary school where the work is done under direct supervision.

Agricultural Demonstration Agents. In the section on general economics,† are discussed at length the present qualifications and duties of the so-called farmers. With the salaries and the entrance qualifications as they have been the surprising fact is that there are actually some really good ones. One would really like to know why a former teacher, a graduate of a normal school, and a student of agriculture, with a wife and seven children to support, is content to work for a hundred dollars a month and his house in a fairly isolated station; how he maintains his contacts with and secures coöperation from the state experiment station and the county demonstration agents; how he has actually succeeded in stimulating his Indians to go into that combination of turkeys, Rhode Island Red chickens, and milk cows, with some crop-raising on the side; how he succeeds in coöperating effectively with the missionaries and the day school teacher; how in general he has done things in such a way that one leaves the jurisdiction with the feeling that here is a demonstration of what can be done. The explanation doubtless is that he is a born teacher, fairly well trained, with a passion for agricultural development and without much thought for the tangible rewards of effort. Suppose since the passage of the Dawes

* The distances between field headquarters and sub-units are given in the outline of organization of the Indian Service in Schmeckebier, pp. 334-92.

† Pages 530 to 531.

act, the farmers of the Indian Service as a class had been the equals of this man, what would have been the status of the Indian today? At the other extreme are the farmers who as agriculturists appeal, unwittingly, only to the Indian's sense of humor. One farmer frankly admitted that he could not teach the Indians anything; he did not even raise a garden for himself or keep a cow, he couldn't raise anything in this country; but the Indians were doing it and had been for years, despite the difficulties. That was the only way they had to live.

The qualifications for farmers should be raised to the level required for agricultural demonstration agents and the salaries correspondingly increased.

A word should be said here against using farmers and other employees who should be teachers and leaders as law enforcement officers. On one of the reservations visited by the survey staff, four men of the group were taken to visit homes by the farmer. The Indians called upon were so thoroughly frightened and ill at ease that practically nothing could be learned that could not be seen. Later in talking with the farmer it developed that his real joy in life was in being sent to catch an Indian wanted for some offense. He described his technique, which was in brief to surprise the Indians in their homes or camps just before daybreak. Although such work may be necessary, it should not be done by the person who is supposedly trying to teach them agriculture. In this particular instance the Indians are already farming, but according to the local county agricultural agent, they need instruction and aid in renovating their soil, now rapidly approaching depletion through constant planting of corn. He hoped himself to be able to do something for them, because he believed their condition would be serious in a few years if it were not done, as yields have already become low. The government farmer made no report of this condition, which is basic to the economic welfare of these Indians. As he had himself never gone beyond the first year of high school and had no scientific training in agriculture, it is extremely doubtful if he had the technical knowledge to determine the needs of that particular soil condition and to work out the rotation of crops and other treatment that are required if these Indian farmers are to be rewarded for their labor.

Workers Aiding Families. In other sections of this report are discussed in detail the needs for several different types of work with Indian families to improve their living conditions and their health and to aid them in making the adjustments required by the pressure of highly organized white civilization.[11] These types of service are public health instructive nursing; actual care of the sick; the constructive administration of poor relief; instruction in home making and management, including particularly diet and cooking, home sanitation, the intelligent use of the family income, and methods of supplementing that income through activities which will strengthen rather than weaken family life; aid in overcoming those conditions which are at present resulting in broken homes, irregular relations between the sexes, irregular or no school attendance, and delinquency; encouragement in the development of recreation and community activities using both the Indians' own native games, sports, and gatherings, and those of the whites which the Indians enjoy, as an indirect attack upon the use of alcohol and peyote and other drugs and as a means of gradually eliminating such features of Indian dances, games, and celebrations as are actually detrimental to health and economic well being.

In the discussion of the proposed Division of Planning and Development it has been recommended that the central office secure for the laying out of programs and for aiding and advising superintendents and other field workers, technically trained specialists in each of these broad branches, either as permanent or temporary employees, and that it secure the coöperation of national organizations devoted to them. To have in each local jurisdiction a separate trained professional worker for each function is of course utterly out of the question. Many of the jurisdictions are altogether too small to warrant it. Several are so small that reliance must be placed on one or two persons to perform all these varied functions with such aid and assistance as can be secured from the superintendent and other local employees, and from the specialists in the central office and the contacts made through them. Several of the jurisdictions are large enough to warrant three or more workers. Some, notably the Osages, are wealthy enough to have several if the Indians can be convinced that such workers will render them a service of inestimable value.

[11] See pages 189 to 345, 547 to 661.

Exactly what positions should be provided in a given jurisdiction and how the different duties should be distributed between them should be worked out by the specialists in the Division of Planning and Development after a careful study of local conditions. Some jurisdictions with a large number of Indians have such magnificent distances and such poor roads, that the practical solution will doubtless be to divide the territory into districts with one general worker in each district, and possibly one or two with special ability in fields particularly important in that jurisdiction located at the agency headquarters and working out from there. In other larger jurisdictions where the Indians are easily reached, it will doubtless prove more satisfactory to have the work divided on a functional basis with trained workers in the several branches with headquarters at the central agency office. Nothing uniform and standardized can be recommended offhand for application in all jurisdictions, because the needs of the jurisdictions are so different and the physical conditions so diverse. Study and planning are necessary to arrive at a sound plan.

An illustration of the necessity for planning on the basis of local conditions may be worthwhile. The employment of a trained specialist in recreation and community activities for the nomad Navajo would at this time be almost ludicrous. With the Osages, on the other hand, the employment of such a worker, the very best that can be obtained, appears to be a fundamentally important first step in an effort to combat the bad social conditions which threaten to engulf the whole tribe. The Navajos have little leisure and they rarely get together; they are too busy attending to their sheep. The Osages have little but leisure; their problem is what to do with it. They love to get together, hence the Peyote Church and the feast incidental to it, and the elaborate buildings constructed at the expense of individual Indians for community gatherings. Here is a force that is going to find an outlet. The question is can it be turned into channels that will strengthen these people or is it inevitable that they be submerged by it? The program here, it would seem, must begin with recreation. If recreation succeeds, contacts will have been established through which they may be aided in other directions, which to some persons may seem more important.

The Establishment of District Centers Within Reservations. In those jurisdictions where distances and road conditions make administration from a central agency office difficult, the policy of dividing the territory into districts should be generally followed, and large authority and responsibility should be vested in the district officers. This policy is already successfully applied in several jurisdictions. Indians should not have to make long trips to the central office of the agency and thus be kept sitting or standing around in idleness waiting to see the superintendent regarding minor matters of routine. The policy of having certain days on which scores of Indians flock to have audiences with the superintendent and other officers at the central agency,[11] and then wait around in crowds until decisions have been reached and action taken, is demoralizing to the Indians and is open to some of the objections which are advanced against Indian ceremonies, notably, taking the Indians away from their homes and farms. Coming to the agency with the whole family to camp for a few days, even if to see the superintendent, means just as much of a break in routine as does any other camping trip.

The superintendent of such a large agency should keep himself free for general supervision and leadership and should not permit a large part of his time to be taken up with routine requests relating to small matters. Several of the superintendents have abundantly demonstrated the practicability of such an organization, and they are as a rule the ones that are making the most substantial progress with their Indians.

The local or district men and women, if properly trained and equipped, will be working on a carefully planned, well considered program with respect to each of the families within their jurisdictions. This plan should be worked out by them in consultation with the superintendent, and after he has approved it they should be free to go ahead with it, including all such routine as is incident to the program, subject of course to general supervision from the superintendent.

[11] This should not be construed as a recommendation against the establishment of definite days and hours when the superintendent or other officers may be found at the office by Indians who really want to see him, or have matters of major importance to transact, or whose cases have been referred to him by the district officers.

Insofar as practicable the local units or districts in an agency should be developed so that they can render well rounded service for the Indians of the district. They should become social centers to which the Indians will naturally come, and from which they may be effectively reached. The superintendents should, as a rule, work through these units and not directly with the individual Indian. The success of such a program will depend in no small measure on the capacity of the district or local people, notably the agricultural demonstration or other economic leader, the field public health nurse and home demonstration worker, the local teachers, and others who are stationed there.

The missionary boards or other officials of missionary projects who are responsible for the activities of their local representatives should exercise greater supervision over them, and should visit them more frequently. They should be especially prompt to make first hand investigations in the field upon receipt of complaints from their local people regarding the misconduct of government employees, and their failure to coöperate. The governing boards should bear in mind the old adage that it takes two to make a quarrel, and that the chances are perhaps even that the missionaries are themselves as much responsible for the situation as are the government employees. Such friction where it develops seriously handicaps both the government and the missionaries. Rarely are both sides broad enough and wise enough to keep their difficulties to themselves. It is much more human for one or the other and generally both, to talk to the Indians, who frequently take sides. If the missionaries are of one faith or sect and the officers are of another, and if the Indians are adherents of different denominations, it is possible, if action is not promptly taken, for most regrettable factionalism to arise. Constructive work may be laid aside for the sake of the fight. In isolated communities with few contacts with the outside, the difficulties may reach an intensity which seems almost psychopathic. The missionary boards should first calmly and dispassionately make sure of the rightness of their own representative, preferably by a first hand visit, and should not back him to the limit on his *ex parte* statements. They may discover that the difficulty had its origin in the fact that the missionary does not approve of the prevailing fashion in women's dress and thinks that the superintendent should prescribe the styles

for the women employees of the government on the reservation, or that the missionary thinks dancing is sinful and takes vigorous exception to the superintendent's permitting the government employees to hold on Friday or Saturday nights, or holidays, what appear to the outsider as innocuous little community dances. On the other hand, the missionary may have a really substantial case which the organization responsible for the presence of the missionary should promptly bring to the attention of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs for correction in that jurisdiction. The national boards should recognize this great responsibility and should appreciate the natural reticence of the government officers in lodging complaints against missionaries, especially when the difficulty has its origin in the fact that the missionary is vigorously insisting on a literal and strict observance of a rule of church discipline toward which ministers in larger, more sophisticated communities, often take a more tolerant, more charitable attitude. In these local units of the Indian Service it is of the utmost importance that the missionaries and the government employees should work in the closest harmony, and that there should be united effort of all in the furtherance of a well considered plan—economic, social, and spiritual.

THE MAXIMUM POSSIBLE DECENTRALIZATION OF AUTHORITY

The Indian Service, until the recent establishment of district superintendencies, was highly centralized. Perhaps the most striking single illustration of this fact is the uniform course of study prescribed from Washington for all Indian schools, carried to the extreme of having all important examination papers sent out from Washington. Another is the great mass of uniform rules and regulations prescribing in great detail uniform practice and procedure. Yet what strikes the careful observer in visiting the Indian jurisdictions is not their uniformity, but their diversity, a diversity affecting practically every phase of activity.[11] One might say that the only common fact is that all deal with Indians but even so the

[11] Even in such a special subject as forestry and forest protection uniformity does not exist. The forest problems radically differ, for example in Quinaielt, Klamath, and Menominee. A uniform plan of protection from fires may meet the needs on many reservations but may be found on careful detailed investigation to be unnecessary and a waste of funds in a broken country like Pine Ridge.

Indians are of many different tribes, of many linguistic stocks, and of many different native cultures. Some are predominantly full-bloods, some predominantly mixed-bloods. From the standpoint of practical administration affecting social and economic conditions the term "Indian" seems to be of importance chiefly from the standpoint of law.

The Need for Decentralization. Because of this diversity, it seems imperative to recommend that a distinctive program and policy be adopted for each jurisdiction, especially fitted to its needs. Certain broad principles and policies will be common to many if not all, yet their application in individual cases may differ materially. To make such a general procedure effective local superintendents must be left with wide authority within the scope of the approved program as they cannot well be controlled by minute uniform rules and regulations applicable to the entire Service.

A step apparently in the direction of decentralization has recently been taken in the division of the Indian country into nine districts, each in the charge of a district superintendent.[12] Several of these district superintendents are also superintendents of particular reservations or agencies. With respect to their broad districts, their duties are primarily inspectional and advisory, not administrative. They are not in the direct line between the reservation or school superintendent and the Washington office. They do not pass on all transactions between the superintendents and the office. The organization thus remains highly centralized.

The difficulties resulting from high centralization have been touched upon at different points in the present chapter, but a brief summary of them here may be helpful. The Indians are widely scattered, in isolated sections, many of them at a great distance from Washington. Because of the distances and the isolation, delays in securing administrative action in a highly centralized system are inevitable even if prompt action can be taken by the central office. The diversity of the conditions on the different reservations makes it extremely difficult, if not impossible, for the personnel in Washington, especially the subordinate personnel, to have an intimate detailed knowledge of local conditions. A tendency toward uniformity of treatment almost inevitably results.

[12] For districts and superintendencies under them, see Schmeckebier, pp. 272-73, 347-92.

What has been found good for one is assumed to be good for all. Because certain features of certain Indian dances are found to be injurious to the health of the Indians and to interfere with their economic development, it is easy to take a general position against all Indian dances. Because favorable reports are received regarding the success of a certain practice in treating trachoma in a given area, it seems simple to issue a general circular suggesting its use to the entire service affected. Because so excellent a device as the five-year program is producing good results where economic possibilities exist, pressure may be brought to bear on superintendents to adopt it in places where grave doubt exists as to whether the economic resources are sufficient to warrant making a distinctive feature of it. Reports, letters, and other paper work are greatly increased. The local superintendent and his assistants have to make the effort to put into words and figures what sometimes must be actually seen to be appreciated. Sometimes the matters involved are really of first importance and the superintendent's time is well spent. At times they are of much less importance, and the superintendent must devote energies much needed in other directions to showing why something good on other reservations is not applicable on his own. These things tend to diminish his authority and his responsibility. He can often say truthfully, in matters requiring prompt action, that he cannot act without specific authority from Washington, or in matters which seem open to criticism that a certain course was taken in accordance with general instruction from Washington, and that he personally thinks it a mistake. Occasionally a superintendent will be encountered who has the reputation of being so desirous of playing absolutely safe that he puts almost everything up to the Washington office, despite the fact that a prompt exchange of letters takes ten days to two weeks. In exceptional cases a superintendent is painfully embarrassed, if not discredited either with the Indians or with his employees, because his recommendations are reversed without what he regards as consideration of all the facts, or because although sustained, the action comes so late as to be ineffective or harsh.

Two Possible Steps. Although no form of organization or procedure will entirely overcome such difficulties, yet it is believed that a determined effort should be made toward further decentralization. Two different possible courses have been given careful consideration by the survey staff, which may be briefly stated as follows:

1. To develop district offices under district superintendents, and to place these district offices in the administrative line between school and agency superintendents and the Washington office. This course is not recommended.

2. To increase the authority and responsibility of agency and school superintendents, and to control them not through minute rules and regulations but through the establishment of definite programs for their jurisdictions, and through periodical visits and reports from specialists in the several lines of activity involved. This course seems wise.

Objections to the District System. The field work of the survey tended to bring out the objections that lie against the establishment of district offices.

Although distances would thus be lessened, the factor of distances and the absence of district superintendents from their headquarters would still be important causes of delay.

Unless the districts were to be fairly small and hence numerous, they would have to embrace jurisdictions with widely different social and economic conditions, thus rendering the position of district superintendent an extremely difficult one to fill adequately because of the diversity of the requirements.

District offices would radically complicate the relationship between the Commissioner of Indian Affairs and the superintendents of large or difficult agencies or schools where big or serious problems are being attacked. The Commissioner would be under obligation to deal with these reservation or school superintendents through the district superintendents instead of directly, or else run the risk of undermining the whole district system.

Friction might easily develop between district superintendents and local superintendents leading to situations difficult of solution without transferring one or the other. The more resourceful, able, and vigorous the local superintendent the greater chance for conflict unless the district superintendent was either himself big and able or was content to let his local superintendents run their own affairs. In several instances the reservation superintendent would of neces-

sity have to be more of an expert in certain lines than the district superintendent himself, as for example, at such reservations as Pima, Klamath, and Yakima.

The existence of such district superintendents in the direct administrative line would tend to decrease the authority and responsibility of reservation superintendents, thereby making the positions less attractive to men of real ability, whereas one of the main problems of the Service is to make them more attractive. These reservation superintendents, in direct contact with the Indians, have to be the real leaders.

Placing district superintendents in direct line over school and agency men would in all probability tend to hold down or depress the salaries for the local superintendent in direct contact with the Indians. The view is commonly taken in governmental work that the salary for the position higher in the line of administrative authority must have superior pay. Since the reservation superintendent is subordinate to the district superintendent, it will be agreed, he should not get as much salary; yet actually salaries for real leaders on large important reservations should be as high as, or even higher than, for district superintendents only indirectly in contact with the Indians.

If the districts should be made sufficiently small to have substantial unity of problems and reasonably ready communication, and if each district office should be staffed with the necessary clerks and specialists, a very considerable sum would have to be spent for an overhead district organization not in direct contact with the Indians. Unless the district offices should have some specialists the local superintendents would be supervised by another general man, like themselves, but higher in authority. The outstanding need is not closer general supervision of superintendents but more aid and advice from persons who can help in those fields in which the superintendents necessarily must be weak in training and experience. Additional appropriation according to this view should be spent in developing a strong staff of specialists to work from the Washington office to give to the whole Service the benefit of this professional aid and advice, and to strengthen the local staffs dealing directly with the Indians, thereby eventually diminishing the necessity for close supervision. Expenditures in these two directions would, it is believed, remedy the situation without a material increase in the overhead for purely general administration.

One further reason for the recommendation against really administrative district offices should be cited. Their establishment would involve radical changes in the organization and procedure of the Service and could not easily be made effective by a gradual transition. It would be a radical operation.

The changes here recommended would not require radical revision of present lines of authority and responsibility. The administrative lines would remain much as they are. The advancement would come through the gradual transition resulting from the advice and coöperation of the central technical staff and from the strengthening of local officers aiding the Indians in improving their social and economic condition.

Advantages of Increased Authority for Local Superintendents. The advantage of increasing the administrative authority of the local superintendents, with contact through inspections and reports from specialists in several branches, may be briefly summarized as follows:

1. It would result in prompt and effective administration, overcoming to the maximum possible extent the tremendous handicap of distance and isolation.

2. Through coöperation between the superintendent and his local force and the Commissioner of Indian Affairs and his Division of Planning and Development, it would permit of providing for each jurisdiction a service particularly adapted to local conditions, uncomplicated by a strong tendency toward uniformity, although, through the Division of Planning and Development, the Commissioner and the local superintendents would have the benefit of the experience of the entire Indian Service and of organizations doing similar work for other groups.

3. It would increase the responsibility of local superintendents, justifying the payment of higher salaries and the raising of the general level of requirements.

4. It would bring to the aid of the superintendent not the coöperation of another general man like himself, higher in the official hierarchy, but instead that of several different specialists in distinct lines and possessed of training and experience to make them successful.

5. It would provide for investigation of complaints by technically competent persons not in the administrative line and not directly involved in administration.

6. It would be more economical even with the necessary higher salaries than the establishment of a new set of fully equipped district offices.

7. It would be a simpler and more direct system from the standpoint of the Commissioner in dealing with important problems affecting individual jurisdictions.

8. Transition can be made smoothly from the present system through the establishment of the Division of Planning and Development, the strengthening of the local staff, and a revision of the rules and regulations, progressive and experimental.

A possible objection to this plan lies in the fact that by increasing the authority and responsibility of local superintendents, they would be rendered more directly subject to attack from disgruntled Indians, disgruntled whites, and politicians catering to powerful groups of local whites desirous of getting possession of Indian property or property rights, such, for instance, as water for irrigation. The local superintendent could not so easily shift the responsibility to the Washington office or to minute rules and regulations. This difficulty, however, seems by no means insurmountable.

Broad rules and regulations would still be in existence gradually supplanting the present detailed ones, and they would be drawn with this situation particularly in mind. The superintendent, too, could refer matters obviously ticklish to the Washington office for advice or instructions.

More important would be prompt investigation by the Washington office of matters of controversy. Much good would result from open public hearings of complaints against superintendents, with opportunity for both sides to be heard, especially the persons who are making complaints and finding fault, supervisory administrative officers both from the field and from Washington, and representatives of public spirited organizations interested in the advancement of the Indians. Although such open hearings take time and involve some formalities, they have a curative value that justifies the cost and effort. More or less secret inspections often leave the situation much as it was, because people who believe they have evidence have no recognized established way of presenting it.

It is not at all uncommon to encounter Indians and whites, too, who say in effect "The inspectors were here, but they did not see us, they talked with the superintendent and a few of his followers and left before we had any chance to tell them our side." Investigators of this type have earned for inspectors among the Sioux the expressive but not altogether desirable title of "The Big Cat."[a] Much good would result if the proceedings could be more judicial in character, and leave all concerned with the feeling that full and complete opportunity had been afforded them to have their evidence considered. Doubtless many a statement made with vigor and possibly with elaboration in a more or less private interview would be materially modified if the speaker were on the witness stand in a public hearing.

In this connection it should perhaps be said that prompt dismissal from the Service or retirement should follow a finding that the superintendent or other local officer has been negligent, incompetent, or arbitrary, or has failed to afford full and complete protection of the Indians' rights and interests. In a criminal case the accused is, of course, entitled to the benefit of all reasonable doubts, but to apply this rule to the right to hold an office such as that of superintendent of an Indian reservation is likely to defeat the very purposes which the government has in maintaining the position. The question is whether the superintendent has so far lost the confidence and respect of the Indians that he cannot render effective leadership. If the evidence shows absence of any moral delinquency or of any defect in character or personality, the fact that he has lost the confidence of the Indians and cannot get along with them should not necessarily result in his dismissal. Transfer to another jurisdiction might in certain cases be the appropriate remedy, but transfers should not be made if there has been moral delinquency or if the transfer has resulted from some real defect in character or personality.[b] A superintendent or any other local officer who has no faith in Indians and who cannot treat them with the respect and courtesy he would show a white man in ordinary business relations,

[a] Members of the survey staff did not particularly relish having this title used for them, especially when it was applied to the woman specialist on family life in the feminine form "The Big She Cat."

[b] For comments on practice regarding transfers, see Schmeckebier, pp. 72, 298.

lost a fundamental qualification for his work. A superintendent
o has perhaps unwittingly permitted himself to be actively drawn
o the social and business life of those elements of the white
mmunity which are believed by the Indians to be preying upon
n may not in all cases merit dismissal, but he has gone a long
y toward destroying his usefulness in that jurisdiction if not to
Service as a whole. In business affairs, if not in social affairs,
superintendent should keep himself above suspicion. It might
n be wise for the Service to have rules prohibiting its local
ployees and their families from participating in local business
erprises either as stock holders or directors." The fact that the
erintendent is a director in a bank may have nothing whatsoever
do with the fact that a claim of the bank gets priority to the
m of an Indian for a given property, but it is hard to make the
lians believe it. To the impartial observer it looks at least as if
superintendent has done something inconsistent with the re-
rements of his position.

The immediate steps recommended with respect to organization
procedure are therefore the establishment of the Division of
nning and Development, and the strengthening of the local
ces in immediate contact with responsibility of local super-
ndents.

commended Revision of Rules and Regulations. In con-
tion with this third recommendation, a specific recommendation
uld be made for an early revision of the rules and regulations.
this purpose it would seem desirable to have a committee and
-committee patterned after those which have been so success-
ly developed under the Chief Coördinator of the Budget Bureau.
is committee should contain representatives of the Indian Office

The law and the regulations already prohibit employees from dealing
ndian land; and the Supreme Court of the United States had held that
titles secured through transactions in violation of this law are void, and
neither the statute of limitations nor tactics ran in favor of the pur-
sers. The general effect would be wholesome if proceedings should be
ituted to restore to the Indians lands which were taken from them in some
hose unfortunate cases where field officers have been guilty of violating
law and have been dismissed from the Service because of their offenses.
se titles are very probably void even in the hands of innocent purchasers.
such cases should be cleared up at the earliest possible day, as, unsettled,
leave grave doubt as to the validity of many of the deeds in the juris-
ion affected. Innocent third persons may be the victims.

at Washington, and of the Office of the Secretary of the Interior, outstandingly able representatives of the field forces, representatives of the Bureau of the Budget and of the Comptroller General, and possibly representatives of responsible and constructive private organizations interested in the advancement of the Indians.

Emphasis must be placed on the desirability of representatives of the Bureau of the Budget and the General Accounting Office, because these two organizations have certain regulations and controlling powers over the Indian Service and the Department of the Interior. It is imperative that these powers be exercised with real knowledge and understanding of the conditions under which work in the Indian Service must be done. A ruling of an office familiar chiefly with conditions in other services may work a real hardship on conscientious field employees in the Indian Service, and may lead to evasion by others not so conscientious. These evasions may be more costly than the practice against which the rule is directed.

A specific instance is the ruling that an employee who leaves his post after 8 A. M. and returns before 6 P. M. is not in traveling status and therefore is not entitled to reimbursement for his expenses. Under this rule a superintendent or other employee, who ordinarily eats his noon meal at home with his family, cannot be reimbursed for his expenditures for a meal when his work takes him to a remote part of his reservation unless his absence exceeds the limits thus set up. Although he ordinarily eats with his family and does not pay commercial rates for his meals, he is obliged by his official duties to make this special expenditure from his own pocket, unless his absence exceeds the prescribed limits. Salaries in the Indian Service are so low that the aggregate of those petty expenditures constitutes a considerable item for an employee who may from time to time be required several times a week to spend the best part of the day away from headquarters. The means of evasion are obvious. Be absent more than the minimum limit, even if that involves two meals instead of one and possibly a night's lodging. The government which balks at the smaller item will pay the larger one without serious question. The rule puts a premium on a leisurely program, a penalty on a crowded or full day.

Purchasing. In the field of purchasing it is particularly necessary that the controlling bodies have a clear understanding of the special

problems confronting the Indian Service. The fact is recognized that in several instances the rules and regulations promulgated by the Indian Service and the controlling agencies are made necessary by acts of Congress, some of them passed years ago when conditions were fundamentally different. The committee in studying purchasing should proceed on the assumption that Congress will be prepared to adopt such new legislation as is necessary to modernize the purchasing system, and it should draft such amendments and new legislation as it believes necessary. If the committee can present to Congress a well considered plan acceptable to the Indian Service, the Budget Bureau and the General Accounting Office, it seems entirely reasonable to assume that the approval of Congress for a more economical plan will be readily secured.

The present survey has not had time to make a detailed study of the purchasing system and the laws and regulations governing it, but it has repeatedly encountered evidence that the present system is defective. For example, at some boarding schools no dried fruit was available from the opening of school in September to late in the winter or early in the spring, and then the entire supply for the school year was received. At one school which is entirely dependent on irrigation for its farming and at which the main ditch from the river had not been kept in a reasonable condition of efficiency, the children were being fed mainly on meat, beans and potatoes, and poor bread. The poor quality of the bread the officers attributed to the ovens, surplus army or navy property. To difficulties incident to purchasing was attributed the failure to secure promptly a supply of vegetables necessary to balance the diet. Here the dairy herd had also run down so that the milk supply was extremely deficient. To lack of available appropriations was attributed the failure to secure dried or canned milk. All this was on a reservation where the tuberculosis rate is high and where the officers commented on the fact that, for some reason to them unknown, girls and boys who had previously seemed well suddenly declined rapidly from tuberculosis at adolescence.

On one reservation where stock raising is the dominant industry, the superintendent and the chief livestock man, both capable and energetic, asked the survey staff how to draw written specifications for the purchase of breeding bulls in such a way that the contract could safely be let to the lowest bidder. They did not want the

scrub bulls from a registered herd unloaded on the government. The owner of these bulls was naturally willing to sell them at a lower price than would any of his competitors who had stock of the quality necessary to maintain and develop the herd. Here some device for a local purchasing committee of experience, judgment, and integrity must be substituted for open competitive bidding on the basis of written specifications, when the price is the standard governing acceptance.

Ways must be found to shorten the period between the advertising for bids and the actual letting of the contract, especially in the purchase of commodities with a fluctuating market price. The allegation was frequently made that local dealers in the vicinity would not compete because of the delays and uncertainties involved. Under such circumstances the chances are that those who do bid set a price high enough to insure themselves against loss from market changes. Here the remedy apparently lies in materially raising the limit under which the superintendent can act without first referring his recommendation to the Washington office, and without going through all the formalities incident to a major government contract for future delivery. Such a change would result not only in more prompt deliveries, something worth a good deal in itself, but also it is believed in more competitors and a better price.

Automobiles. The purchase of automobiles and automobile supplies should receive special attention. The tendency has been to purchase the car of the lowest initial cost, generally a touring car or a roadster of one of the cheapest makes. Not enough attention has been given to the type of service which will be required of the car and what its upkeep will be. Doctors, field nurses, matrons, and superintendents ought to go out in any kind of weather. They should have closed cars, equipped, where the temperature gets low, with heaters. The cars should be maintained in first-class condition. It is the exceptional person who will, left almost entirely to his own direction as these field persons must be, work himself to the limit in extreme weather in an open car with tattered curtains, bad tires, uncertain brakes, and a doubtful engine, especially where the country is mountainous. It is far simpler and more human to find some work in the hospital, the office, or the home that really demands attention in bad weather, despite the fact that in such

weather the needs of the Indians out in their shacks are frequently the greatest.

Little economy is effected by securing tires and tubes in advance and keeping them in stock in the warehouse for long periods before they are used. It is not surprising that tires kept all summer in a galvanized iron building on the Arizona desert failed after a few thousand miles, nor that a considerable part of the time spent in the field with an exceptionably able superintendent should have gone in changing, patching, and pumping. It would be cheaper to require that each car have all tires in good condition and two spares and to give the superintendent authority to purchase new ones from the nearest dealer who has a sufficient business to keep a fresh stock and who will offer a reasonable discount from list prices. Resort might be had to the mail order houses.

Serious consideration should be given to an entire change of policy with respect to cars for individual employees. It is believed that the plan of having each employee who requires a car own and maintain his own, paying him a reasonably liberal mileage for its use on government business would be a real economy. This plan is used by some branches of the federal government, by some state and local governments, and by some private corporations. It would necessitate regular reports on the number of miles traveled and the purpose of the travel and some clerical work, but these reports would give the superintendent a good idea of the work done, and with his knowledge of the country he could check their substantial accuracy. At times the government would doubtless pay for some miles actually traveled on private business, but under the present system official cars are likewise sometimes used in that way. The great advantage would be that the employee would have an incentive to take care of his own car; that he could not attribute his own shortcomings to the type of condition of the cars furnished by the government; that it would help him to keep a car for his own and his family's personal use, thus relieving them somewhat from the isolation of their life and from the tempation to use the government car personally; and it would relieve the government from the great amount of detailed work involved in keeping records of cars and equipment, and passing upon requests for new ones, and the purchase of new ones and equipment, and checking up repair.

Many of the employees already have personal cars and several of the superintendents and other employees use them extensively for government business, although the government supplies only the gas and oil used on official business. The employees at present personally stand for the tire costs, the depreciation, and the interest. The survey staff had many illustrations of the increased efficiency that came from traveling in the personal car of the superintendent or some other employee. These cars were bought for the country where they were to be used and were in condition. Government cars unquestionably do not receive the care and attention which employees give their own cars. Lack of careful attention added to the use of certain makes in a country to which they are poorly adapted apparently results in relatively high operation and maintenance costs and low efficiency.

Form of Appropriations. The proposed committee on revision of the rules and regulations, containing representatives of the Bureau of the Budget and the General Accounting Office should likewise give attention to the form of appropriations[*] for the Indian Service and the other laws governing expenditures. Here again time has not permitted of a detailed study by the survey staff, but enough has been seen to suggest the possibility of material improvement through the use of more general and fewer specific appropriations in order to give opportunity for freer administrative action controlled by reports and accounts upon the Budget Bureau and the General Accounting Office.

In expenditures for boarding school maintenance, for example, the Indian Bureau and the Budget Bureau are now specifically controlled by an act of Congress which fixes $270 per pupil as the maximum for schools of 200 or over and $300 for schools under 200. The amount to be appropriated is determined more or less mechanically by multiplying the number of pupils in each school by the per capita agreed upon for the year and adding the products to get the total for the appropriation. The per capita must not exceed the legal limit. The results of such a mechanical method are at once evident to anyone who observes carefully a number of Indian boarding schools. An instance was recently cited of a boarding school with an irrigation system which had run down, a

[*] The appropriation act for the fiscal year 1928 is given in full in Schmeckebier, pp. 488-506.

resultingly poor farm, and a poor dairy herd. Here the per capita was woefully inadequate and its inadequacy handicapped the efforts of the superintendent and the principal to bring the plant back to efficiency. A boarding school on a neighboring reservation in the same state had an excellent irrigation plant, a remarkable farm, and an outstanding dairyman. The children had an abundance of milk, plenty of butter, loads of fresh vegetables, good home grown meat, and almost a gallon of honey per pupil per year. Sales from the farm added to its income. It was a pleasure to see these Indian children eat, effectively refuting the argument that Indian children will not drink milk and eat butter and that you can't get them to like vegetables. Each of the two schools, however, had substantially the same per capita. Either Congress itself should give more consideration to the needs of each individual school or it should delegate this authority to the Indian Office subject to suitable accounting control.

Conferences of Employees. This recommendation for a committee on rules, regulations, and procedure should be accompanied by one for the wider use and fuller development of local conferences for superintendents, other agency employees, supervisory officers from the Washington office, and members of the suggested Division of Planning and Development. The annual conference of the superintendents of the Navajo jurisdictions indicates the possibilities in this direction. It is beneficial for the superintendents and other employees to get together to discuss their problems and for the Washington officers to participate with them. Provisions should be made so that persons not in the Indian Service, specially qualified to discuss the problems the superintendents face, may attend these conferences, speak, and participate in the discussions. The superintendents and the other field employees should not be asked to keep their noses always to the grindstone; they need now and then to get and possibly to give a new vision of their work. Such labor in itself affords in a way a little rest and relaxation and is a legitimate government expense. On rare occasions a national convention of Indian workers might return many times its cost, especially if it were divided into sections for the discussion of concrete problems and if the missionary bodies and other interested organizations would coöperate fully, as there is every reason to believe they would.

CHAPTER VI

PERSONNEL ADMINISTRATION

In few if any of the larger organizations of the national government is the problem of personnel more difficult or more important than in the Indian Service.

The inherent difficulties lie in the diversity of the positions to be filled; the remoteness and isolation of many of the stations, not only rendering them unattractive to persons desiring normal social contacts but also resulting in the existence of many positions which cannot be closely supervised or directed; the unusual importance of those two factors so hard to measure in civil service procedure, character, and personality; and the obstacles in working with a more or less primitive people of another race having different culture and speaking a different language. These are handicaps enough without adding to them administratively.

A Low Salary Scale. The overwhelming administrative difficulty has arisen from the effort to operate the Service upon an exceptionally low salary scale. In order to fill positions, when the salary scale is low, resort is almost invariably taken to the device of low entrance qualifications. The law of supply and demand operates in hiring employees as it does in any other economic field. If one is not willing to pay the prevailing market rates for goods of standard quality, one must, as a rule, take seconds or an inferior grade. By lowering specifications and standards it is generally possible to get goods at a low price. Not infrequently more competition can be secured for supplying sub-standard articles than for furnishing goods of standard quality. This condition exists in the market for services. By lowering standards, the number of eligibles can ordinarily be greatly increased. To this device the Indian Service has had to resort in order to operate on its existing salary scale.[1]

[1] Some improvement in the Indian Service was brought about by the so-called reclassification and salary standardization of the field services of the government made in the fiscal year 1925; but apparently the conditions were

The Need for Classification and Rigid Qualifications. The first need of the Indian Service in personnel administration is a thorough-going classification of positions on the basis of duties, responsibilities, and qualifications, with especial emphasis on qualifications requisite for recognized responsibilities. As has already been pointed out, the qualifications should be materially raised for those positions which involve direct contact with the Indians. No marked improvement in the service can ever be expected unless this is done.

When the qualifications have been established, they should be adhered to with unusual strictness both in original appointments and in promotion. This course may result in some apparent individual hardship on persons now in service who entered under the old conditions but the Service does not exist for them. Insofar as possible they should be given opportunity to qualify themselves for retention and for advancement or transfer to positions in other branches of the government which do not call for the technical qualifications they lack. But they should not be long retained in the Indian Service if not qualified to render the highest type of service under a sound plan of organization.

Indian Employees. Here a few words should be said regarding the policy of preferring Indians for appointment in the Indian Service. This policy is excellent provided the Indians possess the requisite qualifications, and every effort should be made to give them, or enable them to get, the training and experience essential. The policy is extremely unwise when it is given effect by lowering standards. Teaching positions in Indian schools are created for the purpose of educating Indian children. They exist for the Indian children and not to furnish teaching positions for Indian girls where training and experience would not enable them to qualify for the positions in other schools. Little evidence exists to indicate that the fact that they are Indians gives them any special advantage that offsets their lack of standard training and experience. They are probably neither much better nor much worse than any other teacher would be who had no more training, except insofar as they are limited by the narrowness of their background and experience in life. The object of the Indian Service should be to equip Indian girls to meet reasonably high standards so that they can get positions either in Indian schools or in nearly any public schools. If they can qualify under the same standards which are established for white teachers then it is reasonable to give them preference in the Indian Service. They should not have a monopoly on Indian Service positions and be unable to qualify for positions outside.

When Indians fully qualified are secured the same conditions of employment should be applied to them as are applied to white employees in the same or similar classes of positions. It is a serious mistake to countenance marked differences. For example, certain reasonably permanent Indian employees are not included under the retirement system. No deductions are made from their salaries to aid in the support of the retirement system and no benefits are available for them as they grow old or incapacitated. Because of this omission some superintendents are placed in a distinctly embarrassing situation. One Indian has for many years been employed at a station remote from the agency. He is the only representative of the government there. He is said to have done excellent work in the past and apparently he is popular with the Indians in his vicinity. Advancing age is obviously impairing his efficiency. He gets about only with considerable difficulty, and is forced more and more to require Indians to come to him instead of going to them. The superintendent feels the need for a younger man; but if this faithful Indian employee is dismissed, he will be turned out of the government quarters he has occupied as a home

too involved to be corrected through this general legislation applicable to all departments of the government. The amount which should have been necessary really to standardize the salaries in the Indian Service and to place them on a level with those, say, in the Department of Agriculture which is most nearly comparable was doubtless so large as to render the various officials involved unwilling to make so drastic a recommendation. The fact that the Indian Service had resorted in the past to extremely low entrance standards also greatly complicated the situation. Although the theory is sound that salaries should be standardized on the basis of the duties of the positions and the qualifications requisite for their efficient performance, in practice there is a marked tendency to consider the training and experience of the present incumbent and to fix the salary rate for the position at what he is considered to be worth. It may seem, offhand, entirely improper to place the salary of the position above the worth of the present incumbent; yet when the salary of the position is fixed according to the worth of the incumbent and not the real duties and needs of the position, the hands of the administrators are tied. They cannot replace the underqualified person with a really qualified one, and when he resigns or is retired the salary fixed on the basis of his qualifications will generally hire only another one like him. A vicious circle is thus set up. This appears to be the difficulty in the Indian Service.

and will have little means of support. His Indian friends will be incensed, and without understanding all the minutiæ of civil service status and the retirement system, will cite the case as showing discrimination against Indians. Under the same circumstances the white employees would be given a retirement allowance. Why does the government slight the Indian?

At another jurisdiction the director of the survey was asked by a stately old Indian chief of police for an opportunity to present a personal matter. Arrangements were made for an evening meeting. The old man brought a carefully preserved file of papers consisting mainly of letters which had been written him by army officers and civilian superintendents commending him for specially meritorious service. Some of them dated back to his service as a scout for the government when troops were in the country, and others related to his work in aiding in rounding up a band of outlaws. He was conscious of the fact that he was old, perhaps too old, for a chief of police, and he wanted a pension. Several superintendents have done excellent work in aiding the old scouts who worked with the troops in establishing their rights to military pensions, but it is often hard to get the necessary evidence. This old chief of police ought to be entitled to a civil retirement benefit, because of the length of his service as a civil employee.

In the matter of quarters, too, the effort should be made to prevent discrimination. Unquestionably white employees as a rule have come from homes which are physically superior to those from which Indian employees have come, yet the Indians are quick to note the sometimes marked difference between the accommodations furnished white employees and those furnished Indian employees, especially if tribal funds are used in support of the agency. It is probably true that the Indians on the reservations visit more frequently and more intimately the homes of the Indian employees. It is therefore highly desirable that these houses be in a sense models, not elaborate or ornate but examples of reasonable standards in housing, sanitation, and housekeeping. Several of the homes of Indian employees visited were in fact models insofar as the Indians could make them so with what the government supplied as a foundation. Most Indian employees would doubtless take care of what the government might supply in the way of improved accommodations. Those who did not could be "romped on," to borrow a pet expression from one superintendent who maintains standards on his reservation and at his boarding school by encouraging those who are doing good work and systematically "romping on" those who are slack.

Members of Family as Employees. The same principles regarding rigid qualifications should apply in hiring the husbands or the wives of Indian Service employees. If the wife of the doctor is a qualified trained nurse, it may be advisable to give her preference in appointment because of local housing conditions, but it is extremely unwise to make local housing conditions the deciding factor and to appoint a doctor's wife to perform the duties of a hospital nurse despite lack of training. It may be convenient to appoint the wife of the engineer to a position as girls' matron. The fact that both can be employed may help to offset the fact that each salary in itself is too low to maintain a family, but the wife may have none of the qualities really needed in the position of girls' matron. Illustrations might be multiplied almost indefinitely, but the principle is obvious. Each position must be filled by a person qualified to fill it; relationship to another employee, like Indian blood, is a matter of secondary concern.

Importance of Character, Personality, and Ability to Get Along with Indians. In establishing the qualifications for entrance into the Service two highly important factors will have to be taken into consideration, despite the probable impossibility of establishing any formal civil service tests for them. They are: (1) Character and personality, and (2) ability to understand Indians and to get along with them.

The most practicable device for testing character and personality is through establishing a real probationary period and requiring a positively favorable report on these essential qualities before a probationary appointment is made permanent. The probationary period for persons in the Indian field service should probably be never less than one year[1] and in cases where reasonable doubt as to adaptability exists it should be possible to extend it for at least

[1] A probationary appointee can, of course, be dismissed at any time during the probationary period if found unsatisfactory. The question as to its duration relates solely to how long a time shall elapse before the person attains a permanent status.

another year. Permanent appointments should be made only when it is clear that the person possesses the character and the personality that fits him for the Indian Service.

Ability to understand Indians and to get along with them should be tested by some deliberately planned vestibule training, where the new employee can work under supervision and direction. He should have the opportunity to show that he has sympathy and understanding and to secure the advice and suggestions of older heads who have been particularly successful in their contacts with the Indians. It is a serious mistake to send a new and untried teacher, unfamiliar with Indians, drawn through a written examination, sight unseen, to a remote day school in the southwestern desert, miles away from the agency and from the nearest white neighbor. There he personifies the white race and the government of the United States. It is not fair to him and his young wife; it is not fair to the Indians. The surprising thing is not that there are failures but that there are some successes. Persons should not be detailed to isolated stations until they have had some preliminary training in the Indian Service.

Salary Levels Should Be Raised. Salaries obviously must be sufficient to get reasonable competition from persons possessed of the required qualifications and the range of salaries must be such that successful employees may be advanced in pay without being transferred to a different locality. The survey staff holds no brief for high entrance salaries. It would have them only as high as is necessary to attract qualified persons, which means about what other organizations are offering as entrance salaries for like positions. Placing them any higher would tend to make probationers who do not really fit the Indian Service try by every means to hold on. The staff does, however, specifically advocate reasonable opportunity for, and certainty of advancement for, persons who have demonstrated their fitness for their work. The school farmer who has made an outstanding success of the farm, the stockman who has made an outstanding success of his tribal herd ought to be kept and rewarded. If their pay is not materially increased, they are likely to go into business for themselves or accept offers from private companies, generally on the lookout for men who have demonstrated their ability. In the absence of opportunity for advancement the Service is likely to lose its best. Material increases in the range of salary are therefore recommended with reasonable certainty of advancement for competent employees.[a]

The annual turnover in the Indian Service amounts to approximately 1200 a year, or between 20 and 25 per cent. Resignations frequently result in temporary appointments to fill vacancies and not infrequently the person available for temporary service does not possess the requisite qualifications for the position. Yet this person may serve in it for a very considerable period because of the difficulty of securing one with the qualifications. This situation is serious in positions requiring technical or professional qualifications, and in these positions the turnover is especially high.[b]

Conditions of Employment. The question of conditions of employment at schools and reservations is almost as important as that of salary and in some instances may be even more so. One of the abler, more highly trained, Indian farmers complained, not because he had to support his wife and children on $1200 a year, but because his house had no running water and no bath. It was hard to keep the children clean enough for school when the thermometer was below zero and all the water had to be brought in from the pump back of the house and heated on the kitchen stove. He took a very pardonable pride in the fact that his children looked as spick and span as any of those in the public school visited, and he confided

[a] The government might well give serious consideration to the possibility of making special cash allowances to employees on remote reservations who have children fitted for high school and are not within practicable reach of any local high school. Parents who find themselves in this position are likely first to seek transfer to another jurisdiction where schools are available, and the Service under existing conditions must look with favor on such requests, although the employee may be doing excellent work where he is and be much needed there. To move him may be to set the Indians back. If the Office insists on his remaining he is likely to look for other employment in a place where he can send his children to public school without expense for tuition and board and lodging. One superintendent visited was confronting this problem. An offer of a commercial position in an urban community at a somewhat smaller salary to start with seemed from the standpoint of family life and family budget to be far more attractive. The general level of salaries cannot, of course, be fixed high enough so that all officers and employees could if they chose send their children away to secondary schools instead of patronizing local high schools, but where free local high schools are not within reach some special allowance might well be made.

[b] For the situation with respect to nurses, see pages 242 to 251.

that this was the first job he had ever had where he and his family did not have access to a bath tub at least once a week. Although on one occasion it was already almost eight o'clock at night and he had had nothing to eat since noon, had been driving members of the survey staff steadily since early morning with the thermometer well below zero and was then thirty miles from home, he was reluctant to accept an invitation to dinner with the staff until someone had the inspiration to say, "I'll let you have a crack at my bath room in the hotel." That settled the matter. To a certain type of employee, considerate of his wife and children, conditions of the home and access to schools mean even more than wages.

Deduction for Quarters. Attention should here be called to a situation which developed in connection with the use of the Classification Act for the District of Columbia as an ostensible standard for the field services. As very few employees in the District of Columbia received allowances of quarters and meals, the salary schedules for the District provided only cash salaries and the act required the Personnel Classification Board to "make necessary adjustments in compensation for positions carrying maintenance." Later the Comptroller General ruled that this clause required deductions to be made from the salaries of the Indian Service employees who were receiving allowances. The emergency was met, in a mechanical sort of fashion, by adding an arbitrary fairly uniform value of quarters to the cash pay to get a new gross pay and then deducting it again for value of quarters leaving the employees where they were before, except that the percentage deduction for the retirement allowances was figured on the new gross pay, thus making the deductions a trifle larger.

Knowing all the facts, one can sympathize with the reservation superintendent who took vigorous exception when a member of the survey staff asked a school dormitory matron whether fifteen dollars a month was deducted from her salary for the privilege of occupying the tiny room where she spent the night so as to be immediately available in case of the least demand upon her services. To him it seemed as if nothing but praise was due the Indian Office for its success in meeting the emergency in a way that resulted in no loss to the employees. He could not understand the point of view that consideration should be given to the actual value

of the quarters and to the service required in connection with their occupancy.

The fact is, of course, that there is wide variation in the value of the quarters and other allowances furnished the same class of employees in the different jurisdictions. If the gross salaries are the same and the deductions for quarters and allowances uniform, without reference to their real value, one employee obviously gets more than another, and this difference is not based on their efficiency or their merits. It would seem that the gross salary scale should be uniform and that the deducations for allowances should take into consideration both their value and the extra service which must be rendered in connection with the occupancy of quarters.

To arrive at the value of quarters and other allowances would of course require a thorough-going study of all employees' quarters, probably through the use of a carefully drafted schedule similar to those used in housing studies. Such a schedule could be filled in by the employee, checked and reviewed by the school or reservation superintendent, and submitted to the Washington office for uniform consideration. These reports would not only serve as a basis for a fair evaluation of allowances but as a device for locating those which are below a reasonable standard and bringing them up. It is unquestionbly true that superintendents differ very much with respect to where they put their emphasis in recommending appropriations or allotments for their reservations or schools. Some give serious consideration to the upkeep and improvement of all buildings, including employees' quarters; others are interested in a single new big building project, such as a dormitory, gymnasium, or dining hall; still others are apparently little concerned with physical equipment. The result is fairly wide variation. Studies of employees' quarters, dormitory facilities, and so on, directed from the central office, would improve this situation.

Extra Duties in Connection with Quarters. In those cases where quarters are located in dormitories, hospitals or other similar places and the occupants are subject to night duty, it hardly seems as if any deduction should be made for quarters. Anyone who has spent several nights in an Indian school dormitory, not in a quiet guest room but in an employee's room near the main sleeping halls, learns that it is not the same as a room in the employees' quarters

or a room in the farmer's or doctor's house. Even if one has no official responsibilities for the children, one hears the noises and in case of illness or any excitement feels called upon to respond.

Hours of Service. In boarding schools it is, of course, more or less inevitable that employees be on duty fairly long hours and that they be subject to call at any time. Announcements of Civil Service examinations ought always to mention this fact, so that it may be understood in advance. Every effort should, however, be made to work out a schedule of reliefs, so that insofar as practicable each employee gets the equivalent of one day's rest in seven and has an opportunity, if he or she desires, actually to leave the school or the agency. The number of employees should, if necessary, be increased enough to permit of this relief. At schools or agencies not in close contact with outside communities, continuous duty and the necessity of being limited to exactly the same little group of people day in and day out, always eating the same kind of food at the same table with the same table mates, produces in many persons a peculiar kind of nervous fatigue likely to bring out their worst rather than their best and to cause friction. One wise superintendent lays particular emphasis on the importance of an attractive and varied employees' mess, because his experience indicates that many of the embarrassing difficulties between employees have their origin there. Everyone is more or less familiar with the critical attitude that one generation has toward another and even under the best of circumstances it is difficult to bring about mutual respect and understanding between the elderly women with Victorian standards and new teachers, young and vivacious, with the standards and styles of the youth of today. It is not surprising at some schools and agencies to find this situation accentuated by the constant and almost inescapable contacts. This situation increases the importance of one day's freedom in seven.

Provision for Recreation. This same situation also increases the importance of provision for recreation. The radio, the phonograph and the motion pictures have materially helped, and it is a pleasure to note that at many jurisdictions provision has been made for motion pictures which are attended both by the Indians and the employees. The regular daily program at the boarding schools, is, however, too full and too long. In other sections of this report

it is pointed out that the long full day does not give the children opportunity for individual effort in things of particular personal interest or experience in the use and direction of leisure time, and in some instances is detrimental to health. The point to be brought out here is that the long day makes great demands on the employees, leaving them little time for their own recreation. Several teachers miss particularly the opportunity for reading and studying which is at once recreation and the means of improving their work. The fact is, of course, appreciated that in Indian boarding schools the teachers cannot possibly have the opportunity for study and recreation that is enjoyed by public school teachers, both in city and rural systems, yet the question must be raised as to whether by careful consideration the existing conditions could not be materially improved.

Vacations. Special emphasis should be placed on the importance of seeing that all field employees have full, unrestricted opportunity to take their annual leave and to get away from their stations, particularly when their posts are isolated. At times, of course, the observance of this principle will improve embarrassing and the valuable conscientious employee will stick by the ship unless provision is made for him to go and he is urged to do so. Deliberate plans for leave should be made and a schedule worked out. If the plan of having the employees own their own cars * and paying them mileage for their use on official business could be worked out, it would materially help many employees and their families to have the means of getting a real vacation. Many of the employees who already own personal cars have bought them primarily because they make possible real vacations in the western country, an ideal place for trips if one has a car.

Conferences of Employees. Mention should again be made of the desirability of more conferences of employees. Gatherings of the employees of a given class from all the jurisdictions within a reasonable radius would combine rest and recreation with development and renewed interest in the work. In some years it would doubtless prove helpful to have all the Indian teachers come together for a special summer institute at one of the larger boarding

* See pages 151 to 153.

schools instead of going to regular schools and colleges for their educational leave, especially if a strong program could be worked out giving them contacts not only with other teachers in the Indian Service but also with specialists from colleges, universities, or private organizations who can present modern educational problems in order that they may be adapted to and incorporated in the Indian Service.

Removals from the Service. Removals from the service should be less restricted by making the exits wider, a matter already discussed in connection with organization and general administration. This is to be achieved through reducing the retirement age and making the retirement allowance more adequate; increasing the length of the probationary period and requiring positive evidence and reports of fitness in training, experience, character, and personality before a probationary period is ended by permanent appointment; and a much less frequent use of transfers when employees are unsatisfactory in the jurisdiction to which they are assigned.

The Indians themselves and the employees doing real work for the Indians should be protected from four types of employees: (1) The employee who has himself reached the conclusion that nothing can be done for the Indian and that it is useless to try; (2) the employee who has acquired a manner toward the Indians that outrages their self respect and turns them against the government and all its representatives; (3) the hard-boiled disciplinarian who persists after having been shown better methods in following a course that turns the Indian away from the schools, making them quit before they have finished and sending them back to their homes to advise others against attending;* and (4) the employee who has lost active interest and is marking time.

* In visiting one school it was found that a certain employee followed disciplinary methods which are now regarded as antiquated even in a reform school. Subsequently in visiting homes in the territory from which this school draws its pupils it was found that this employee's reputation had spread to the remote sections. The able young Indian employee who was guide and interpreter tried hard to persuade two Indian children who were living with the widowed father of one of them in a desperately poor shack on a barren hillside and who were almost entirely without education, although in their early teens, to go to this school. He presented well its advantages and their needs. They presented their objections, which were based primarily on the reputation of this particular employee.

Administrative Needs in Field of Personnel. Thus, to cite the principles which should govern in this field of personnel administration, so vital to the success of the Indian Service, is simple enough; and it is believed they will receive fairly ready acceptance in the abstract. The main question is how they are to be made administratively effective in a service containing approximately five thousand employees scattered to a degree scarcely equalled in any other branch of the government that approaches the Indian Service in its diversity of activities.

Need of Chief Personnel Officer. The primary need to make these principles administratively effective is to secure for the Indian Service a well trained, experienced chief personnel officer, who will devote all his time to the problems of personnel administration. His position should be classified in Grade 5 of the professional and scientific service with a salary from $5200 to $6000. He should have a liberal allowance for traveling expenses and for assistance, both clerical and technical. It is believed that about $15,000 would be required, in addition to what is now spent, for personnel records and employees to maintain them. It is difficult to think of any other way in which that amount could be spent that would do more in raising the level of the Indian Service, because it is a service in which personnel is the outstanding dominant factor.

The chief personnel officer would be a staff, not a line, officer. He would not directly administer anything except his own work and that of his immediate assistants. He would advise the Commissioner and the other chief administrators, both in the Washington office and in the field, in matters of general policy and procedure affecting personnel. In matters affecting individuals and particular situations his function would be to investigate and report, to recommend action, not to take action. Power to take action should be left in the administrative line. The function of this officer should be solely to give expert advice and the results of investigations made by a real specialist, not himself directly involved in the administrative action which is being investigated.

His duties, briefly stated, would be somewhat as follows:

1. To know the duties and responsibilities of all the positions in the Indian Service and the qualifications required for the adequate performance of those duties. In order to get this knowl-

edge and to keep it current he will have to have knowledge of and experience in the field of the analysis and classification of positions, gained either in a government service or in a large private corporation having a well established personnel department.

2. To coöperate with the Civil Service Commission in preparing tests for entrance into those positions filled by open competition, in grading such tests as are given specially for the Indian Service, and in perfecting those civil service rules applicable to it.

3. To establish coöperative relationships with the sources of supply of properly trained persons so that suitable candidates will be induced to enter the competition.

4. To develop systems of vestibule training or probationary assignments so that new employees before assignment to isolated positions in direct contact with the Indians may have special training under adequate supervision, and so that the question as to their character, personality and missionary spirit may be tested and determined during the probationary period.

5. To maintain close coöperative relationships with superintendents of schools and agencies so that he may be constantly informed regarding the general needs of each agency with respect to personnel and the actual performance of each employee. In this connection he will advise in the matter of work records and efficiency records based on them.

6. To maintain an open door or open letter box so that employees may have an officer specifically designated to hear their troubles and ambitions and to investigate their complaints.

7. To maintain an open door or letter box so that Indians on the reservations, missionaries or members of the general public may file complaints regarding employees; and to receive the substance of complaints filed with other officers regarding employees.

8. To require positive evidence of fitness of new appointees before their probational appointment is made permanent and to arrange with the Civil Service Commission for suitable probationary periods and for their extensions so that the probationary period is made a genuine part of the entrance test.

9. To pass upon all requests and recommendations for the promotion of transfer of employees.

10. To make recommendations to the Commissioner for the transfer, retirement or dismissal of employees.

11. To make recommendations to the Commissioner for improving the conditions of work, including allowances, hours, and leave.

12. To initiate movements for conferences of employees so that the general tone of the Service may be raised.

13. To assist the Commissioner in presenting to the Personnel Classification Board data relating to the classification of positions in the Indian Service.

14. To assist the Commissioner in presenting to the Budget Bureau and to the Committees of Congress data regarding the needs of the service in respect to personnel, the salary levels for the several classes of positions, and the conditions of work.

This summary statement of duties indicates that the recommended position of chief personnel officer is one of great responsibility. The person selected should have not only technical training and experience in the field of personnel administration but also a judicial temperament, sound judgment, a good personality, and great capacity for hard work. He should be given at least one well qualified technical assistant, so that as a rule one or the other can always be in the Washington office, immediately available to the Commissioner. The other should generally be in the field, visiting schools and agencies. Rarely should a year pass without at least one visit to each jurisdiction from the chief personnel officer or his technically trained assistant, so that they may be intimately acquainted with the field. Experience may demonstrate that two assistants instead of one are necessary to cover the immense territory adequately, but at the outset it would be wise to attempt the work with one. Every effort should be made to resist the temptation to make them responsible for actual administration or to have them make investigations or reports outside the field of personnel. Investigations and reports on the actual administration of particular activities, such as education, agriculture, or home demonstration work should be made by specialists in these fields. The utmost coöperation should prevail between the chief personnel officer and the other officers, both line and staff, because of their common interests.

CHAPTER VII

STATISTICS AND RECORDS

The lack of adequate accurate statistics and records regarding the Indians and the work done in their behalf has constituted a real handicap to every member of the staff of this survey of Indian affairs. Throughout the report will be found repeatedly statements to the effect either that essential data are not available or that the data available are inaccurate or of doubtful reliability.

No effort will be made at this point to catalogue all these deficiencies and to discuss them in detail, but a valuable purpose may be served by mentioning briefly some of the outstanding major ones, as indicative of the reasons for the recommendations contained in this section for the development of the statistical work of the Office of Indian Affairs.

Population Statistics. A basic requirement for the effective administration of the Indian Service is a reasonably accurate and detailed census of population. Such a census would measure the extent of the problems the Service has to face and would furnish the basis for determining the degree of success or failure in many of its important activities. In the absence of such a census, for example, there is no base for determining such essential indices of social and economic conditions as the general death rate, the infant mortality rate, the rate of mortality from certain preventable diseases, notably tuberculosis, and the general birth rate. Unless reliable figures are available regarding the number of children of school age, with a fairly minute classification by year of age, no accurate determination can be made of the success of the educational work of the Service in the first and fundamental step of getting children of school age into school.

No one who has visited the Indian country will minimize the difficulties inherent in the taking of such a census at intervals sufficiently frequent to make it an efficient tool of administration, yet it is so absolutely basic both for the field officers of the Service

and the governmental agencies at Washington that control and regulate them, the Indian Office, the Secretary of the Interior, the Budget Bureau, and Congress and its committees, that these difficulties must be regarded as obstacles to be overcome, not as excuses for the lack of such essential data. The Indian Office has, of course, figures which purport to be the population of the various jurisdictions, but it would not maintain that they are the product of careful enumerations or that they give sufficient detail to permit of close analysis of work done. In several important jurisdictions, such as Northern California, the Navajo agencies, and the Five Civilized Tribes in Oklahoma, they are to a considerable extent estimates. For one jurisdiction the population has long been given at about 3700, whereas a new superintendent who came in and attempted an actual enumeration found only 2200. The method of arriving at the population has often been to take the tribal roll or an old census as the base and to correct it by the deduction of known deaths and the addition of known births. As many births and deaths occur without the knowledge of the agency, this method after a number of years may result in a wide discrepancy between facts and figures.

Another fruitful source of erroneous deductions from figures based on tribal rolls is the number of Indians living off the reservation and virtually out from under the immediate control and responsibility of the superintendent. One superintendent, in talking with two different members of the survey staff, gave distinctly different figures for the number of Indians included in his population but not living on the reservation and for whom the agency had very little responsibility with respect to supplying social and educational service. Asked for a more precise figure, he had a tabulation made from the mailing list used in sending checks for tribal funds and the result was a figure materially lower than either of the figures previously given. Figures for population which include an unknown number of Indians to whom the social service supplied by the government is inapplicable, can be of little value to the superintendent and other local officers in administering their work and may be distinctly misleading to the central office, the Department, and the Congress in reviewing the work of the agency and supplying it with funds.

Births and Deaths. The recording of deaths and births is not sufficiently complete to admit of the use of these records as a sole device for keeping track of the changes in population. On the Pima Reservation, for example, an inheritance examiner found that a disastrous epidemic of influenza had caused a large number of deaths previously unknown to the local or the national offices, so that the population figures in use were materially too high.[1]

Since the recording of births and deaths is incomplete and the population figures unreliable, it follows inevitably that the Service lacks vital statistics, one of the most essential tools in the promotion of public health and the control of preventable disease, and a rough index of economic welfare. Not only is the recording of deaths incomplete; the statement of the causes of those deaths recorded is frequently not given in a way that permits of its use. The local staff dealing directly with the Indians is thus handicapped in studying conditions in their jurisdiction and equally, if not more important, the Washington Office, the Department, the Budget Bureau, and the Congress cannot get the data essential for planning and developing an adequate health service for the Indian wards of the nation.[2]

Statistics of Economic Efficiency. To some persons the question of Indian health is the major one before the Indian Service. Others direct their main attention to the releasing of the Indian from wardship and giving to him the same status with respect to his property as is possessed by the legally competent white adult. Although some confusion exists regarding certain of the details, the assumption, broadly speaking, is that when the Indian is given this status, he passes from the jurisdiction of the national government and ceases to be one of its responsibilities. Decisions regarding declaring an Indian competent and giving him complete possession of his property are, therefore, among the most fundamental that the Indian Service is called upon to make.

[1] In this instance the deaths learned of by the inheritance examiner, although an accumulation from past years, were included as deaths occurring in the year in which they were discovered by him, with the result that the mortality rate for that year was alarming. Many people were distressed by it, and the Indian Office because of it was subjected to vigorous attack for its failure to protect the health of the Pimas. This example illustrates how the public interested in Indian welfare may be grossly misled by figures issued by the Indian Office to its own detriment.

[2] In the chapter on Health, pages 189 to 345, will be found many concrete illustrations indicating the practical uses which are made of vital statistics in public health work in determining the need for the different types of medical service, such as physicians, nurses, hospitals, and sanatoria.

Because of the fundamental nature of this decision, one would expect to find in a well administered service, carefully kept and compiled records and statistics, the records to serve as a guide in passing upon individual cases and the statistics derived from them to serve as a means of studying and reviewing the effect of past policies and as a guide in formulating new ones. As these policies are perhaps generally written into statutory enactments, such data are especially necessary for the Congress and its committees and for those officers of the Washington office, who are very properly looked to by Congress for formulating specific recommendations for legislation.

Possibly the best criterion for determining the competency of an Indian for release from wardship would be a reasonably accurate record of his accomplishments in those fields which are indicative of competency. What have been his means of livelihood in the past? What has he earned each year in these fields by his own efforts? To what extent has he depended for his own support and for that of his family upon unearned income, such as rent from leased land, distribution of tribal funds, the sale of surplus lands, and other such sources upon which so many Indians are largely dependent for their existence? What ability has he demonstrated to improve and develop his property? What advance has he made in his standard of living and in family life? What is the condition of his health? What is his mental equipment as evidenced by his education and his practical success? To what extent do his family support his efforts? What capabilities has his wife demonstrated? The answers to such questions and others like them should not be based on the opinion of the present superintendent or the farmer who happens to be in charge at the time an Indian applies for his fee patent or a certificate of competency. They should be recorded regularly and systematically as a part of the system, to serve as a guide to the local staff in directing its work in behalf of the Indian while he continues under wardship and as an index largely to govern in that supreme decision, made when he is declared competent. They would indicate what Indians are really eligible for

consideration for competency. They would operate as a barrier for the Indian who although economically incompetent is exerting every possible effort to be declared so for the purpose of getting the power to sell his property so that he may for a brief period live riotously on the proceeds. They would make more difficult the task of the white man who seeks to have the Indian declared competent so that the white man may get possession of the Indian's wealth at a fraction of its value. They would bring to sharp attention the wise, thrifty, astutely competent Indian who values highly his status of incompetency because it saves him from taxes and frees him from the economic dangers faced by his tax-paying neighbors.

The Indian Service at present lacks these records, gathered regularly and systematically as a part of the day's work. At times a so-called survey or census is undertaken, which gets a picture of conditions as they are at the time, but these data rapidly get out of date and give little basis for watching progress and directing activities. The best records, apparently, are those made by progressive superintendents, who are themselves actively working with their Indians, encouraging them in economic activities and improving their social conditions, and who find that they need records for the direction and control of their own work. These superintendents, however, are the ones who least need supervision and prodding from the Washington office. That office greatly needs accurate and reliable data such as these, so that it may reward those officers who are doing really constructive work and prod or remove those who are content to let things drift along. It should not be dependent on what data the superintendent turns in, but should itself prescribe the information to be reported and the methods to be followed in its preparation and should submit it to such checks and verifications as may be necessary to secure its substantial accuracy.

Data Regarding Indians Declared Competent. Data regarding the Indians who have been declared competent are extremely meager, although such facts are probably the best basis for test of the success or failure of fundamental policies and their application. One would expect to find readily available data showing what proportion of the Indians who have been given fee patents

have retained possession of their property in whole or in part and, if in part only, to what extent. Likewise, one would expect some considerable body of facts relating to what has happened to those Indians who were given fee patents and lost their lands. Have they in fact demonstrated their capacity by making their way despite the loss of their property, or are they living on their relatives or squatting on land belonging to others and living under conditions not as good as those of the Indian never declared competent? What has been the history of Indians who have gone to the cities from the reservations or the Indian schools and attempted to make their way in white communities? To what extent is it wise to foster such a movement?

The facts to permit of answers to these basic questions are not available. At the instance of the present survey the Indian Office requested the superintendents to prepare certain very limited data as to the number of Indians who have received fee patents since the passage of the Burke Act and the number of these who still retain their property. Several superintendents said that the fee patentees were beyond their responsibility, as in law they are, and that it would require more time and expense than they could put upon it to determine accurately who had and who had not sold their lands. Data regarded as reasonably accurate were received with respect to 13,872 Indians who had received fee patents between 1906 and 1925, of whom 2859 or 20.6 per cent still retain some or all of their land. No information was secured as to how much they retained or whether it was unencumbered or mortgaged.

If these figures may be regarded as typical, then four-fifths of all the Indians specially selected for their competency have not retained their property. It does not necessarily follow that they have all failed to stand upon their own feet and that they are all still in need of educational and developmental assistance from the national or the local government if they are to be adjusted to our civilization, but these figures clearly demonstrate the need for the actual facts on the subject. For a superintendent or for the government to take the position that these fee patent Indians, officially declared competent, are of no concern to the nation, is entirely to misinterpret the problem of the government, and to substitute an artificial legalistic criterion for the real tests of social and eco-

nomic facts. The responsibility of the government is to bring the Indians to the point where they are fitted to be independent, reasonably competent citizens. If the government through its officers has declared them so to be when in truth they were not, the social and economic problem remains, regardless of the legalistic status of those Indians.

Constructive Remedies. Probably nothing is to be gained from a further, more detailed discussion of the needs for accurate and illuminating statistics and records in the Indian Service. No efficient private or public agency concerned with the promotion of public health, education, or social welfare would attempt to analyze its problems and direct, control, and finance its work with such a paucity of reliable quantitative and qualitative information. No commercial enterprise of any such magnitude could expect to succeed without far more data respecting its operations than are available regarding the Indian Service. The helpful course, however, is not to dwell at length upon the defects, but to indicate the positive actions that are needed to meet the situation.

The Need for an Experienced Administrative Statistician. The first most fundamental step is to secure for the Indian Service a well trained, experienced, administrative statistician, capable of developing and installing an adequate system of records and statistics. The position should be classified as in the senior professional grade with a salary of from $5200 to $6000. If a person fully qualified for this grade can be secured, he can easily save the government several times the cost of his salary by increasing the effectiveness of the Service.

Qualifications of Statistician. The person selected should have a thorough and fairly diversified knowledge of the social sciences, particularly economics and sociology. Such knowledge is ordinarily the product of several years of graduate study in these fields, carried on in one or more of the leading universities of the country with well developed departments of economics and sociology or in one of the special schools designed to give advanced training in these subjects, although some have gained it through years of experience working in organizations dealing with economic and social problems.

The record of the person selected should disclose successful practical experience in the application of statistical methods, preferably in relation to public health, education, or labor. This experience should not be merely routine compilation, but should include the original planning and developing of the statistical project in all its details. For the position in the Indian Service it is highly important that the person should have had practical experience in designing record and table forms and in modern methods of tabulating and computing with the use of mechanical labor saving devices. The person should also have had successful administrative experience in directing the work of assistants and in dealing with coördinate or superior officers and with the public.

Duties of Statistician. The first duty of the person selected should be to make a thorough study of the various administrative, social, and economic problems of the Service to determine what quantitative data are necessary or desirable to furnish a basis for better administrative direction and control of activities and more deliberate planning and development. Such a study would require several weeks of intensive personal effort, and would result in the formation of fairly definite concrete statements of what is theoretically necessary or desirable.

Improvement of Basic Field Records. The next step should be a thorough study in coöperation with the administrative officers and with the various specialists in both the Washington office and the field to determine to what extent it is practicable to make the original records of the various types of activity serve the three purposes of (1) Giving the field workers the necessary record of work done to guide them in the intelligent planning, conduct and review of their work; (2) furnishing to the supervisory officers both in the field and in the Washington office an adequate basis for reviewing and directing the activities of field workers in direct contact with the Indians; and (3) furnishing statistical data for the preparation of statistical reports necessary for administrative control, analysis of progress, or public information.

Practical statistical experience has abundantly demonstrated the desirability of exerting every effort to make the system of records and reports serve these three purposes. Not only is it more eco-

nomical; it results in far more accurate records and reports. The field worker is naturally going to take far more interest in maintaining his own records if he knows that these records will be reviewed by the superintendent and by specialists from the Washington office and will be analyzed and worked up by the statistician and his assistants, and will eventually be made available to him for study in their final statistical form. If he has a tendency to slight them and to omit essential facts, he is brought to book by the demands of the other officers.

The need for better records made currently by field workers in direct contact with the Indians can hardly be over-emphasized. These are the people, often the only people, who can get original, first-hand information. Upon their records and reports reliance must be placed for the facts to be used in making decisions in individual cases and to be compiled into statistics to serve as the basis for reviewing activities, measuring progress, and formulating policies. These workers need these records themselves to aid them in the conduct of their own work. Such records are especially important when field workers change, as is often the case in the Indian Service, for without carefully secured records the new worker has to begin all over again to get the basic information and may be almost entirely without knowledge of what has been done in the past. These records are perhaps of even greater importance when two or more field workers come in contact with the same family, for unless they are informed as to the activities of their co-workers they may follow inconsistent courses.

Speaking broadly, one may say that the records that relate to the Indian himself and his activities as distinct from his property are at present entirely lacking or at best inadequate. Physicians, field nurses, matrons and farmers are to be found who depend very largely upon their recollection in guiding their own work and in making reports to their superintendents. Often the reports made are so vague and general that no supervisory reviewing officer could draw any valid conclusions from them and must in consequence depend very largely upon his evaluation of the field worker's memory and judgment. They furnish little basis for directing the field worker's activities and making concrete suggestions for improving and developing his work.

Case Work Records. One of the first tasks of the statistician, in coöperation with the administrative officers and specialists in both the Washington office and the field, should be to perfect the forms to be used in recording and reporting. These forms should be specific and detailed and should provide for reporting each item regarded as essential. The question of what facts are or are not essential should not be left to the judgment of the individual field worker. He may have to report that he is unable to get certain facts regarded as essential by the office or the local supervising officers, but he should know definitely that they are wanted and that he is expected to secure them. The forms should, of course, be conveniently arranged for the field worker so that they may be filled with the minimum possible effort.

The forms should be accompanied by detailed instructions giving precise definitions of terms and discussions as to how different types of cases are to be recorded. They should be issued in loose leaf form, so that amendments and additions can be made conveniently and each field worker be kept constantly advised of the requirements. Enough attention has not been given to this phase of recording and reporting in the past, and as an inevitable consequence different field workers have made their own interpretations of the meaning of questions asked by the office, with a resulting lack of comparability of the figures supplied. For example, how many Indians are farming? In some instances anyone making a garden or tilling a few acres, however indifferently, is reported as a farmer, whereas other superintendents include as farmers only those making a living or a substantial part of their living from farming. In the area covered by the present survey the number of Indian farmers as reported by the Service was almost exactly 25,000, but when an effort was made to give more precision to the term and to confine it to persons making at least a substantial part of their living from farming the number shrank to 16,627. On this basis, four reservations made a slight increase in their numbers, twenty-eight made no change, and thirty-eight showed very considerable shrinkage. Some reduced the number previously reported by as much as from 25 to 50 per cent. Obviously, as agriculture is the chief economic opportunity for many Indians, statistics as to their progress as farmers are vitally important to the Service in directing and controlling its activities for the promotion

of agriculture, and equally obviously it can scarcely base any sound conclusions on the work in the field if some superintendents are going to report everyone who does the least agricultural work a farmer while others use a radically different standard. The solution here, however, is not to establish an arbitrary definition of what constitutes a farmer, but to get uniformly and accurately fairly complete data covering the work of the Indians in the field of agriculture so that those responsible for directing the Indian Service may know what progress is actually being made. What is required is not a single figure as to the number of farmers, but a body of figures, which, analyzed and compared with those for previous years, will give a sound basis for judging the efficiency of the work which the government is doing in this field.

Planning Tabulations. The statistician should design the statistical tables which are to be developed from the records and reports, again in coöperation with the administrative officers and other specialists in the Washington office, so that they will constitute an effective accounting control over the activities of the Service. These tabulations need not necessarily be published, although many of them will be of genuine interest to the public, but they are necessary for the Indian Service in directing its own work for the consideration of the Budget Bureau and of Congress in making appropriations. At present too much reliance has to be placed on opinions as to facts and not upon facts themselves, and this is especially true with respect to matters that relate to the Indian himself, his health, his economic condition, and his family and community life as distinguished from his property interests.

In connection with the designing of the record forms and the table forms the statistician should perfect the plans for tabulating the data through the use of labor saving devices. This part of the work is important not only because it affects the cost but also because it affects the promptness with which the results are made available for administrative use. The whole tone of the Service will be raised if field workers know that the records of their work are thoroughly examined in detail and find their way quickly to the desk of the Commissioner in the form of summary statistics to be used in the direction of the organization. At present the feeling is too general that the reports and statistics are for the files and not for use and that it does not make much difference whether they are or are not complete and accurate.

Special Statistical Projects. Although the effort should always be made to secure the necessary statistics as a by-product or joint product from the original records of the field workers, it will doubtless prove necessary to develop from time to time special statistical projects, notably in the case of the census. In the case of the census, coöperative relations should be developed with the Bureau of the Census. The chief statistician of the Indian Service should be the liaison officer to coöperate with the Census Bureau in perfecting a plan which will give that Bureau what it requires and at the same time supply the Indian Service with what it needs.

By close coöperation it should be possible for the Indian Service to secure data supplementing that ordinarily secured by the federal census with respect to Indians who are living away from reservations and not directly subject to supervision. A few questions additional to those already included in the general population schedule will furnish the basis for a really comprehensive study of the conditions of these Indians. Such a study is needed to judge of the degree of success or failure of the policy of turning Indians loose and to serve as a guide in efforts which doubtless should be made in several instances to get the Indians away from reservations which offer very limited economic opportunities. Such a study would also be illuminating in the matter of training and vocational guidance.

In connection with the taking of the federal census in the Indian country, a well considered determined effort should be made to use as enumerators Indians resident in the enumeration district and speaking the language of the people to be enumerated. Properly handled such a plan could be made of great interest to the Indians and an instrument for their education. Special instruction might well be given at the Indian schools covering not only the details of the work but also its purposes and practical uses. The Indian Service needs to seize every opportunity to utilize the services of Indians in matters relating to their own welfare and advancement and to concentrate their attention on their own progress. Much material will come from such a census that can be effectively used at the agencies and in the schools in showing how progressive

Indians are proving successful in adjusting themselves to the new paths. It will be far more effective in giving real instruction in civics than are the ordinary school text books on the subject written for white children. These books must seem very remote to the Indian boy or girl, who has so little background to help him in understanding them.

Similarly, attention should be given to the possibilities of using Indians, resident in the area and speaking the language, as statistical agents of the government to collect other data relating to economic and social conditions. The results of their work and of the other work of the Service should be frequently brought to the attention of the Indians in the effort to have them understand their own problems and to inspire them by concrete definite knowledge of how other Indians have solved these problems. From the Indian Office should go out to Indian schools and to public schools having a number of Indian pupils, material for a real course on civics for Indians.

No one who has sat through many Indian councils and has received many individual Indians or small groups can fail to be impressed by four things: their intense interest in their own affairs, the keenness of many of their leaders, their general good nature and friendliness, and, often, the paucity of their knowledge of what the government is attempting in their behalf. Some superintendents and other field workers have been successful in overcoming this latter condition, notably in the five-year programs. The belief is entertained that an able statistician, working in coöperation with the other officers in the Indian Service, can accomplish a great advance through disseminating among the Indians brief bulletins showing progress in public health, education, economic efficiency, and improved social life. One of the outstanding fundamental needs of the Service is an able, well-trained statistician with a very small staff of assistants, so that all concerned may readily and quickly secure the essential facts necessary for efficient administration.

Summary of Annual Appropriations, by Classes of Appropriations and Purposes of Expenditure

Classes and purposes	Fiscal years			
	1903	1913	1923	1928
Treaty stipulations—Local appropriations				
Annuities	$187,617.81	$44,100.00	$44,100.00	$44,100.00
Pay of employees	176,248.99	151,220.00	155,220.00	216,200.00
Support and civilization	1,290,168.47	466,000.00	375,360.00	319,654.00
Education	261,958.72	221,200.00	321,000.00	322,000.00
Commutation of annuity	999,368.00	.....	.....	.....
Purchase of land	.....	66,000.00	10,000.00	10,000.00
Other purposes	1,510.00	1,040.00	1,040.00	1,040.00
Total	$2,916,865.69	$949,560.00	$906,620.00	$913,000.00
Gratuities				
General appropriations				
Education	$1,538,500.00	[a]$1,502,000.00	[a]$1,760,000.00	$2,744,700.00
Irrigation and water supply	150,000.00	335,700.00	[b]	[b]
Other purposes	886,360.00	2,090,694.86	3,080,650.00	2,885,500.00
Total	$2,574,860.00	$3,928,394.86	$4,840,650.00	$5,630,200.00
Local appropriations				
Support and civilization	$805,000.00	$684,846.00	$643,200.00	.....
Education	1,971,220.00	2,030,355.00	2,375,875.00	$3,380,000.00
Hospitals	25,000.00	45,000.00	358,500.00	643,500.00
Expenses of Commission in connection with affairs of the Five Tribes	310,000.00	215,000.00	230,000.00	.....
Irrigation and water supply	.....	65,000.00	20,000.00	28,500.00
Other purposes	325,725.00	100,640.00	20,500.00	54,300.00
Total	$3,526,945.00	$3,140,841.00	$3,657,075.00	$4,106,300.00
Reimbursable				
General appropriations				
Irrigation and water supply	[c]	[c]	$74,250.00	$80,850.00
Other purposes	.....	$270,000.00	258,000.00	479,500.00
Total	.....	$270,000.00	$332,250.00	$560,350.00
Local appropriations				
Support and civilization	$240,000.00	$100,000.00	$3,800.00	.....
Irrigation and water supply	.....	732,362.62	1,506,657.00	$1,611,275.00
Attorneys' fees	43,332.93	.....	.....	.....
Other purposes	.....	134,500.00	71,471.25	18,500.00
Total	$283,332.93	$966,862.62	$1,581,928.25	$1,629,775.00
Tribal funds—Local appropriations				
Support and civilization	$2,856.11	$440,000.00	$1,908,770.00	$1,800,800.00
Education	.....	.....	117,570.00	40,000.00
Hospitals	.....	40,000.00	17,500.00	.....
Irrigation and water supply	150,000.00	.....	278,100.00	16,000.00
Purchase of cattle, etc	143,335.10	.....	.....	.....
Agency expenses—Osage	.....	.....	165,000.00	247,000.00
Other purposes	20,000.00	51,500.00	25,632.92	30,000.00
Total	$316,191.21	$531,500.00	$2,512,572.92	$2,151,800.00
Grand total	$9,618,194.83	$9,787,158.48	$13,831,096.17	$14,991,485.00

[a] General appropriation for school buildings carried with that for agency building and included under other purposes.
[b] Under reimbursable.
[c] Under gratuity.

Summary of Appropriations by Purposes of Expenditure

Purposes	Fiscal years			
	1903	1913	1923	1928
Annuities	$187,617.51	$44,100.00	$44,100.00	$44,100.00
Pay of employees	176,248.09	151,220.00	155,220.00	216,266.00
Education	3,771,678.72	3,753,555.00	4,574,445.00	6,495,700.00
Commutation of annuity	999,368.00	.....	.....	.....
Irrigation and water supply	300,000.00	1,133,062.62	1,888,007.00	1,736,625.00
Hospitals	25,000.00	85,000.00	376,000.00	643,500.00
Expenses in connection with affairs of Five Tribes and Osages	310,000.00	215,000.00	305,000.00	247,000.00
Attorneys' fees	43,332.93	.....	.....	.....
Support and civilization	2,428,018.58	1,690,846.00	2,931,030.00	2,129,454.00
Other purposes	1,376,930.10	2,714,374.86	3,467,294.17	3,478,840.00
Total	$9,618,194.83	$9,787,158.48	$13,831,096.17	$14,991,385.00

Expenditures, Fiscal Year 1926, by Objects of Expenditure

Objects	Gratuity	Reimbursable	Treaty stipulations	Tribal funds		Total
				Appropriated annually	Disbursed under permanent indefinite appropriations	
Personal Services						
Physicians [a]	$214,105.50	$525.00	$40,525.00	$51,755.00	$32,810.00	$339,720.50
Nurses [a]	151,819.00	.....	9,480.00	36,960.00	17,415.00	215,674.00
Dentists [a]	13,020.00	.....	.....	2,100.00	.....	15,120.00
Teachers [a]	759,237.75	.....	73,725.00	2,760.00	88,840.00	924,562.75
Other regular employees	3,401,712.24	435,533.36	291,633.89	648,170.77	351,050.00	5,128,100.26
Miscellaneous and temporary labor	84,184.71	383,465.16	26,002.17	213,532.23	336,764.09	1,044,008.42
Total	4,624,079.20	819,523.52	441,726.06	955,278.00	826,879.09	7,667,485.87
Deduction on account of quarters, fuel, and light	382,113.30	18,645.00	96,935.00	75,079.00	48,580.00	621,353.30
Net cash	4,241,965.90	800,877.52	344,791.06	880,199.00	778,299.09	7,046,132.57
Supplies and material						
Stationery and office supplies	37,758.60	238.72	209.66	1,370.61	1,635.19	41,212.78
Medical and hospital supplies	54,421.09	120.62	5,005.95	84,492.40	3,138.04	87,188.00
Scientific and educational supplies	47,153.06	118.81	4,298.05	507.93	6,334.45	58,412.30
Fuel	361,295.87	50,494.37	89,132.04	90,766.32	32,486.76	504,115.36
Wearing apparel and sewing supplies	416,739.94	.....	35,783.51	7,632.58	30,969.25	491,125.28
Forage and other supplies for animals	101,711.20	12,508.31	4,049.68	40,677.80	21,561.36	180,508.35
Provisions	700,633.64	27,188.58	95,802.02	111,506.86	109,102.83	1,134,234.23
Sundry supplies	141,630.42	48,750.27	12,947.27	34,299.17	27,190.20	264,817.33
Total	1,051,345.02	139,428.68	187,228.18	311,103.67	232,418.08	2,821,613.62
Telegraph and telephone	17,075.46	1,707.96	430.77	6,218.20	4,105.12	30,446.51
Travel expenses	189,981.08	21,269.42	4,218.58	33,449.35	14,213.51	263,131.94

[a] Deductions are made from these salaries for quarters, fuel, and light, but the deductions for each class are not segregated and are included in the total deductions.

Expenditures, Fiscal Year 1926, by Objects of Expenditure.—Continued

Objects	Gratuity	Reimbursable	Treaty stipulations	Tribal funds		Total
				Appropriated annually	Disbursed under permanent indefinite appropriations	
Transportation of things	550,585.13	49,933.08	37,709.47	29,806.46	20,846.88	688,881.02
Printing and binding, engraving, lithographing, and photographing	974.35	1,732.76	168.36	1,590.43	1,484.08	5,949.98
Advertising	640.79	917.62	.....	1,117.68	4,142.98	6,819.07
Furnishing of heat, light, power, water, and electricity (service)	106,452.44	6,383.65	1,421.05	10,174.81	11,775.07	136,207.92
Rents	48,186.93	14,276.62	41.75	9,310.27	4,733.56	76,549.13
Repairs and alterations	671,777.51	56,114.20	25,255.33	100,769.87	123,455.31	977,372.31
Miscellaneous	46,913.89	50,860.79	2,460.26	15,391.13	473,101.11	588,757.18
Tuition in schools not operated by the Indian Service	455,548.12	.....	104,792.59	30,108.59	125,700.52	725,149.82
Burial expenses	5,545.95	.....	.....	4,167.10	268.33	9,981.38
Equipment						
Passenger carrying vehicles	28,762.68	8,531.41	3,325.62	26,878.86	14,052.75	81,551.32
Furniture, furnishings and fixtures	160,985.89	4,247.52	10,821.72	19,060.72	22,928.71	218,044.56
Educational, scientific, and recreational equipment	17,224.30	613.60	320.13	892.56	5,551.63	24,602.22
Live stock (other than purchased for slaughter)	13,837.14	50,121.49	3,202.00	44,119.63	13,948.09	125,228.35
Other equipment	117,959.84	89,495.29	9,042.62	34,361.99	137,262.61	388,122.35
Total	338,769.84	153,009.31	26,712.09	125,313.76	193,743.79	837,548.80
Purchase of land and interest in land	53,595.00	3,800.00	.....	2,000.00	.....	57,415.00
Structures and parts and nonstructural improvements to land	349,266.83	169,308.35	74,232.20	73,257.20	128,613.56	794,678.14
Outstanding obligations not classified	39,180.71	.....	950.55	.....	.....	40,131.26
Total operating expenses	9,022,981.67	1,469,650.05	856,145.43	1,641,087.52	2,116,900.99	15,106,765.66
Per capita payments	.....	.....	46,362.26	149,988.00	33,204,595.67	33,400,945.93
Total expenditures	$9,022,981.67	$1,469,650.05	$902,507.69	$1,791,075.52	$35,321,496.66	$48,507,711.59

CHAPTER VIII

HEALTH

Although in the medical work of the Indian Service the variation between the best and the worst is wide, taken as a whole practically every activity undertaken by the national government for the promotion of the health of the Indians is below a reasonable standard of efficiency. The health work of the Indian Service falls markedly below the standards maintained by the Public Health Service, the Veterans' Bureau, and the Army and the Navy, and those prescribed for the states by the national government in the administration of the federal grants to the states under the Maternity and Infancy Act.

The fundamental explanation of these low standards in the medical work of the Indian Service is lack of adequate appropriations. The appropriations for salaries have been too low to permit of the employment of a sufficient number of doctors, dentists, and nurses to render the service required by a people whose health is seriously impaired because of their lack of adjustment to the social and economic conditions of the prevailing civilization which confronts them. The appropriations have prescribed or necessitated salary levels that are not sufficiently high to permit of the maintenance of proper standard qualifications for entrance into the positions in the Indian health service. The course necessarily followed has been either to lower the entrance requirements so that many persons not properly qualified for the duties of the positions secure permanent appointments or to maintain high paper standards, to give permanent appointments to the relatively few who will apply for the positions at the salaries offered, and to fill the remaining positions by the temporary appointment of others who have not, and in many cases cannot, satisfy the established requirements. The low salaries have resulted in a high turnover, and as is commonly the case in such a situation, the better qualified, who have little difficulty in securing better paying positions elsewhere, are

the ones who voluntarily resign. The Indian Service can legitimately point to a number of highly efficient, able, well qualified professional workers in the field of health, but the average falls below a reasonable minimum standard.

Low appropriations also account for the common lack of adequate facilities for the care and treatment of the sick Indians. The government has apparently failed to approach this question of providing facilities from the scientific standpoint of what are the minimum essentials. It has seemingly given too much consideration to the fact that the economic and social conditions of the Indians are low and it has assumed, therefore, that it is unnecessary to supply them with facilities comparable with those made available by states, municipalities, and private philanthropists for the poorest white citizens of progressive communities. The Indian Service hospitals, sanatoria, and sanatorium schools are, with few exceptions, below minimum standards for effective work in the three essentials of plant, equipment, and personnel, as is set forth in detail in subsequent sections of this chapter. It is at once admitted that in many cases the facilities at these hospitals and sanatoria are superior to what the Indian has in his own home, but from the standpoint of the survey itself, that is not the issue; the facilities are not as a rule adequate to render efficiently and economically the needed service. The function of a sanatorium and a sanatorium school, and to a considerable extent of a hospital, is to demonstrate to the Indian what he must do for himself on leaving the institution and insofar as possible to educate him to a higher standard of personal care. This important function many of the hospitals and sanatoria of the Indian Service cannot perform because of deficiencies in plant, equipment, and personnel. They are underequipped for the primary service of curing or arresting the disease which necessitated bringing the Indian to the institution.

Lack of appropriations and, possibly until the recent reorganization of the medical service under the present administration, lack of vision and real understanding have precluded the establishment in the Indian Service of a real program of preventive medicine. For some years it has been customary to speak of the Indian medical service as being organized for public health work, yet the fundamentals of sound public health work are still lacking. The first

essential in planning, developing, and directing a public health program is knowledge of the facts. Vital statistics are the first instrument of the experienced qualified director of public health activities. They give him the facts of his problem. The Indian Service has for many years had rules and regulations requiring the collection and tabulation of some vital statistics, but they have achieved the form and not the substance. Really accurate figures based on reasonably complete records are not yet secured. The present director of the medical work of the service, a fully qualified surgeon from the United States Public Health Service, is handicapped by the lack of definite concrete information for his own use and for formulating plans for submission to Congress. The importance of accurate vital statistics as a basis for public health work and preventive medicine can hardly be overstated.

The public health program requires, too, the establishment of an adequate number of public health nurses and of clinics through which cases of incipient disease may be located and treated before they reach an advanced stage and before others have been subjected to contagion. The Indian Service has made an excellent beginning in public health nursing, but as will be shown in detail later in this chapter, the number of positions authorized is too small and the salaries offered are so low that the service has difficulty in securing persons to fill the positions already authorized. Almost no use has been made of the permanent clinic, although some encouraging beginnings are to be noted.

The reservation physicians and the school and hospital physicians are not generally public health men, nor do they as a rule follow the practices of public health officers, although they may be supposed to do so. Their actual work, as will be discussed in detail later, consists primarily of seeing Indians who come to them or who send for them. These doctors are primarily engaged in the relief of the sick and not in the prevention and eradication of disease. With few exceptions they do not keep complete records and analyze them as do trained, full-time public health officers whose duty is more the prevention of disease than the cure of persons suffering acute illnesses calling for immediate professional attention.

Absence in the past of adequately trained and supported public health physicians is nowhere more apparent than in the boarding

schools maintained by the government. Adequate physical examinations of the Indian children in these boarding schools and adequate records would have disclosed to a qualified public health physician the existence of a very serious health problem in these schools. His approach to this problem would have been primarily to seek the causes and to remedy them and to prevent the spread of contagion. The cure or relief of the individual sufferer would have been undertaken too, but emphasis would have been placed on prevention. A real public health physician would have promptly called attention to these vital facts:

1. The Indian children in boarding schools are generally below normal in health as compared with standards for white children.

2. The appropriations for food for these children are not sufficient to secure for them a suitable, balanced diet for well children, much less for children whose health is below normal.

3. The boarding schools are generally crowded beyond their capacity so that the individual child does not have sufficient light and air.

4. The boarding school dormitories are generally of the congregate institutional type so that those who are below par in health cannot be isolated from the others. Contagious diseases under these circumstances have almost free scope.

5. The normal day at the boarding schools, with its marked industrial features, is a heavy day even for well, strong children. It is too much for a child below normal. Added to insufficiency of diet and over-crowding, it may be an explanation of the low general health among children in Indian boarding schools.

As will be discussed at length in the following pages, the medical service at the boarding schools has on the whole been inadequate. The evidence seems to warrant the statement that the first requirement of a thorough physical examination of each child on admission and periodically thereafter has not been met. Examinations have been made, to be sure, but at one of the leading schools they were seen by members of the survey staff put through at the rate of seventy-two an hour. The boarding school doctors have not been called upon to direct the régime of the school from the standpoint of health conservation and development.

The Indian Service has recognized two great health problems, probably the outstanding two, namely, tuberculosis and trachoma.

The amount of tuberculosis is not known. Estimates supplied by the Indian Office based on figures for the Indians, exclusive of the Five Civilized Tribes, place the number with tuberculosis either active or arrested at over 25,000, or approximately one in ten.

The sanatorium or the sanatorium school has been the main line of attack on this problem. Both types of institutions, as developed in the Indian Service, are, as has been said, generally below a minimum standard of efficiency in plant, equipment, and personnel. For reasons to be discussed at length later, it has generally proved difficult to get the Indians to go to these sanatoria. The number of physicians and nurses on the reservations is not sufficient to aid the Indians in their own homes in fighting the disease and in avoiding contagion. Children in advanced stages of the disease are sometimes returned from the boarding schools to their own homes, where no adequate provision is made for their care or for the protection of other members of their family from contagion. Neither in the boarding schools nor on the reservations is enough done in examining the Indians periodically to detect cases in their incipiency, a procedure that is obviously imperative in a population wherein tuberculosis is so prevalent.

The Indian Service has for a number of years conducted an active campaign against trachoma, a disease which is serious chiefly because it causes blindness. The cause of trachoma is not yet definitely known. Two hypotheses have been advanced, one that it is an infectious disease, the other that it is due to dietary deficiency. Obviously from the practical standpoint, both hypotheses may be correct. The primary cause may be a specific organism which has a chance to develop and do damage in the presence of a deficiency in diet. As in tuberculosis, the best available means of combating the organism may be in building up the general resistance through diet and a strict regimen.

Whatever the facts regarding cause may prove to be, the Indian Service in the past has directed its preventive campaigning against trachoma practically entirely on the theory of contagion and has not experimented with dietary control. Even at the school at Fort Defiance, which is now exclusively a school for children with trachoma, the diet is not superior to that at other boarding schools. In fact, several schools with better farms have much better diets. The diet at Fort Defiance is notably lacking in the two great pre-

ventive foods, milk and fresh vegetables and fruits. The preventive work thus far undertaken has consisted primarily of instruction, some control over the use of towels and lavatory facilities, and limited isolation. The complete isolation now practiced at Fort Defiance and one other school is a very recent innovation.

The curative work in trachoma will be discussed at some length in the following pages. Here it will be sufficient to say that some evidence led the Service to believe that a radical operation had been discovered which would cure the disease. Proceeding on this belief, it employed special surgeons to perform this operation and to instruct agency and school physicians in its performance. The inadequacy of the medical personnel made it impossible to follow up the cases which had been operated, to give any after treatment or to observe the final effects. In fact, according to the beliefs entertained at the outset, the operation was in itself a complete cure and no after treatment was needed. The results, however, have not borne out the theory, and the Service has now taken steps to prevent the use of the radical operation except in extreme cases. As trachoma is a very difficult disease to diagnose, especially in its early stages, and as the Service attempted to make its regular medical officers responsible for the treatment of trachoma after a very brief period of training, it naturally followed that the radical operation was performed in some cases when it should not have been, even in some cases where it is doubtful if the Indian actually had trachoma at all.

Accurate data regarding infant mortality among the Indians are lacking, but all available information indicates a high birth rate and a very high infant death rate. Among many tribes primitive, crude, and unsanitary methods are used in childbirth, and with few exceptions infants are not properly fed when weaned. In a few jurisdictions Indian Service physicians and nurses have made marked progress in getting the women to accept skilled professional care in childbirth, and some instruction has been given in infant care, both in the homes and in the schools. Pamphlets on infant care have been distributed. What has been done, however, is only a beginning, significant chiefly as indicating the possibilities of success of a more wide-spread, more determined effort, better financed.

This brief introduction gives in summary the outstanding findings of the survey without pausing to present the supporting evidence. The evidence and a more detailed discussion will be found in the following pages where specific detailed recommendations are also made. The broad general recommendation is obvious. Appropriations should be made greatly to strengthen all the medical work of the Service, especially that which relates to prevention of disease. Certain specific broad recommendations should be here enumerated for emphasis:

1. The personnel in health work for the Indians should be materially strengthened both in respect to numbers and qualifications.

2. An adequate public health program should be inaugurated, with special emphasis on prevention. This program should emphasize: (a) Reaching the Indians in their homes through public health nurses, home demonstration agents, and social workers in an effort to change the home conditions that are responsible for disease, (b) establishing regular clinics for the benefit of Indians whose health is in the least doubtful so that diseases or susceptibility to disease may be discovered early and treated, (c) providing adequate hospital and sanatorium facilities so that those who cannot be cared for in their homes will receive proper care and will not be a menace to members of their families, and (d) establishing an adequate system of medical reports, records, and statistics so that all concerned in the administration and control of medical activities may have definite facts to use as a basis for analyzing problems, measuring results, and determining policies.

3. The whole régime at the Indian boarding schools should be revised to make them institutions for developing health. This revision should include: (a) A marked increase in quantity, quality and variety of food for all children, (b) a marked reduction in overcrowding, (c) a thorough physical examination of all school children at least once a year and oftener if the child has any defects, (d) a material reduction of the working day for all children below normal if not for all children, (e) a much greater effort to prevent the spread of contagious and infectious diseases, and (f) more thorough training in the care of the person and prevention of diseases.

Conditions of Health and Disease Among Indians. Reliable figures regarding births, deaths, and diseases are not available for Indians. For any well organized modern white community a detailed report on health would naturally begin with an analysis of the mortality and morbidity statistics. The Indian jurisdictions, however, have not yet reached the level of well organized white communities. A discussion of the existing vital statistics must therefore be concerned primarily with the limitations of the figures rather than with the facts regarding the health of the Indians. Nevertheless, it seems important to summarize the available statistics, since, though they must be regarded as essentially untrustworthy, they form the basis for any appraisal of health conditions or of a program for the future. These figures, it should be noted, do not include the data regarding the Indians of the Five Civilized Tribes of Oklahoma.

Indian Office records show for the Indian population a high birth rate and a high death rate, with excessively high infant mortality and a large portion of deaths from tuberculosis.

Birth Rates. The Indian birth rate is apparently from one-fourth to one-half higher than the birth rate for the general population, according to such data as can be obtained. The rate is high, despite the fact that many Indian births are not reported. The situation is shown in Table 1, where figures are given for the estimated Indian population of eighteen states.

Various inaccuracies inhere in these statistics. The births reported are for a single year and the numbers of births occurring in all little groups of a few hundred or even a few thousand people vary considerably from one year to another. Thus the highest and the lowest rates in this table are from two of the smallest populations. The fact remains, however, that the rates for the Indians, taken state by state, run pretty consistently higher than the rates for the general populations, while the rate for the whole group of 180,000 Indians is almost 50 per cent higher than the rate for the general population of the United States birth registration area. This agrees with the general impression that Indian women, like the women of most primitive people, are the bearers of many children.

That the situation has not materially changed over a considerable recent period is indicated in Table 2, which compares Indian

birth rate with birth rate in the general population between 1915 and 1925.

Table 1

Indian Service statistics showing, by states, the estimated Indian population and the number of Indian births reported for jurisdictions reporting vital statistics, together with the birth rates per 1000 estimated Indian population which have been derived therefrom. For comparison are included the birth rates reported by the United States Census Bureau for the general population for such of these states as lie within the birth registration area of the United States. 1925

State	Estimated Indian population	Indian births reported		Births per 1000 of the general population U. S. Census
		Number	Per 1000 estimated Indian population	
Totals	180,884	5,699	31.5	[a]21.4
Arizona	35,827	1,226	35.7	[b]
California	18,812	526	28.0	20.4
Colorado	792	28	35.4	[b]
Idaho	3,963	113	28.5	[b]
Kansas	1,522	17	11.2	20.3
Minnesota	13,910	544	39.1	20.6
Montana	10,869	322	29.6	15.2
Nebraska	2,620	128	48.9	21.3
Nevada	4,077	159	39.0	[b]
New Mexico	12,481	452	36.2	[b]
North Dakota ...	9,911	280	28.3	22.6
Oklahoma[c]	16,861	335	19.9	[b]
Oregon	3,793	114	30.1	17.9
South Dakota ...	24,241	787	32.5	[b]
Utah	1,172	66	56.3	27.3
Washington	10,220	284	27.8	16.4
Wisconsin	8,005	234	29.2	20.1
Wyoming	1,808	84	46.5	21.1

[a] Figure for the entire birth registration area of the United States.
[b] Figures not available for the general population of this state because it is not within the birth registration area of the United States.
[c] Exclusive of the Five Civilized Tribes.

Infant Mortality. Among a people with a high birth rate, infant deaths are generally more frequent, proportionately, than among a people who bear fewer children. The general inadequacy of the Indian Service statistics would not justify attempts to compute for the Indian population an infant mortality rate in accordance with

the accepted formula. Since it was found, however, that on eleven reservations,[1] where about 16.8 per cent of the Indian population live, records appeared to be kept with more than the usual care, an attempt was made, among other things, to determine what per cent the deaths of infants under one year of age and of children under three years of age, respectively, constituted of all Indian

Table 2

Indian Service statistics showing, for certain years, the estimated Indian population and the number of Indian births reported, together with birth rates derived therefrom. For comparison are included birth rates reported by the United States Census Bureau for the general population in the birth registration area of the United States: 1915 to 1920, inclusive, and 1925

Year	Estimated Indian population	Indian births reported		Births per 1000 population in U. S. birth registration area: U. S. Census
		Number	Per 1000 estimated Indian population	
1925	*180,884	5,699	31.5	21.4
1920	206,868	6,510	31.5	23.7
1919	205,468	6,344	30.9	22.3
1918	205,249	5,571	29.3	24.6
1917	207,903	5,340	29.0	24.7
1916	209,224	6,092	29.1	25.0
1915	205,450	6,542	31.8	25.1

* The 1925 estimate does not include all Indians under the supervision of the Indian Service in 1925, and the difference between the 1920 and 1925 figures does not represent a decline in population. It is due to the fact that some jurisdictions which furnished vital statistics in 1920 did not furnish similar figures for 1925. The apparent decrease in population in 1925 is thus due to the smaller reporting area.

deaths within these eleven jurisdictions, and to compare the results with conditions among the general population of the United States. The shortcomings of this method are recognized, but the results permit of a rough comparison. According to this comparison Indian deaths in infancy and early childhood on these eleven reservations appear to be twice as frequent in proportion to all deaths as in the general population, as is evident from the following figures:

[1] The eleven reservations referred to are: Blackfeet, Cheyenne River, Chippewa, Crow, Fort Belknap, Fort Berthold, Fort Peck, Keshena, Pine Ridge, Rosebud, and Tongue River. They represent a population of 41,608, or 16.8 per cent of the total Indian population exclusive of the Five Tribes.

Table 3

Deaths under one year of age constituted:
- 26.2 per cent of all deaths among Indians of 11 reservations;
- 13.6 per cent of all deaths in the population of the United States birth registration area in 1925.

Deaths under three years of age constituted:
- 36.9 per cent of all deaths among Indians of 11 reservations;
- 16.2 per cent of all deaths in the population of the United States birth registration area in 1925.

The comparative importance of deaths under three years of age in the Indian population and in the general population is further indicated in the last column of Table 4, which shows, by states, the per cent that deaths in early childhood constitute of all deaths in the respective areas and groups.

The exact significance of the percentage which early deaths form of all deaths is always open to question. A high rate of infant mortality, if accompanied by a high death rate among older people, does not reveal itself in the percentage based upon all deaths; nor does a low percentage necessarily reflect a good condition among young children, for it may merely reflect heavy fatalities among the older members of the population. Fine comparisons are therefore hardly justified. But one thing appears beyond question when the last two columns of Table 4 are compared with each other. Among Indians almost everywhere, deaths of young children occur with relatively great frequency. In fact, the relative numerical importance of deaths under 3 years of age is greater among Indians than among the general population in each of the eighteen states listed, except Utah and Wisconsin. Indeed, the percentage of Indian deaths under 3 years of age is double or more than double the corresponding percentage for the general population in Idaho, Minnesota, Nebraska, Oregon, and Washington.

Among Indians in the states listed 28.3 per cent of the deaths reported were of children under 3 years of age. Comparison of these figures with those given in Table 3 for the eleven reservations for which the data are believed more complete, suggests that the figures for the states in Table 4 would be higher if the records were well kept.

Total Deaths. Despite deficiencies in reporting Indian deaths, state totals of the Indian population on reservations visited by the survey staff show more than twice as many deaths per 1000 of the

Table 4

Indian Service statistics showing, by states, the estimated Indian population and the total deaths, the deaths from tuberculosis, and the deaths of children under 3 years of age reported for jurisdictions reporting vital statistics, together with the general death rate and the tuberculosis death rate derived therefrom, and also the per cent that Indian deaths under 3 years of age constitute of all Indian deaths. For comparison are included the general and the tuberculosis death rates and figures showing what per cent deaths under 3 years of age constitute of all deaths reported by the U. S. Census Bureau in the death registration area of the United States: 1925

State	Estimated Indian population	Total deaths			Deaths from tuberculosis			Deaths under 3 years of age		
		Indian		Per 1000 population in death registration area: U. S. Census	Indian		Per 1000 population in death registration area: U. S. Census	Indian		Per cent of all deaths in death registration area: U. S. Census
		Number reported	Per 1000 estimated Indian population		Number reported	Per 1000 estimated Indian population		Number reported	Per cent of all Indian deaths	
Totals	180,884	4,629	25.6	11.8	1,132	6.3	.87	1,309	28.3	16.2
Arizona	35,827	1,337	38.9	[a]	431	15.1	[a]	369	27.6	[a]
California	18,812	454	24.1	13.6	51	2.7	1.42	66	14.5	12.8
Colorado	792	26	32.8	12.1	10	12.6	1.52	7	26.9	17.4
Idaho	3,963	142	35.8	6.7	56	14.1	.34	51	35.9	18.0
Kansas	1,522	22	14.5	10.2	4	2.6	.45	5	22.7	14.6
Minnesota	13,010	255	18.3	9.7	60	4.3	.60	82	32.2	15.0
Montana	10,869	222	20.4	7.7	67	6.2	.59	65	29.3	17.6
Nebraska	2,620	85	32.4	9.1	18	6.9	.33	34	40.0	16.6
Nevada	4,077	160	39.2	[a]	9	2.2	[a]	53	33.1	[a]
New Mexico..	12,481	348	27.9	[a]	35	3.8	[a]	140	40.2	[a]
North Dakota	9,911	227	22.9	7.9	39	3.9	.50	97	42.7	24.2
Oklahoma [b] ..	16,861	215	12.8	[a]	38	2.3	[a]	68	31.6	[a]
Oregon	3,793	100	26.4	11.2	16	4.2	.65	25	25.0	10.3
South Dakota	24,241	570	23.5	[a]	157	6.5	[a]	136	23.9	[a]
Utah	1,172	42	35.8	8.9	4	3.4	.30	7	16.6	21.2
Washington ..	10,220	222	21.7	10.1	53	5.2	.79	67	30.2	11.1
Wisconsin ...	8,005	160	20.0	10.3	80	10.0	.62	23	14.4	15.8
Wyoming	1,808	42	23.2	8.3	4	2.2	.31	14	33.3	21.0

[a] Figures not available for the general population because this state is not in the death registration area of the United States.
[b] Figures not included for the Five Civilized Tribes.

estimated Indian population as for each 1000 of the general population of the country as a whole. The highest Indian death rate (39.2) is reported for Nevada. Other states with Indian death rates higher than 30 are Arizona (38.9), Idaho (35.8), Utah (35.8), Colorado (32.8), and Nebraska (32.4).

In Idaho Indian deaths are relatively five times as frequent as other deaths within the state. Other states show striking differences, all unfavorable to the Indian.

Deaths reported among Indians in Oklahoma, exclusive of the Five Civilized Tribes, yield a death rate of 12.8, a rate so low as to suggest many omissions in reporting. This rate is one point higher than the general death rate of the country as a whole, but lower than that for Indians in any other state. How the Indian death rate in Oklahoma compares with the general state rate cannot be determined, since Oklahoma does not record deaths in the general population with sufficient completeness to be included in the death registration area of the United States.

Kansas, with a death rate of 14.5, ranks next to Oklahoma in the approach toward a death rate lower than the rate for the reservation population for all states combined. But in Kansas likewise, the explanation is undoubtedly that an exceedingly large number of Indian deaths go unreported.

Tuberculosis Deaths. Incompleteness in reporting deaths and inexactness in reporting causes of death make it impossible to determine accurately the extent to which any given disease takes its toll. Table 4 shows, however, the number of the death certificates with tuberculosis as the stated cause of death. With all the known inadequacy of the reports, the Indian Service statistics in this table show more than seven times as many deaths from tuberculosis in each 1000 of the estimated Indian population as reported in each 1000 of the general population in the death registration area. The Indian tuberculosis death rate is 6.3 as compared with 0.87 for the registration area. The Indian death rate from tuberculosis in Arizona, 15.1, is more than seventeen times as high as the general rate for the country as a whole. The death rate from this one cause among the Arizona Indians is considerably higher than is the rate for all causes combined in the general population of the registration area.

In Table 5 the statistics presented show the tuberculosis death rate for each reservation with an Indian death rate from tuber-

culosis higher than the average for all reservations combined. In this, as in the other tables, for purposes of comparison the rate for the general population of the state in which the individual reservations are located is included.

Table 5

Indian Service statistics showing for reservations where the Indian death rate from tuberculosis, per 1000 estimated Indian population, is above the average rate for all reservations combined, the estimated Indian population and the number of Indian deaths reported as due to tuberculosis, with the death rates per 1000 estimated Indian population. For comparison are included the death rates from tuberculosis in such of the respective states as are included in the United States death registration area: 1925

Reservations selected on basis of their very high tuberculosis rate and states in which located	Estimated Indian population	Indian deaths from tuberculosis	
		Number reported	Rate per 1000 estimated Indian population
Arizona—State rate:[a]			
Pima	5,691	[b]276	[b]48.5
Salt River	1,300	11	8.5
San Carlos	2,533	24	9.5
Sells	4,731	57	12.0
California—State rate: 1.4			
Fort Yuma	863	7	8.1
Colorado—State rate: 1.5			
Consolidated Ute	792	10	12.6
Idaho—State rate: 0.3			
Fort Hall	1,760	34	19.3
Fort Lapwai	1,400	22	15.7
Minnesota—State rate: 0.6			
Red Lake	1,698	18	10.6
Montana—State rate: 0.5			
Crow	1,781	16	9.0
Fort Belknap	1,198	18	15.0
Tongue River	1,408	13	9.2
Nebraska—State rate: 0.3			
Winnebago and Omaha	2,620	18	6.9
New Mexico—State rate:[a]			
Jicarilla	635	5	7.9
Mescalero	656	7	10.7
Pueblo Bonito	3,000	26	8.7

[a] Not in the death registration area of the United States, and hence the state rate for tuberculosis is not available.

[b] The Pima death rate is known to be inaccurate. The Indian Office states that the number of deaths reported in 1925 includes deaths, never previously reported, occurring as early as 1913. This extraordinary procedure on the part of the superintendent making the report was due to an attempted revision of the roll and was not immediately detected in the Indian Office.

Table 5—Continued

Reservations selected on basis of their very high tuberculosis rate and states in which located	Estimated Indian population	Indian deaths from tuberculosis	
		Number reported	Rate per 1000 estimated Indian population
North Dakota—State rate: 0.4			
Standing Rock	3,610	27	7.5
Oklahoma—State rate:[a]			
Cantonment	726	6	8.3
Seger	761	5	6.6
South Dakota—State rate:[a]			
Crow Creek	932	9	9.7
Pine Ridge	7,628	51	6.7
Rosebud	5,700	45	7.9
Sisseton	2,474	28	11.3
Washington—State rate: 0.7			
Neah Bay	429	6	14.0
Taholah	1,134	9	7.9
Tulalip	2,130	14	6.6
Wisconsin—State rate: 0.6			
Keshena	1,890	48	25.4
Lac du Flambeau	837	15	17.9

[a] Not in the death registration area of the United States, and hence the state rate for tuberculosis is not available.

Deaths from Other Causes. For many of the Indian deaths which occur on reservations no report is made to the Indian Office. In many cases where a report is made, it is defective in that some of the essential items are missing. On the eleven reservations before mentioned as having made an effort to secure accurate vital statistics, the death certificates were studied with a view to learning the relative importance of various conditions in producing deaths. But on about one-fifth of the certificates a statement of the cause of death was missing. In about one-third of the cases where a cause of death was given, the cause reported was tuberculosis.

Extraneous evidence thus indicates high general death rates, an excessive frequency of child and infant deaths, and a large number of deaths from tuberculosis among Indians, as compared with the general population in the death registration area of the United States. It must again be pointed out, however, that all the Indian Office statistics here presented are incomplete and that their defects seriously impair their usefulness. It is even conceivable that some

of the reservations appearing to have the lowest death rate from tuberculosis, for example, may be the very ones with, proportionately, the greatest number of deaths from tuberculosis, and at the same time the ones with the most inadequate and imperfect reporting.

Tuberculosis. Tuberculosis is without doubt the most serious disease among Indians. The high death rate from tuberculosis has been indicated in the statistics just given, but the extent of the disease is not known with reasonable accuracy.

Table 6

An analysis of reported causes of death on eleven reservations having a population amounting to 16.8 per cent of total Indian population, exclusive of the Five Civilized Tribes. These eleven reservations are regarded as representing the area of the less inaccurate reporting of vital statistics

Cause	Deaths at all ages		Deaths under 5 years of age	
	Number	Per cent distribution	Number	Per cent distribution
Deaths from all causes	2,773	100.0	1,022	100.0
Tuberculosis	727	26.2	95	9.3
Pneumonia	425	15.3	250	24.5
Heart conditions	110	4.0	9	0.9
Other stated causes	963	34.7	437	42.8
Cause not stated	548	19.8	231	22.6

The formula generally accepted in making tuberculosis estimates in the general population is based on the average number of deaths over a period of years. During the years 1916 to 1925 the number of Indian deaths reported from tuberculosis was 10,760, or an average of 1076 deaths each year. Intensive case-finding surveys in white communities, such as Framingham, Mass., Cattaraugus County, N. Y., and Fargo, N. D., have shown that approximately nine active and nine arrested cases may be expected for each annual death. Reports of death among Indians are incomplete to an unknown extent, but application of the formula to the figures just given indicates at least 9684 active and 9684 arrested cases, or a minimum of 19,368 tuberculous Indians living at the present time.

The American Public Health Association estimates the probable number of "contact cases," or persons directly exposed to tuberculosis, as being three times the number of active cases. This method would indicate 29,052 "contacts" among Indians on the various reservations.

In 1922 a somewhat cursory study of tuberculosis among Indians was made by the National Tuberculosis Association. The statistics were obtained from the Indian Office. They indicated that 29 per cent of all deaths were from tuberculosis, and that the average number of estimated cases each year during the period 1911-1920 was 23,705.

The types of tuberculosis included in these estimates are not known, but all inquiries made on the reservations themselves indicate that a large percentage of the cases are of the pulmonary form. In visits to reservations and schools, a large number of glandular cases were seen, and obviously they also constitute a very considerable proportion of the total. The prevalence of this form of infection is of the greatest interest, as it is ordinarily associated with a contaminated milk supply, and yet milk when provided at government schools is usually obtained from clean herds, and the Indians on the reservation rarely use milk. Most Indians consume large quantities of beef, and the supply generally does not come from tuberculin tested stock. This fact may supply a hint in the solution of this important problem.

Kober has pointed out that tuberculosis was no more prevalent among Indians than among whites during the early colonization days. From all available data, it would seem that there has been a progressive increase in its prevalence with a more intimate contact with the whites. In any case, in their present mode of life the Indians do not seem to possess the same degree of immunity as the whites. The course of the disease is more acute and fulminating, with less evidence of fibratic changes in lung pathology. Tuberculosis appears to take much the same course in the Indian as in the negro.

The Indian in all probability would respond as well to early care as a member of any other race, but in most instances a diagnosis is not made until the disease is well advanced. Although the disease usually takes a more rapid course in the Indian, perhaps making diagnosis more difficult, there seems to be no reason why the

physician in constant touch with such conditions should not more quickly suspect the presence of tuberculosis. Diagnostic facilities, such as X-Ray and laboratory and tuberculin tests, have not been available in the Service and it is only on rare occasions that such aid is sought from the outside.

The prevalence of tuberculosis in boarding schools is alarming. This condition is apparently due to the failure to make complete health examinations when the children are admitted, and, later, to the serious overcrowding practiced, the poorly balanced ration, and the industrial method of operating these schools. Instances were noted where a child with incipient tuberculosis was required to assume duties too difficult for his physical strength. A full-fledged case of the disease thus develops before the case is diagnosed and treated. To aggravate these conditions the child in an advanced stage of the disease is frequently returned to his family, there to infect others in the home and himself to be the victim of neglect on account of ignorance and lack of facilities to meet his needs. Under a recent ruling the Indian Office is attempting to provide beds for some of these cases in the school hospital when sanatorium facilities are not available.

At one hospital, a case was seen of a girl about 18 years old who had been sent home from a large non-reservation boarding school about a month previous to the visit of the survey staff. Physical examination of her chest revealed unmistakable evidence of infiltration throughout the left and part of the right side. The fibrosis was sufficient to indicate that the process had been going on for perhaps a year or more. The symptoms dated back approximately two years. This case was detected at the boarding school only about three months previous to the time she was examined by the survey physician and was hospitalized only a month at the school before she was sent home. At the time she was visited by the survey physician, she was in a small agency hospital which took all classes of cases. Danger of contamination existed for the maternity cases in nearby beds.

At one non-reservation boarding school the contract physician asserted that all cases of tuberculosis were detected on admission each fall, and therefore all cases found during the school year were developed at the school. One case from this school was observed at a sanatorium in March, 1927. A young man transferred there from the school in January was found suffering with a far advanced case of tuberculosis, with the usual findings, including cavitation. In general he presented as typical a picture of the disease as one would ever expect to see. That this case developed within the five months previous to his hospitalization is unbelievable. It is far more probably evidence of a failure to make an early diagnosis, especially as the contract physician concerned was found to be examining the pupils at the rate of 72 per hour, according to an exact count made during the examinations. This physician says that during the school year 1925-26, twenty-two cases of tuberculosis developed at that boarding school, and during the period between opening of school in the fall of 1926 and March, 1927, at least nine cases of pulmonary tuberculosis had been detected. The State Board of Health, knowing of these assertions, offered to supply a trained tuberculosis clinician and staff to cooperate with the school in an effort, if possible, to detect these cases earlier. This offer was declined by the local officers, apparently without any reference of the matter to the Washington office.

This same school may be cited as evidence of the difficulty in caring for cases in the school. A young boy had been diagnosed as in an early stage of the disease. He had been hospitalized at the school hospital until objective symptoms were absent. He was then advised to take limited exercise on the school grounds. No sooner had the boy returned to the campus than the disciplinarian demanded that he assume regulation duties. This employee was informed of the physician's orders, but repeatedly ignored them. At the time of the survey visit, this lad was found repairing steam pipes in a wet and poorly ventilated room.

The establishment of sanatoria and sanatorium schools constitutes practically the only special activity thus far undertaken for the control and prevention of tuberculosis. No organized machinery, such as clinics, has been established for case finding and follow up. Because of the limited amount of public health nursing on reservations, this important method of prevention and attack is almost negligible. Except for the sanatoria and the sanatorium schools, which are in general disappointingly weak and ineffective, main reliance is placed on the general health organization of the Service.

The need for more special work to control and prevent tuberculosis may be illustrated by a typical case. At one reservation a home was visited not over a mile from the hospital. The house was of logs, had one door and two small, closed, immovable windows. The floor was of dirt; the equipment scanty. In this house a young mother was attempting to nurse twins only a few months old. She had a well-developed case of tuberculosis, as did a brother about fifteen years of age. No provision whatsoever was made for caring for sputum. Expectoration was profuse and promiscuous. Situations like this can, of course, be duplicated indefinitely, both in the Indian and white communities, but at this station the local hospital, less than a mile away, was only being used to about half its capacity. The wards on the second floor were vacant. These unused beds would have been ideal for tuberculous cases. The local officers were not only failing to use valuable bed space, but, in addition, were making little real effort to correct these or similar home conditions. The brother referred to had been operated for tuberculosis of the bone. The leg was still draining, and the only care being administered was by members of the household.

Trachoma. Trachoma is the second most prevalent disease among Indians. Its exact extent is not known, and while it does not produce mortality, it does leave permanent injury to the eye, which not infrequently results in blindness.

Trachoma is reported among whites living adjacent to Indian reservations. It is not known whether the disease spreads from the Indians to whites, from whites to Indians, or in both directions. A serious problem exists. The Indian Service and several of the states are making efforts to control the situation. This work should be amplified and should not be hampered for lack of funds or of expert personnel.

The most recent trachoma figures obtainable for a single year are those for the year ending June 30, 1926. The following tabular statement shows the number examined, the number of positive cases, and the number operated upon by special and agency physicians:

Reports of Trachoma from Indian Office Files for the Fiscal Year, 1926

Type of physician making examination	Number of cases examined	Number found positive	Per cent positive	Number operated
Special physician	25,567	4,867	19.0	3,089
Agency physician	46,587	6,266	13.4	2,229

No standard classification of this disease has ever been made by the ophthalmologists, and therefore diagnoses as trachoma have included such conditions as simple conjunctivitis, folliculosis, and other non-trachomatous lesions.[2] With all the inaccuracies in present statistics, however, the fact persistently emerges that trachoma is very prevalent among practically all tribes. The only exceptions found were at Neah Bay, La Push, and Taholah in Northwestern Washington. The disease seems to be no respecter of age. It is found among children as well as adults.

The cause of trachoma is not definitely known. One school adheres to the infectious and contagious theory, and the other to a diet deficiency theory. Some of the leading research authorities are now carrying out studies on both hypotheses, and it is hoped that their labors will be completed and will give a definite knowledge of this disease.[3]

The infectious and contagious theory has evidently received more credence among Indian Service authorities than the one based on diet deficiency, because, since 1923, the Indian Service has attempted to control the spread of the disease by rules and regulations

[2] Before the survey physician visited the various reservations, this fact had been verified time and again by the special Indian Service physicians who are devoting their time to this work. It has only been within the past year or so that all these specialists have been considered competent to diagnose the disease accurately. This fact was brought out in conferences with the district medical directors. It is only fair to add that these inaccuracies in diagnoses may be accounted for in part by the following facts. Many of the diagnoses were made after a single brief examination, and in a disease so difficult to comprehend in its earlier stages, even the highly trained specialist might err; the rapid turnover of the medical field personnel prevents close follow-up of cases so that many diagnoses are made without knowledge of previous findings, some avoidable duplication in statement of the number of cases is due to the fact that special physicians report on the same cases that the agency physician has already included in his report. Naturally many of the cases examined are "selected" and thus are by no means an accurate cross section of the population at large.

[3] Noguchi at the Rockefeller Institute has discovered an organism from trachomatous eyes with which he has been able to produce follicular conjunctivitis by sub-conjunctival injections of pure culture and, in some monkeys, dying from other conditions, has at least gotten a microscopic evidence of thickening and scar formation. While these findings reveal progress, they are by no means conclusive. Research similar to this is being done by the United States Public Health Service at Rolla, Mo., and at the Hygienic Laboratories in Washington, D. C. As yet a final solution of the problem has not been reached.

dealing with its transmission. The installation of the Pullman towel system in some schools, and the partial segregation of the trachomatous child from those with apparently normal eyes, are the two chief preventive activities.

Chemawa was the only school visited in which the Pullman towel system was not used in all dormitories. Even this system as it is applied apparently constitutes a source of danger, because not all schools have locked containers for soiled towels. Where containers are unlocked, several children may use the same towel. A more serious fault, perhaps, is the practice of dispensing a specified number of towels three times a day. This means that if the child wishes to dry his face and hands at some time other than the designated hour, he must make special request of the matron, use soiled linen, or not dry them at all. It is not infrequent to see children use soiled linen and, on several occasions, piles of readily available soiled towels were seen on the floors of the wash rooms.

In 1913, the United States Public Health Service, in its report on contagious and infectious diseases among the Indians, recommended the strict segregation of trachomatous pupils from healthy pupils. So far as could be ascertained on visits to these schools, the only effort to carry out this recommendation was being made at the Fort Defiance School, and it was started in 1927. The Indian Office reports another special trachoma school at Tohatchi, Arizona, started in the fall of 1927. At certain schools some pupils found in separate dormitory rooms were allowed to mingle with other pupils in practically every other school activity, thus nullifying the limited attempts made at segregation. Just how much infection is spread through the schools is not known, although frequently reports were heard in the positive.

The Indian Office has recently issued an order to agency superintendents requesting them to send children with trachoma to specified schools where the best hospital facilities are available and the trachoma-free child to those less well equipped from a hospital standpoint. This measure should be a temporary expedient only. Every school should have adequate facilities because the Indian child is so generally below par that all are in need of expert care.

The diet deficiency theory of trachoma has its advocates. Stucky, in his work among the mountaineers of Kentucky, has found splendid results following dietetic management of his cases. Other

workers have obtained gratifying results by the same means. Even though this method has not been proved, it is believed the Indian Service would have made greater progress by consolidating the two methods in its program. The importance of this joint attack is obvious when the Indian's diet on the reservation or in the school is considered. In both instances the diet is deficient. The difficulties to be met in improving this situation on the reservation are very apparent, but in the boarding school no reason is apparent for the restricted diet given. This point is well illustrated at the boarding school at Fort Defiance, which in January, 1927, was turned into a trachoma school. All children enrolled there suffering with the diseases were retained, those free were exchanged with other schools for their trachomatous children. In March, approximately 450 trachomatous children were at this school. A special nurse was detailed to treat their eyes twice daily under the direction of the local physician, a man well qualified to superintend this work. Considering these factors, this work was highly commendable, but there is another important consideration. In the first place, these children were put under practically the same routine that they would find in any other government school, including the overcrowding so generally prevalent. Secondly, a perusal of the weight charts posted in the various dormitories showed that 25 per cent of these children were listed as from one to seventeen pounds under their normal weight, computed on the usual height-age standards. Some of these children were recent arrivals from day schools, and other reservation schools. Although the mere presence of fat is no indication of the health of children and weight is not necessarily an accurate guide to their physical condition, yet careful observation of the pupils seen indicated that their bodies were not well nourished.

No additional allowance for food was made when this institution was changed to a trachoma school,* so the children were subsisting on the same faulty diet found in practically all schools. Little or

*No extra appropriation was available when the Fort Defiance School was changed to a special school for children suffering from trachoma, and hence the Indian Service had to operate it on the appropriation made when it was an ordinary boarding school. The Service is not criticized for its action in going ahead with segregation despite the lack of funds for adequate care. The procedure was justified under the conditions, but attention must be called to the situation found because it demands speedy correction.

no fresh milk, butter, fruits, or vegetables were furnished them. A limited amount of milk was, however, used in the small sanatorium and hospital. It seems a questionable procedure to try to heal a localized condition by localized applications, when the whole body lacks the food necessary to nourish it.

The Indian Service began the treatment of trachoma, both medically and surgically, in 1911. In 1924 a definite procedure for eradicating the disease was adopted based on advice from recognized authorities in the field of ophthalmology. This procedure had its origin when a few Indians of the Blackfeet nation attending the Carlisle School some years ago were found to have trachoma and were operated on in Philadelphia. In 1923 they were found during the course of one of the first trachoma surveys on that reservation. From all appearances, their eyes had remained cured in spite of frequent contact in their homes, for periods ranging from eight to fifteen years.[8] During the summer of 1924, the physician operating on these original cases treated a fairly large number at Fort Browning with the assistance of the reservation physician. Special clinics followed, and a number of physicians were detailed to do this work in the field. These were physicians selected on the grounds of ability or interest in the disease. They were required to assist and observe the technique of an operation believed at that time a cure for trachoma. This apprenticeship was frequently short, and some of the first physicians probably started out with a somewhat distorted idea of their problem. At that time no cases among Indians had remained cured long enough to warrant the complete acceptance of the specific operation (tarsectomy) proposed. The work, however, was started and pushed as rapidly as possible. The next step was to extend this service by attempting to have all agency physicians serve as trachoma specialists. Circular No. 2122, under date of June 22, 1925, stated in part, "We shall require all of our physicians to learn to perform the approved operations for the cure of trachoma, or give place to those who will learn, but we cannot make effective this requirement until they are provided with instruments." This order was again strengthened

[8] At the time of the visit of the medical representative of the survey to the Blackfeet Reservation, an effort was made to see some of these cases that had been reported to have remained cured from eight to fifteen years, but the agency authorities said they could not locate them.

in Circular No. 2147, under date of October 3, 1925, which stated in part, "It is desired again to state that the duties of special physicians are to instruct the station physicians in the subject of their specialties. Station physicians must learn to treat trachoma and perform operations recommended by Dr. Fox and other eminent ophthalmologists. The office desires that every physician in the Indian Service shall become a trachoma specialist." Several circulars issued before this time (Nos. 1856, 2013, 2015, 2125) stated that the agency physician was to be held responsible for the treatment of this disease, and gave him a list of the required instruments. It was suggested that their training was to be obtained from the traveling specialists on visits to their reservation or, in a few instances, by attendance at clinics held in Fort Browning, Albuquerque, Phœnix, etc.

Obviously the local physician's ability to diagnose and his operative judgment were usually a reflection of the specialist visiting his reservation, or the result of the contact he had had at one of the larger clinics.

Naturally some of the first specialists trained were enamoured of the possibilities of radical surgery, and others were more conservative. This difference was found in observing the methods used by these men. One specialist was asked how he would set about the eradication of trachoma, if sufficient funds were made available. In brief, his reply was that he would perform a tarsectomy on every Indian, irrespective of the stage of the disease. At the time he made the statement, he was performing these operations on small children, and the extent of involvement of cases operated upon would indicate that he was doing this very thing.

On the other hand, radicalism has by no means been universal. Some physicians in constant touch with trachoma have observed more conservative procedures, and, greatly to their credit, they have advised the Indian Office in detail of their experiences, showing that not all physicians in close touch with the work could conscientiously accept standardized requirements.[9]

Within the past year considerable progress has been made in improving conditions. Generally speaking, specialists as well as

[9] A typical instance is found recorded in Special Agent File No. 732, Series No. 69495, 1925.

agency physicians are more conservative both in the diagnosis of trachoma and in the course of treatment applied.[1]

The most serious fault in the trachoma campaign has been the complete acceptance of a method not sufficiently proved as correct treatment and the attempt to standardize its use. This procedure is the more serious in view of the lack of definite knowledge of the causative factors involved. This method has resulted in large numbers of cases being handled, and has given a false picture of the real facts, because trachoma is not eradicated 100 per cent by any one operative procedure. The specialists have been so busy in operating new cases that they seldom had the chance to check up on their past efforts. Not infrequently two years elapse before the physician is able to return to the jurisdiction, and then it is difficult to locate all the cases previously operated upon. During March and April, 1927, a special physician was detailed to one of the schools. In trachoma work he did sixty-four tarsectomies, and after a period of observation of from twelve to forty days reported "recovery" in forty-one cases. Nine of these recovery cases were re-examined with the local physician who had assisted in most of the operations, and six were found to have definite granules on both their upper and lower lids. None of these children was receiving treatment at the time, and the nurse in charge of the local hospital reported that no follow-up treatment had been ordered.

Ten cases at Phœnix were re-examined in 1926 by the school physician and the sanatorium superintendent. These cases were operated on a year before by various specialists, chiefly the one referred to previously as stating he believed in a general application of tarsectomy. They found that recurrences were 100 per cent in tarsectomy cases, and over 50 per cent in selective grattage. These

[1] While this report was being prepared the Indian Office issued two very significant circulars intended to lessen the generalized application of surgical measures in the treatment of trachoma. No. 2347, under date of July 22, 1927, outlined a more conservative procedure and urged the physician to exercise more precaution in the method of treatment employed; and the other, No. 2369, under date of September 20, 1927, prohibited the use of tarsectomy or radical grattage without consent from the Washington office. For each case in which either of these procedures is deemed advisable, it will require, first a statement from the physician giving the following information: Name, age, sex, tribe, symptoms, approximate duration of disease, methods of treatment previously carried out, response to treatment, and the special indications which make either of the above surgical operations necessary at the time.

operations were performed on the promise that the surgical procedure used would cure the disease once and for all without after care, an idea deduced from the writing of specialists whose methods the Indian Service physicians were required to follow.

A review giving more encouraging results was observed at the Fort Totten school. In November, 1926, 332 children were examined, 129 of whom were positive. Either a grattage or tarsectomy was performed on all these positive cases.

In May, 1927, the special physician who had performed the original operation, accompanied by the physician on the survey staff, re-examined one hundred of those operated upon. The results are grouped in the following tabular statement:

Results of review in May, 1927, of Trachoma operations performed at the Fort Totten School in November, 1926

Operation	Total	Found cured		Found in need of treatment	
		Number	Per cent	Number	Per cent
Grattage	87	55	63.2	32	36.8
Tarsectomy	13	7	53.8	6	49.2

Those listed as "cured" showed no evidence whatever of other pathology than well healed scars, the natural sequence of either type of operation. Those listed in "need of treatment" were those still having some remaining abnormal pathology, such as trachoma granules or proud flesh. In only five of the grattage cases were trachoma granules found to recur, and none recurred in tarsectomy cases. The findings at the Fort Totten school, however, are more favorable than those generally encountered.

Special physicians have not only themselves been unable to follow-up their former cases at frequent intervals, but they have not been able in most instances to be assured that a course of follow-up treatment would be given by the local authorities. This is not in all instances the fault of the local authorities, because the Indian will migrate and fail to return for treatment, or he will not always follow the physician's orders at his home. The records of an experienced nurse in the Indian Service indicate that the number of visits required to secure observance of instructions is about

three times as many among Indians as among whites. If a case can be cured by a single operation, statements to the effect that cases are followed until cured may be true, but if the case requires protracted care and treatment it is not true. Thus figures regarding cures are open to serious question. No cases or figures are available in the Indian Service to show the course of treatment and results in these cases over a period of years.

The cure of trachoma is not as yet an established fact. Some specialists who have been in contact with the disease for years say there is no known cure. This belief was more or less general among agency physicians. On the other hand, some specialists contended that the tarsectomy operation brings about a permanent cure. The latter view is not regarded as based on sound knowledge, because cases among Indians at least have never been carefully followed over a sufficient period of time and then, as has been said, there is always the question of the diagnosis in the first place.

Generally speaking, nothing is known of the epidemiology of trachoma. Surveys have been made to determine its possible incidence. Transmission experiments have been conducted, but nowhere in the literature has been found any complete epidemiological study. In this matter the Indian Service could render not only the Indian but also the whole world a signal service in collecting careful data on trachoma. The field laboratory is ideal. There are numerous groups of Indians that could be used as controls for such a study.

Venereal Disease. The statement is commonly made that venereal diseases are widely prevalent among Indians. No accurate facts are available to substantiate the assertions. The para-syphilitic diseases, such as general paresis and locomotor ataxia, are reported very infrequently in Indian communities in which a high percentage of syphilis is said to exist. The few Wassermanns that have been made were on cases suspected of the disease, and hence results, although positive, are not a criterion of the situation in the general Indian population. At one reservation the agency physician asserted that 85 per cent of the tribe were infected. He had had some Wassermanns made, but could not show a single report at the time of the survey visit. The most frequent reports of these diseases were found among communities composed largely of mixed bloods. This type of population obviously comes into closer contact with the low grade white than does the full blood, and thus the incidence might reasonably be expected to be higher. But reliable facts to substantiate such assertions are lacking.

A few years ago an attempt was made to do routine Wassermanns on the Taos Indians, but, due to poor handling, it was never possible to complete the study. At present, the physicians at the Consolidated Chippewa Agency are attempting to do routine Wassermanns on all Indians on their reservations. At the time of the survey visit, the work was barely started, but the Indians were coming in fairly well. If this effort can be extended to the majority of Indians in this jurisdiction, irrespective of a suspicion of infection, reliable figures will have been secured for at least one group.

Many agency physicians say that the Indians will not come to them for treatment for venereal diseases, but go instead to outside practitioners. The general impression gained was that the Indian was quick to seek treatment in the acute stages of the disease, but it was difficult to get him to continue after the acute symptoms had subsided. A vast field for investigation and the institution of control practice for this disease among the Indians awaits intelligent interested physicians.

Typhoid Fever. Physicians very commonly reported that they had had no cases of typhoid fever on their present reservations or on previous assignments for years. The older physicians report only an occasional case in the past. This fact was a distinct surprise, because the Indians generally depend upon a very questionable water supply. At several reservations and schools, according to analyses made by state boards of health, the water was reported contaminated. The water supply at Zuni, for example, persistently showed B. coli pollution. For years, the raw sewage of the Black Rock School, four miles upstream, was dumped untreated into the river, but rarely was there a case of typhoid. The reason for this is hard to determine. Very little milk is used, and thus one very important source of infection is eliminated. Possibly the Indians may have derived some immunity by frequent ingestion of contaminated water. Clearly, however, typhoid is not now a problem among Indians, or as some writers say, the disease has not yet been extensively introduced among them. Numerous cases of dysentery, however, are reported.

Other Diseases. In respect to other diseases the Indian situation presents comparatively few significant variations from that of the general population.

With regard to infectious and contagious diseases, until recently almost no effort has been made to compile statistics except for tuberculosis and trachoma. Cases of smallpox were found only occasionally; vaccination has been compulsory in schools since 1907, though it is probable that a fairly large number of adults and children still remain to be reached before maximum protection is assured. Measles was found frequently, 140 cases at one school at the time of the visit of the survey staff, and it is likely that measles accounts for part of the high infant mortality, though records are not available to substantiate the contention. Little scarlet fever was found, and only occasional cases of diphtheria, the latter invariably among mixed bloods. Scattered cases of whooping cough were reported, and there have been epidemics of chickenpox and mumps.

Considerable indifference in regard to diseases of childhood was observed, especially in the boarding schools. In some instances the old feeling appeared to exist that such diseases were to be expected, and the sooner all children had them the better. In diphtheria, on the other hand, Tulalip and Sherman have immunized all their pupils, and the Consolidated Chippewa Agency is now immunizing Indian children on the reservation and in public schools. The Indian Office has distributed circulars among field physicians to encourage immunization.

Sporadic outbreaks of epidemic cerebro-spinal meningitis have occurred in Montana, Washington, and Oregon for the past few years. During the spring of 1927 about thirty cases developed among the Blackfeet tribes in Montana. Immediate action on the part of the reservation physicians, the state health authorities and the district health officer prevented its spread.

Cases of malaria have been reported among the Indians in southeastern Oklahoma, among the Cherokees of North Carolina, and in the Pueblo of San Juan, New Mexico. The occurrence of this disease in New Mexico seems quite out of the ordinary because of the marked difference in climate and altitude from the usual malarial regions. A trained worker is now making a study of this situation.

Impetigo is widely prevalent. In the schools it is frequently due to faulty hygiene or a lack of prophylaxis and steps have been taken to prevent its spread by intensive treatment and isolation.

In order to determine the extent of hookworm the International Health Board has recently made a survey of the Cherokee Nation in North Carolina. Cases of hookworm also exist in southeastern Oklahoma. In the Navajo country a visitor suggested the presence of hookworm, and the microscopic examination of fifty stools revealed four positives. Nothing further has been done to determine the prevalence of this disease among the Navajos.

Erysipelas has frequently recurred at the Rapid City non-reservation boarding school during the past few years. The district medical officer has made a careful study of the matter to institute methods of eradication.

Goitre, which in the general population is usually localized to communities within the so-called goitre belt of the United States, has been reported among Indians in Wyoming, at Keshena, Wisconsin, and around Bishop, California. In the Pacific Northwest no cases are reported among Indians, although not infrequently cases are found among whites.

Available figures indicate but few deaths due to cancer; heart disease accounted for 110 deaths in the table for eleven reservations previously presented, but its exact prevalence is not known.

Certain General Factors Affecting Indian Health. Certain general factors influence the health of the Indians: (1) Environment; (2) food; (3) alcohol, opium, peyote; (4) racial status.

Climatic conditions affecting health vary as much among Indians as among whites, since Indian communities are scattered throughout nearly all the states of the Union. The main body of the Indian race, however, is confined largely to the Southwest (Oklahoma, Arizona, and New Mexico, principally), the Pacific Coast (Washington and California, principally), and the Northwest (Montana, the Dakotas, and Minnesota, principally). Climatic peculiarities of these sections of the country to some extent affect housing facilities, water supply, sewage disposal, and other environmental factors which influence Indian life.

For the most part, the dwellings in the Southwest are of a temporary nature, the hogan, wickiup, tepee or tent. That the primitive dwellings are temporary is in one sense a great blessing, for they

are abandoned lightly and new clean ones constructed elsewhere, thus curtailing the spread of disease, which even so, is inevitable under the existing conditions of overcrowding.

On Indian reservations in this part of the country, water generally is scarce. Sometimes it is difficult even to get enough to drink, so lack of cleanliness of body, clothing, and homes is a natural consequence and is found with discouraging frequency. In addition to lack of cleanliness in the house, overcrowding is a serious problem. Whole family groups sleep on the ground and privacy is unknown. Contagious and infectious diseases have full sway over the entire household if one member becomes ill. Scarcity of water, overcrowding, lack of adequate ventilation, careless disposition of sewage, and exclusion of sunshine are almost universal in the typical Indian dwelling.

The temporary nature of the primitive Southwest Indian home has been mentioned, but the homes of the Pueblo Indians of New Mexico, on the other hand, are of great permanence. For generations these natives have dwelt in their ancestral homes of adobe brick, patching and repairing from time to time as they crumble and wear. Although certain unsanitary conditions surrounding them are detrimental to health, as contaminated water, century-old graveyards in the main patio of the village, sewage in the streets, corrals in the yards adjoining their houses, and the lack of water-closet or privy of any kind whatever, yet houses themselves are neat, and ventilation is assured by means of the picturesque corner fire place found in nearly every room. The porous soil of the desert and the prophylactic benefits of the sur, however, check to some extent the influence of the disease-bearing germ bred by such conditions.

In other sections of the country, the government has attempted to correct the bad housing by a model-home campaign and has built frame houses for the Indian, but since the training in housekeeping was in many instances inadequate, the effort has often been ineffective. The story of the Indian owning a fine six-room frame building, and living adjacent to it in his tepee is fact, not fancy. When the Indians do live in the houses provided, they often barricade themselves behind tightly-closed doors and windows to avoid fresh air, and they may live for years in an increasing accumulation of

dirt, because they have not learned to adapt themselves to life in a permanent house. Building houses for Indians as is sometimes done, in a locality itself lacking in sanitary efficiency, without providing home demonstration or other social workers to carry on an educational campaign to assist them in fitting themselves to the new situation, is a waste of money.

The most important single item affecting health is probably the food supply. Whatever the situation may have been in the past, the Indian is now given, whether as rationer or as pupil in a government school, a very poorly balanced ration. Consequently when he becomes able to select his own diet, he neither raises on his farm nor buys from the trader a diet superior to that which for years perhaps has been imposed on him. In too many instances his lands are so poor that he cannot depend upon them for his food production.

At the boarding schools the food supply is more regular, but its excess of starches and meat have been a factor in retarding the development in the Indian of a taste for vegetables and milk. It is extremely serious that the government has not inculcated better food habits. The cause has been primarily that the government has not allowed sufficient funds with which to feed these children. Doubt has been expressed as to whether, until recent years, the government has given adequate thought to this problem or if it has recognized in the operation of Indian schools that diet and nutrition must be dealt with by technicians in this field if the maximum of health is to be secured, in the long run, at a minimum cost. Only within the past few years have even a few among the government schools provided an average of one pint of milk a day for each child. Some are not now providing any fresh milk or butter.

The history of alcohol and the Indian goes back to his first contact with the white man. The liquor problem apparently was of some importance in all the jurisdictions visited in this survey, excepting certain pueblos. In most instances the supply came from the outside. "Canned heat" and commercial liquor are secured from whites.

Certain tribes prepare fermented drinks from berries, corn, or pine bark brewed in earthen jars long used for the purpose and thus retaining in their pores organisms causing fermentation. Certain infusions of leaves or roots of various herbs are also drunk.

Apparently the most commonly used drug is peyote, often used in a religio-therapeutic manner. It is derived from a small cactus found along the lower Rio Grande and southward into Mexico. The Native American Church in Oklahoma is said to be founded on the use of peyote in its ceremonials. The habit-forming character of this drug has not been definitely determined, although many Indians were reported to use it constantly, notably the Kiowa and Comanche, Cheyenne and Arapaho, Potawatomi, Winnebago, Sac and Fox, Omaha, Osage, Kaw, Ponca, Tonkawa, Shoshone, Northern Cheyene, Uintah, and Ute tribes. The drug does not come within the Harrison Narcotic Act, though it can be detained at custom houses under the act of June 30, 1926.

Opium and its derivatives are reported used by individuals in some tribes. The tribes in Nevada and California were reported as perhaps the worst offenders, though a trace of its use is reported in other places.

To what extent intermarriage with whites has affected the health of the Indian is uncertain. Some writers contend that long continued inbreeding within a single tribe has pernicious results, but others hold that such imbreeding is often desirable where the stock is pure and strong. Other factors than inbreeding that would account for Indian poor health are that they have been subject to new diseases against which they have not had time to build up an immunity; they have been starved or fed inferior food; they have been poorly cared for, nursed, hospitalized, and guided. The result is a weakened race. A constant inbreeding may bring additional disastrous consequences, biologically or through forced association with persons educationally inferior. This is a condition that needs immediate attention, for no palliative measures can overcome conditions of inferiority created by too complete tribal segregation.

Special Difficulties of the Indian Health Situation. A number of special difficulties are present in the Indian health situation.

The medicine man is still a potent factor among many tribes. In some tribes the general impression gained is that his influence is gradually diminishing, but many still practice the same old incantations and religious rites. "The white public thinks the practice of the medicine man should not be used, but many of us still rely on this practice today," said a California Indian. On some reservations the physicians are called in for consultation by the medicine man. This may seem absurd, but it is evidence of the gradual breaking down of the old undesirable custom. In such instances the white doctor has an opportunity to render service that he would not have if he held aloof.

Lack of knowledge of the Indian's language is frequently a barrier to appropriate medical service. Notwithstanding the spread of schools, many older people do not speak or understand English. Usually the only means of communication between health officers and the non-English speaking Indians is through interpreters, a method not satisfactory for many reasons.

Another real difficulty in health work is due to the past activities of the Indian medical service. In some instances the physician has been little better than the Indian medicine man, and the Indians have been forced to doubt his ability and interest. Today, however, a number of physicians with ability and a genuine interest for the Indians are winning their confidence and respect. Had there been more of these in the years past a far better situation would exist now. The type of hospital and the manner of its administration have kept away many a case in need of care. Within the past few years more and more Indians are going to hospitals off the reservation, where they learn to appreciate and expect a higher type of service than can generally be found in their government hospitals.

Clashes in personality and lack of sympathy for Indian ideas and feeling have not been confined to the medical personnel. These unfortunate attitudes have existed also among some agency employees, and have added to the difficulties encountered in inducing the Indians to accept the white man's methods.

The isolation of Indians from convenient transportation centers causes many difficulties in rendering the necessary services. Many places, miles from highways, have barely a wagon track leading to them. Some are beyond rivers or creeks that are impassable at times. Rains or snow may very quickly wash out or render useless a trail that was passable a few hours previously. One has only to attempt these trips to understand fully the difficulties faced daily by field health employees during some seasons.

The mode of transportation of employees has shifted from horse and wagon to motor car, and, not infrequently, on some reservations, back to the horse again. The appropriation allowed for purchasing new equipment is very small, thus necessitating the use of

cars for a number of years. Although no figures on the cost of maintenance of cars in the service seem to be available this cost is believed to be excessive. The inevitable wear and tear on cars, as well as some of the avoidable abuse they get, often leaves them in bad condition within the first year. The lack of trained mechanics to keep cars in shape results in additional deterioration. Thus the conveyance is frequently as poor as the roads over which it must go. Only within the last few years have orders been issued to insure the physician the right to a specific car. Formerly when he wanted to make a call, he competed with some other employee for a conveyance. Thus many a call went unanswered.

Open cars are usually provided for employees so that the only protection from wind, rain, and cold is in many cases a set of tattered curtains. Doctors and nurses are frequently forced to make calls at night as well as day in real discomfort.

The telephone service available on most of the reservations is poor. Occasionally district or sub-agents do not have any such communication and thus the physician may be reached only with great difficulty.

Other difficulties confronting the field health worker are discussed elsewhere in this chapter.

Organization of the Medical Service. The present medical branch of the Indian Service is well informed as to the major needs in the Washington office and the field. It is, however, most seriously handicapped by old legislation and the difficulty of securing adequate appropriations. For many years the Indian Service has sought and secured considerable increase in appropriations for hospitals and other medical work, and has materially improved conditions, but it has not been able to meet the real needs. The recent reorganization of the medical service effected under the present administration has brought about an even keener appreciation of the changes necessary to place it on a par with other federal health services.

The Chief Medical Director reports that whenever practicable the regular administrative men in the Indian Office have made every possible effort to rectify undesirable conditions that had their origin in the past, but old legislation and insufficient funds prohibit in many instances meeting the minimum needs, to say nothing of

a normal expansion of activities. The Indian medical service has been starved throughout its history and does not offer any opportunity for reductions in a wisely directed general policy of economy.

The discussion that follows of the medical organization is made in light of existing conditions and is not intended as a reflection on the ideals of the present Indian Service. A careful analysis of the problem must be made, and upon that a constructive program based. This will require time and study.

Office of the Chief Medical Director. At the request of the Secretary of the Interior, the United States Public Health Service detailed one of its surgeons to the Office of Indian Affairs in 1926 to serve as Chief Medical Director, supervising all medical, dental, hospital, and sanatorium activities and also acting as chief medical advisor to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs.

The Chief Medical Director, since his incumbency, has of necessity devoted his attention chiefly to becoming acquainted with the needs in the Washington office from an administrative standpoint and with the problems that exist in the field. The lack of organization and the paucity of reliable vital statistics and of records of medical activities have made his problem difficult. It is by no means solved.

The solution of the Indian health problem depends upon a close interrelation of the economic, social, and educational activities of the Indian Office. For this reason the medical service can be of the greatest effectiveness if operated so as to interlock with other activities. The highly specialized character of health work demands that its policies and administration shall be under the direct control of a technically trained medical worker, with full authority in the technical matters related to his specialty.

The medical needs of the Indian Office in the past were presented to the Bureau of the Budget and the Appropriations Committees, by non-medical employees, and therefore it may be questioned whether these important bodies fully comprehended the seriousness of the situation.

The Chief Medical Director has no control over the appropriations made for the various health activities. For example, appropriations are made for specified hospitals and sanatoria, rather than for the hospital service at large. Emergencies arise, such as epidemics or over-crowding of certain institutions, when a shifting

of funds is imperative for the best interests of the Service. Such emergencies cannot be properly met with a rigidly mechanical fiscal scheme.

The office personnel associated with the Chief Medical Director in the Washington office consists of a senior stenographer, an assistant clerk, and one special physician detailed from the field service.

The specialized service connected with the Washington office consists of a public health nurse, who has the direction of the field nursing and matrons service. A relatively large part of her time is spent in local units in the field, however, thus making it difficult to administer effectively this service as a whole. No district supervising public health nurses are provided in the field service.

In the near future, a trained vital statistician will be attached to the medical service to start an evaluation of the mass of medical reports in the Indian Office. No funds are at present available to provide this worker with the necessary clerical assistants.

The position of epidemiologist has been created for some time, but it has never been filled. The delay is due in part to the desire of the present administration to reorganize the field service. It would seem difficult if not impossible to utilize the best efforts of an epidemiologist without a more adequate field personnel.

Thus far no positions have been created for special supervision in the fields of tuberculosis, trachoma, dentistry, child welfare, venereal disease, and hospitals.

It is reported that at some time in the past a system of medical cost-accounting was attempted, but as a result of federal economies, it has been discontinued.

Within the past year, the Indian Office has taken more cognizance of the services that may be available from federal and national agencies specializing in particular phases of health work. This feature of a newer conception of the problem before the Service is especially commended.

District Medical Directors. The Indian territory west of the Mississippi is divided into four districts. The Public Health Service is now supplying two public health physicians to serve as district directors and pays their salaries. The Indian Service pays their traveling expenses; it is assuming full responsibility for the director of the third district. The fourth district is at this writing without separate direction.

In addition to the full time services already granted by the Public Health Service, the Chief Medical Director has been privileged to call on any one of the six Public Health Service surgeons, stationed at various points in the United States, and this action has frequently been taken.

In like manner, a very commendable service is being rendered by sanitary engineers and other specialized field personnel of the Public Health Service. Several water supply and sewage disposal systems at Indian schools and reservations have been studied. Detailed reports with recommendations for their improvement have been submitted and action is being taken to apply the necessary remedies. The water situation in the Cherokee country of North Carolina was recently appraised at a cost of only eight dollars to the Indian Service.

The duties of the full-time district directors are of an investigational and advisory nature. They do not include the exercise of authority over the internal affairs of schools, hospitals, sanatoria, and agencies or disciplinary powers over their personnel. Such matters are handled by the Washington office.

Their duties in general are as follows:

1. Inspection of Indian schools, hospitals, sanatoria, and agency health activities.

2. Study and reporting on standardization of methods and facilities, including personnel.

3. Coördination of the Indian Service medical and sanitary activities by means of conferences with service officers in the district.

4. On instructions from the Washington office, investigations and adjustments of controversies.

5. Reports on matters affecting the Indian medical service and public health policies.

6. Promotion of cordial relations with state and local sanitary authorities, and other public health organizations.

Perusal of the duties outlined above shows that the district director is required to cover a wide field of activities. To perform these duties fully would require a very intensive study and analysis of each unit of the Indian Service visited. Each district comprises an Indian population of approximately 62,000. If this population were concentrated in one state or fraction thereof the problem

would be comparatively simple. But the units of population are frequently small, and some are situated at the far extremities of the district. Two of the districts comprise five states, and two seven states. The area covered by the average western state is considerable in itself. Generally the Indian community is located at a long distance from the main line railroads and highways. Thus a great deal of time is necessarily consumed in travel from point to point. These factors greatly reduce the time spent at the different jurisdictions and the service rendered the Indians by the district director.

The specialized type of service rendered by the district medical director is as important to the preservation of Indian health as is that rendered by a state health officer to the preservation of health in any state.

Each officer maintains an office at about the geographical center of his district. At two of these offices only part time clerical service is available. When the district officer is away on field trips, with the exception of the two instances just noted, the office is closed. The district officers necessarily spend the major portion of their time away from their offices, and frequently on their return from the field find their desks filled with accumulated correspondence and reports. It is difficult at times for the field personnel to get in touch with the district medical director when he is away from his office.

Thus far it has been impossible for these officers to make careful statistical analysis of the problems in their districts, such as trends in mortality and morbidity. So far they have mainly attempted to correct the most outstanding deficiencies.

Special Physicians. Twelve positions have been established for special physicians, whose duties are chiefly concerned with the problem of trachoma. All these positions are reported filled.

A recent re-assignment of territory has been devised with the idea of permitting each physician to follow up his previous work at three months' intervals. In the past it was the exception for these physicians to be able to follow-up previous operations within periods of less than two years and in some instances some cases were never seen again.

The personnel for these positions has been recruited from doctors already in the Service, except in the cases of the two newest

(1927) physicians, who were obtained from the Public Health Service.

Qualifications of these special physicians are similar to those of the regular physicians of the field service. Five of these physicians have had short post-graduate courses in ophthalmology, one as far back as 1890. Some received their only special work in this line at certain trachoma clinics held at Fort Browning and Albuquerque in 1924. These clinics covered periods of approximately from ten to thirty days. One of these physicians was detailed to Philadelphia for special training under a leading ophthalmologist for a period of two months in 1924.

Although the major part of the work of these physicians has been with trachoma, they perform a fairly large number of tonsillectomies and frequently make examinations for tuberculosis. Their diagnoses of tuberculosis are based usually on a single examination, and naturally if the findings are not clear-cut, an early case may be missed. This is especially true in examining children.

School, Agency, and Hospital Physicians. The number of positions included under the designations school, agency, and hospital physician is 121. Only 104 of these positions were filled at the time this report was prepared. The fact that seventeen authorized positions are vacant is due in part to the difficulty in getting physicians to accept positions in the service, and, possibly, in part to the fact that the Indian Office is not now as much disposed to accept the "old" practitioner as was the custom in the past.

Twenty-five of the present physicians entered the service at 50 years of age or more. The most usual age at entrance was 37, and the average age 42.5. Sixteen are now about 60 years of age, the most usual age is 51, and the average age is 49.8 years. Thirteen have been in the service more than 25 years, twenty-four from 15 to 25 years and sixty-seven less than 15 years. The rate of turnover for physicians is about 54 per cent each year.

Practically all these physicians have been in private practice. The average period is twelve years.

Their schooling preliminary to medical training shows that on an average they all had four years of secondary work, and an average of 0.9 year of college.

Their medical training was obtained in a variety of schools throughout the country. Three of the medical schools listed had

gone out of existence by 1886, 14 discontinued between 1908 and 1918, and one in 1926. Two were fraudulent and two others were not classified by the American Medical Association.

The Indian field service physician who has had post-graduate medical work prior to entering on duty or during his time in the Service is the exception. Generally the Indian Service physicians are not members of the state or local medical societies and rarely attend such meetings. Several of the physicians are anxious to take special work and to attend current medical meetings, but it is not possible for them to leave their respective stations without securing some one to fill in during their absence. Many times this is difficult if not impossible and until recently physicians have had to pay for this substitute service out of their own salaries. As district conferences have been held only in rare instances the physicians have had little or no opportunity, much less incentive, for contacts to improve their practice or knowledge. The Service has suffered seriously as a result and the outside practitioner has often looked down on the Indian Service physician as at least uninterested in medical problems.

The work of keeping abreast of developments in the medical field has never been encouraged by the Indian Office which does not allow travel expenses or subsistence for its specialists, much less its field personnel, to attend such meetings. The only exceptions found have been in trachoma work. The modern practitioner must have these outside contacts if he is to keep abreast of the times.

Practically no provision has been made for supplying agency physicians with medical literature. Only rarely were recent editions of any of the standard texts on medicine found at any of the reservations or hospitals. The meagre salaries paid have not permitted the physicians to secure medical literature at their own expense. Certainly a few standard texts and copies of current medical journals should be available to physicians on every reservation.[1]

The territory assigned to most of these physicians is usually too extensive for effective work. No generally applicable figure for a

[1] The Office of Indian Affairs is now planning to provide each station with a number of text books and medical journals.

ratio of physicians to unit of population or area covered can be given. Indian reservations vary in so many important particulars that each jurisdiction must be considered separately. At Crow agency, for example, three physicians are available for 1800 Indians. The distances to be covered and the location of the Indians would require this apparently high ratio of physicians to population. At Pine Ridge only two physicians serve 7800 Indians scattered over an area of approximately 2400 square miles, a ratio altogether too low for effective service in that country. With the exception of the physicians stationed at Talihina, Chilocco, and Phœnix, all other full-time physicians encountered were required to do agency as well as hospital or sanatorium work. It is safe to say in general that where there is one physician now, at least two are needed, and where there are two, at least three are needed.

Until within the past year or so, a school, agency, and hospital have been largely under the direction of the agency superintendent. The physicians had no authority even over hospital employees. Some physicians taken into the Service undoubtedly required the closest sort of supervision. In some instances, however, the reservation situation was impossible because the superintendent, a layman, had little conception of medical matters and might even be hostile to real health work. It has not been so many years since physicians were expected to roll up their sleeves and build fences or do any other manual labor at hand. Within the past year a superintendent objected to supplying the agency physician with running water in his office. Other such instances might be cited. The chief object in mentioning them now is to show some of the difficulties under which the good as well as the poorly qualified physician was forced to work. On the other hand, many superintendents are men of a higher order. Not infrequently they turn over all medical activities to the physician and depend upon his judgment in such matters. Fortunately some of the superintendents have had capable medical men. In a few instances it has been found that the superintendent had a far clearer grasp of the health situation and needs than did the physician. A new era is now dawning in the Service. With efficient direction at the Washington office, the physicians are being handled judiciously.

That the Indian medical service has not been attractive to the younger and more ambitious physician is not surprising. The

position has not had high enough standing either on the reservation or in the community. Not infrequently agency employees say that in case of illness in their own family they seek outside medical advice, even to traveling considerable distances over the road, but this situation is by no means universal. The Indian Service has had, and still has a number of capable physicians, but by and large the medical personnel has not been of a standard equal to that in other medical services of the government. Sometimes it has even found itself with men of questionable morals and character, but has had to be slow in removing them because of the difficulty of securing anybody else. The bitter criticism voiced from time to time by private citizens against Indian Service physicians has in some cases been based on fact, as has been seen during the course of this survey. The existing situation would be well nigh hopeless if it were not for the few really earnest and capable physicians and the interest displayed by the present administration in improving conditions. Within the past year or so a much higher grade of physicians has been added to the Service and the plans for the future will undoubtedly improve the situation.

The general causes for dissatisfaction among Indian Service physicians have been their subordination to lay authority in professional matters, the low salaries paid, and the poor housing facilities available. All these complaints are founded on a considerable amount of fact. The first has been touched on. The effect of low salaries, especially on physicians now in service, is by no means uniform. A few physicians who have been with the Indian Service for years are doing all that could be asked. The service rendered by one in particular is worth several times his present salary. If he were paid far more he could not handle one more case than he does, because he has been and is working to the limit of his physical strength. Some who clamor for more salary would probably do no more than they do now and would not do it much better. The item of salary does, however, affect the facility with which the Service can attract new men with suitable qualifications. If salaries were reasonable and working conditions favorable, undoubtedly many capable men would, from altruistic motives, enter the Service at a lower income than they could realize in private practice.

The salaries in the Indian Service have been much lower than those offered in other government medical services, consequently

it has to draw its personnel largely from persons who could not secure appointments to the other services. The Army, Navy, Public Health Service, and Veteran's Bureau have devised a salary gradation depending upon an officer's years in service and his ability. Thus, a physician entering any one of these services can look forward to a future with a more responsible position and an income commensurate with his ability and added duties. The Indian Service physician has in the past entered at a definite salary with no promise of a further really material increase unless all other physicians are raised at the same time, irrespective of tenure of office or ability. It has been the policy of the present medical administration to raise all physicians to what might be considered a minimum salary and gradually weed out those who were incompetent. During the past year it has been possible in some instances to increase the salaries of a few physicians who may be considered exceptional. The maximum pay now offered should be the minimum. Any physician worth employing should start at the present maximum figure, and, in addition, should have a definite future toward which to work.

A physician may have been in the Service for years in a position where he was both superintendent and physician and received a superintendent's salary; yet if he is transferred to a full time physician's position, he is forced to accept a much lower rate of pay. An instance of this was seen in the field where a physician in the service for twenty years was reduced in pay when transferred to a full-time medical position.

The present practice of deducting a specific amount from the salary of every physician for the quarters he occupies is unfair. One case will be cited as an example, in principle, of numerous others seen in the field. At one agency the physician and his wife, who is the school hospital nurse, are obliged to live in a single room 10 x 10 feet in the hospital and to share the patients' sanitary facilities. This situation is due to two factors. The nurse must be on duty twenty-four hours a day and at present no residence is available for a physician. From the salary of each of these employees is deducted the same amount as if they had quarters outside the hospital.

Physicians who are obliged to live in some of the houses available can hardly be expected to maintain the standards expected of a doctor. At one reservation, for example, the physician is housed

in a very simple frame structure. At the time of the visit from the survey staff several window panes were broken out and the openings had been covered with paper or cloth. All water had to be carried in from a distance, as the shallow well on the place was contaminated. A new doctor had just been transferred to this station and found his quarters in this condition.

The allowance for transporting household goods is so limited that the average employee transferred from one agency to another cannot afford to possess furniture or the other household equipment so necessary to contentment and satisfaction. The equipment supplied is often of poor quality and in a bad state of repair.

The duties of resident physicians as outlined by the Service in formal statements may be summarized as follows: The care of medical work in their jurisdiction and administrative direction of hospitals and sanatoria, and direction of all nurses and other medical and hospital employees.

Physicians on reservations often confine their medical activities mainly to the dispensing of drugs. They depend primarily upon the Indians to seek their advice rather than themselves seeking the cases in need of attention. Lack of training and appreciation of public health methods is evidenced by the lack of adequate records. Although the Indian office called for reports they were not generally made fully and accurately. The various forms supplied in the past have not been well designed to bring out necessary information, and they have not been really used in analyzing the data, so that it has been a simple matter to slight report making. Not until the appointment of the present district medical directors was there anyone to take a real interest in such data and to assist and encourage the agency physician to keep the necessary records.

Without accurate statistical information a constructive program cannot be formulated and consequently there has rarely been a definite plan of work. The work has been to take care of the next case, and sometimes apparently the object is to do it with the least time and effort. On all reservations visited Indians were observed coming to the doctor's office and asking for medicine either for themselves or for friends or members of their families. The Indian, almost without exception, is given the particular drug he requests or a substitute of some sort without being asked more details about the malady present. Physical examinations are almost never made

in these cases. At one reservation several written requests from Indians for medication were received. The physician said that he had never examined or attempted to examine the cases. His position was that as the Indians' funds were being used to supply these drugs, the Indian was entitled to whatever he asked for, just as if he had come to a local drug store. Samples of their requests are listed:

1.	2.	3.
Iodine	Camphorated oil	Cough medicine for old man
Camphor	Iodine	Cough medicine for children
Turpentine	Castor oil	Castor oil—for two families
Salve for sores	Fever tablets	Iodine
Bandage	Cough medicine	Lysol
Aspirin	Aspirin	Salts
Cathartics vegetable	Salts	Aspirin
Lysol	Physic pills	Turpentine
Castor oil	Lysol	Liniment
	Bandage	Salve
	Absorbent cotton	

These requests obviously might have indicated the presence of serious maladies, yet a medicine was dispensed on request and the case forgotten.

At only one reservation visited was it asserted that a thoroughly complete family or individual case record was maintained. The physician who had maintained such records had been transferred to another field, and these records were not available for examination.

The lack of such records not only reflects upon the type of medical service rendered, but indicates the difficulties a newly transferred physician faces. He starts in ignorance of what has been done. No foundation has already been laid and he has but slight, if any, incentive to start a system of records.

Lack of time and the great distances to be traveled are common excuses for not having records. These factors are of course, important, but they do not explain away the situation. In a few instances it was found that a part of the necessary records was being kept and the amount of work done by the physicians responsible was up to the average of others working under comparable conditions. The real answer is the lack of initiative of most field physicians and lack of practical use of the records in planning and developmental work. On outlining to a certain physician the type

of family and individual medical record deemed advisable and reasonable of compilation, he replied that if that was what the Indian Office wanted, he would do it. If he were alert and thoroughly interested in his profession, however, it would seem that he would want to keep such records for his own use, regardless of the desires of the Office. The progressive practitioner of today keeps accurate records of his cases.

The character of the medical service that has been available is doubtless in part responsible for the limited use of available hospital beds. It is frequently said that the hospital personnel is too limited to care for more cases. The lack of personnel is admitted, but a question may be raised as to what would have been the result if the hospitals had been filled to capacity, thereby creating a more serious demand for additional help.

In the past the physicians have been required to render surgical as well as medical service. Most of these physicians are not surgeons, and although they admit it to a colleague, they are slow to admit it to the agency personnel, because they fear being unfairly judged. A doctor not trained and experienced as a surgeon must take risks and may render inferior service to patients.

At one large boarding school a full-time physician was employed. His duties were confined entirely to the school which offered him an opportunity to do a constructive piece of work. The service rendered at this school is so typical of others that portions of it will be discussed. The physical director, a young ambitious man, spent a few weeks one summer at one of the state universities studying physical education. He returned and started to carry out some anthropometric studies. During the course of this work he observed that a limited chest expansion, a rapid pulse, and underweight frequently connoted tuberculosis, as was evidenced when some of the pupils thus indicated broke down later in the school year. The physician might easily have utilized this man's work as a basis for rendering a service to the pupils, thus encouraging the physical director along the right lines and making a worth while contribution to the knowledge of Indian anthropology. Instead, he resented the fact that a layman was counting a pulse and suggesting the possibility of the presence of tuberculosis.

A similar lack of interest was shown at the daily sick roll. Over seventy children filed into the dispensary one evening, the majority coming for "eyes." They were rushed through quickly. The fact that trachoma treatment was given in several cases was noted and, on a closer examination, the eyes being treated were found to be healthy. These children's eyes needed refraction and not the irritating solution they were receiving. A question was raised regarding one girl suffering from trachoma. She was reported to be a regular dispensary case, but the child denied having been in for treatment since her first examination over six months previously, and the only available record substantiated her claim. She said that the drops hurt her eyes and she did not want to come.

Although the type of service rendered by this physician was known, he was subsequently transferred to another reservation where he says he prefers to work.

Physicians now connected with boarding schools are not generally giving any definite instruction in health to pupils, thus neglecting a very valuable opportunity for service.

An outstanding exception to this type of routine, pro forma service should be mentioned. The physician at one school has perhaps the most complete educational and medical background of any physician encountered. His diagnostic ability in general medicine and tuberculosis was evidenced by the number of cases on record, and his records were the most complete and intelligible found. They covered all the pupils in the school and many Indians in the jurisdiction. Several cases were examined in his presence and the findings independently arrived at subsequently compared with his records made six or more months previously. With the exception of one case, the notes corresponded in each instance.

It is commonly said in the Indian field that the practice of obstetrics is difficult if not impossible among Indians, especially full bloods. This service has generally been rendered by women relatives or friends, Indian midwives, or medicine men whose methods are crude and often brutal. How high a mortality results from their practices is not known, but obviously it must be excessive, especially in the case of the primipara.

Indian women, especially in the less advanced tribes, are loath to permit a white person, either physician or nurse, to attend them

at confinement, and usually it is only after the women, the midwives, and medicine men have exhausted their primitive crude methods that the physician is called in. In spite of so great a handicap, the physician is often able to complete the delivery and save both mother and child. The frequency of instrumental deliveries among Indian women is not known, but from the scanty facts available it would seem that cases requiring such treatment are fairly common. The number of cases in which the physician has to be called after primitive methods have failed, suggest that there must be many more where much pain and suffering could be avoided if delivery were made by a skilled physician. The Indian Service physician is deserving of the highest credit and commendation for the large number of lives he saves under exceptionally difficult conditions.

Some Indian women, however, are more and more placing themselves under the agency physicians. They are the women in the younger generation who have been away to schools and learned something of modern methods, the mixed bloods, and those who have lived for long periods in contact with the whites.

Some of the most encouraging medical work was found in the field of obstetrics. Several physicians are particularly interested and are doing splendid work. The work of one in particular is worthy of mention. The physician has been at this station for about twenty years. As there is no hospital on the reservation, all deliveries were made in the homes. The physician had to travel through wind and snow and frequently to cross the river at high water, when even some of the Indians refuse to make the attempt. From 1911 to June, 1927, the total number of births on this reservation was 996. This physician delivered 391 or 39 per cent of them. The percentages througout the years showed a decided increase. In 1927, 68.1 per cent of all births were delivered by the physician, as compared with 9.2 per cent in 1912. Three per cent of the deliveries between 1917 and 1927 were instrumental. As the Indians on this reservation are mainly full blood, and it is definitely isolated, these results are remarkable. The high percentage of work among full bloods would indicate that with the proper personnel, such service could be rendered on other reservations if the agency physicians

were more keenly interested and alert. It would be well to state in passing that during a recent five-year period, 49 per cent of the deaths which occurred on this reservation were of children under three years of age.

Although it was not possible to secure similar figures on other reservations visited, it was found that a considerable number of births were being conducted in the hospitals. Reference will be made to them under the section dealing with hospitals.

The proportionate number of deliveries in homes on other reservations could not be secured because the physicians did not keep an accurate record of such work. The fact that they signed the birth certificate was not evidence that they attended the case at the time of delivery.

The Indians' demands for a physician at child-birth are clearly increasing, especially on those reservations where a definite effort is made to induce the Indian to request such attention and the physician remains long enough to become acquainted with his clientele. It is believed that considerably more Indian women would accept the services of physicians if their interest were solicited and adequate facilities made available.

Despite the many adverse criticisms which it has been necessary to make as the result of this first hand study of the medical field service, it is nevertheless true that a marked change for the better has been inaugurated since its reorganization. The conditions found are known and regretted, but the Indian Service can do little to overcome them until it can raise the standards for its medical personnel to the level of personnel in other medical services of the government. To achieve this it will have to establish a salary scale comparable with those in the other services.

Contract Physicians. There are sixty-one positions for contract physicians, thirteen of which are vacant. The officers have resorted to the contract service plan for three reasons: Inability to secure full-time service; the belief that the medical needs on certain jurisdictions did not require full-time service; and because, in several jurisdictions, the authorities had requested a contract in preference to a full-time service in the light of past experience. In general, this type of personnel has been only a make-shift.

Until recently the physicians embraced in this classification have generally been selected on the lowest bid.* Such a system tends to bring in the old practitioner who is not a marked success. The very meagre remuneration offered tends to purchase the minimum amount of service to the Indian. With but few exceptions the service rendered by these physicians has been similar to that of the typical full-time agency physician. One marked exception should be noted in a contract physician who has been in the Indian Service for seventeen years. He produced remarkably complete records of his work with the Indians throughout that time. If a busy private practitioner can accomplish this with a scattered Indian population as well as a white clientele, there seems to be no reason why a full-time physician on a reservation or at a school cannot do as much.

At Haskell, Sherman, and Chemawa, all boarding schools of approximately 1000 pupils each, a part-time service was found. These physicians spent on an average of about one full day a week at the schools. In all instances, they complied with the letter of the contract. All children were examined twice yearly, but in one case at least it was observed to be at the rate of over seventy an hour. The physicians' duties further include visits to hospital cases and attention to acute illnesses. This work is generally dispatched with speed. Sometimes the physician remains less than fifteen minutes. The majority of children in boarding schools are in a questionable state of health and require infinitely more attention than they are securing.**

A sentiment is fairly general in the Indian country in favor of a contract with a regular practicing physician. It is based chiefly on the fact that a man capable of making a success of a private practice is more aggressive and will demand a greater respect from the Indian. There is an element of truth here, but as has been stated, the successful practitioner is not always chosen. If a prosperous practitioner be selected, he may be so busy with his own cases that he cannot devote the necessary amount of time to the

* The Indian Office has always had the power to reject the lowest bid and accept the higher one, and this course was followed in case the superintendent recommended such action.

** The Indian Office states that these schools are to be supplied with full-time physicians this coming school year.

Indians. This is especially true in reservation work. The contract physicians on a reservation may wait for the Indians to call them. In the schools they may hurry through their work.

Doubtless it will be necessary for the Indian Office to continue some of this service until they can attract more full-time physicians.

The surgeon is possibly the one type of contract physician that could be used to advantage. All agencies are in need of first class medical service at all times, but it is only occasionally that they need a surgeon. Obviously a contract with some local surgeon of ability would provide the maximum of service to the Indians. A start in this direction has been made at Cloquet, Minnesota. The Cloquet plan is faulty in that the agency is expecting the surgeon to do field work as well. They will not be successful, because a busy surgeon cannot be expected to do routine reservation work.

Dentists. The dental service was begun in 1910. There are ten positions open for dentists, all filled at this time, and funds are now available for three more positions. One of the dentists is permanently stationed at Klamath. This is reported to be an economy measure made necessary by the large amount of money being spent from tribal funds to pay for individual dental work. From this fact it might be assumed that the remaining dentists were able to cover their respective territories, which include the remainder of the Indian reservations in the United States, or possibly that the Indians on these reservations were not in need of dental service, but this is not the case.

Apparently no detailed precise program of dental work has been mapped out. A dentist is not required to visit specified reservations or schools at designated times. Although the Office exercises general supervision the occasion and duration of his visits are regarded largely as matters for him to decide, although sixty days is considered the limit of time to be given one place. As the district covered by these men is large, it is rarely possible for them to return oftener than once every two years, so that obviously much of their previous work is lost.

Dentists are not expected to visit non-reservation schools or places where the services of local dentists can be secured at a reasonable price. Chilocco School reports that it receives dental service from a physician in Arkansas City. On closer questioning, they admitted that the only children who received dental care were

those who had funds to pay for it. The Indian Office reports that any child in need of such care can receive it regardless of whether or not he has funds to his credit.

At the schools visited by the district dentists, the hospital, if there is one, is made available for their use. In other places, temporary quarters are established. Each dentist is equipped with a portable outfit furnished by the Indian Office.

The dental service at the present time is inadequate to meet needs in the Indian schools and on the reservations. The work attempted is largely of an emergency character. No prosthetic work is done. The cheaper filling materials are used unless the patient can afford to pay for better ones.

Some of the larger schools are practically without dental service, and the appearance of the mouths of many of these children indicates the need of a more permanent service.

No dental hygienists are employed, and thus a very effective and economical preventive facility is lacking.

Dentists, like all traveling specialists, are very poorly housed on reservations, although their quarters are generally as good as are available for temporary visiting officers.

Nursing Service. The nursing service is rendered by four fairly distinct groups of nurses; the graduate or hospital nurse, the public health nurse, the traveling nurse, and the so-called practical nurse. In addition, there are field matrons who are classed with the health personnel and required to do some health work. The public health nurse, or field nurses as they are at present designated, and the field matrons are under the jurisdiction of a supervising nurse.

The Indian Office has announced the policy of discontinuing the employment of any more field matrons and practical nurses. If the new policy is carried out the hospital positions are to be filled by regular graduate nurses, and field matron positions by trained public health nurses. From the standpoint of health work, this will materially improve the situation.

The duties announced for workers in these classifications have been given as follows: To assist in medical, sanitary, and welfare work under the direction of physicians assigned to their particular sections or hospitals.

Obviously the above outline of duties is very general; therefore, for purposes of classification, each group of nurses will be considered separately.

At the present time there are one hundred and five positions for graduate nurses in the hospitals and sanatoria of the Indian Service, and fifty-one of them were permanently filled on July 1, 1927, by persons who had qualified under the civil service system. Several more were filled by persons classified as temporary who had not satisfied the requirements for permanent appointment. On July 1, 1927, the temporary nurses employed included eleven qualified graduate nurses who have not taken the civil service examination, twelve practical nurses who are hired locally because they are available and have had some practical nursing experience, and eight practical nurses who were certified as practical nurses only, but are occupying graduate nurse positions. The practical nurses are paid $100 a month while the salary for the position of graduate nurse is $125. In view of the fact that the tenure of office of this group is "temporary" and in many instances hospitals are without such assistants at long intervals, there being twenty-nine vacancies, July 1, 1927, these employees will not be considered in the present discussion. These nurses are employed by the local agency when necessary, and no special report is made to the Indian Office except as the agency accounts for its expenditure of funds. Attention, therefore, will be confined to the permanent graduate hospital nurses and the graduate public health nurses.

The prerequisites for graduate hospital nurse positions are as follows: (1) Graduation from a recognized school of nursing requiring a residence of at least two years in a hospital having a daily average of fifty patients or more (or having a daily average of thirty patients or more and employing at least one full time resident instructor in nursing) giving a thorough practical and theoretical training; and (2) evidence of state registration. Certificates of state registration or a certified copy thereof must be submitted with the application, together with certificate from the training school conferring graduation and showing the number of patients daily, and the applicant's training; provided that the requirement under "(1)" as to the daily average of patients will be waived for applicants entitled to preference by reason of military or naval service *as a nurse*. Original diplomas should be submitted as evidence of graduation."

" United States Civil Service examination, June 30, 1927.

Since these graduate nurses are employed in hospitals and sanatoria the discussion of them will be facilitated by considering at the outset the standard ratio of nurses per unit of patient population. The accepted standards for hospital nursing service in the average general hospital are conservatively estimated as a minimum of one nurse to five patients in general wards, and one nurse to every three patients in semi-private hospitals where a portion of the beds are for pay patients.[43] These ratios take into consideration the assistance of pupil nurses in training, but do not include the additional employees necessary to operate the hospital. It is therefore advisable here to mention the auxiliary staff in Indian Service although this phase of the subject will be discussed more in detail later under Hospitals. The graduate nursing service in Indian hospitals is augmented by hospital matrons (housekeepers) and other untrained employees.

The hospitals at Chemawa, Haskell, and Sherman are the only three in the Service where an attempt is made to train nurses and where this type of additional nursing service is utilized.[44] The character of this service, however, is not comparable to that for pupil nurses in general hospitals.

The practical nurse found in most Indian Service hospitals is, in some instances, in full charge of the hospital. She may or may not have had previous training. This type of personnel cannot of course render anything approaching skilled expert service even if there were a higher ratio of nurses to patients. One sometimes finds, too, evidence of an unsympathetic attitude toward patients and hears complaints from the Indians of neglect. Likewise complaint is sometimes made by the one physician attached to such a hospital, whose work must include, in addition to general medical practice, obstetrics and both major and minor surgery, that he is hampered by lack of trained assistance from nurses, not only during operative work but also in after care of surgical patients.

The accompanying tabular statement shows the number of available hospital beds in the Indian Service, the number of permanent nurses employed, and the estimated number of graduate nurses needed.

[43] *Modern Hospital*, October, 1921, p. 370.

[44] Training classes for nurses were started at Chilocco and Albuquerque in 1927.

Indian Service statistics showing ratio of permanent graduate nurses per unit of bed capacity for all classes of Indian Service hospitals, 1926

Class of institution (1926)	Bed capacity	Graduate nurses in Indian service	Ratio of nurses to beds	Estimated graduate nurses needed (1:10)	Per cent deficient
Sanatorium Schools	510	6	1:85	51	88.2
Sanatoria	261	4	1:65	26	84.6
Hospital for Insane	92	0	0	9	100.0
School and Agency Hospitals	934	21	1:44	93	77.4
Agency Hospitals...	68	4	1:17	7	42.9
School Hospitals...	670	11	1:60	67	83.6
Total	2535	*47	1:55	255	81.6

* These figures are for a somewhat earlier date than those previously cited.

As Indian Service hospitals are as a rule small and unsuitable for training schools, the major portion of the nursing service should be supplied by graduate nurses as is the practice in other federal hospitals. The estimated ratio of such nursing service per unit of population should be one to five, preferably, and not less than one to ten, providing the ratio of one to five is secured by other suitable employees devoting their time solely to care of patients.

With due allowance for the fact that not all hospital beds were in use, it is, nevertheless, true that these hospitals were still greatly understaffed. An analysis of the total hospital employees for 1927 will show approximately the same deficiency.[45]

These figures indicate clearly that the nursing service rendered the patients hospitalized must have been far below accepted standards. First hand observation showed this to be the case in every institution visited. These nurses are on duty twenty-four hours a day; there are no regular hours or half-days off, and it is only on rare occasions that any time off is possible. Many of these hospitals have only one graduate nurse and some have none. Because of a like deficiency in other hospital employees, these nurses devote a large proportion of their time to the multitude of activities incident to hospital work, such as cooking, cleaning, and household

[45] See pages 284 and 297.

tasks. They are invariably quartered in the hospital and in some instances have to share the sanitary facilities provided for patients.

Conditions such as these tend to discourage the nurses and account for the rapid turn-over and the difficulty the Indian Office experiences in getting additional nurses to enter and remain in the Service. They are also responsible for the unsympathetic type of nurse seen on a few occasions, women who because of their personalities have difficulty in securing permanent positions on the outside.

Practical nurses have been utilized far more in the past than they are at present. Their employment has been largely a matter of expediency, resorted to because of the difficulty in securing trained nurses, a difficulty resulting from the low salaries offered, the heavy duties imposed, and the isolation and hardship involved. The approximate number now in the service has been mentioned in the discussion of graduate nurses.

The most serious phase of this situation apparently lies in the fact that practical nurses are given positions requiring graduate nurses. This may be well illustrated by a description of conditions seen on one reservation. The hospital there had two nurse positions, each filled by a practical nurse. The head practical nurse for some time had been away on account of illness and all duties fell on the second nurse and such assistants as were provided. The physician had arranged to perform several tonsillectomies on the day of the visit and had given notice twenty-four hours in advance, but at the time set to start the operation, he himself had to stop and prepare the operating room, the instruments, and the dressings. This preliminary work required at least two hours, and by that time everybody was in a state of nervous excitement. It was finally discovered that enough sterile dressings had not been prepared. The one nurse on duty was doing her utmost, but in a way that showed plainly her lack of training.

The Indian Office reports that it is no longer employing practical nurses. It is a sound policy to discontinue giving this type of nurse administrative duties or work requiring training. The practical nurse could, however, be used to advantage in the hospitals under the direction of a trained nurse more nearly to adjust the ratio between nurses and the unit of patient population.

A Supervisor of Nurses entered the Indian Service in August, 1924. Her duties were outlined at that time as having the direction of field nursing service. The following table will show the gradual change in trained public health nurses in the field:

Indian Service statistics, Field Nurse positions (Public Health Nurses), 1924-1927

Year	Field nurse positions available	Positions filled
1924	5	4
1925	10	5
1926	13	9
1927	*16	12

* One of these positions is filled by a nurse attached to the Oklahoma State Board of Health. She visits Oklahoma Indian boarding schools, conducting classes in infant and maternity hygiene.

Two of the above field positions (1927) are filled by qualified graduate nurses who have not taken the civil service examination and are rated as "temporary." Two others are practical nurses with some nursing experience, rated as "temporary."

During the fiscal year 1928 it is planned to add from six to ten more field nurse positions. Of these, four have now been authorized and one is filled by a qualified civil service nurse.

In addition to these government nurses, four public health nurses work exclusively among Indians under the direction of state boards of health, two in Minnesota and two in Wisconsin. Four other public health nurses are working under the direction of other agencies, one under the Montana State Tuberculosis Association and three under the Eastern Association on Indian Affairs in New Mexico.

In several other states, some public health nursing is done for Indians living in certain white communities supporting their own public activities. This is found chiefly in urban settlements.

The reservation Indians at large, however, are receiving almost no public health nursing service. Where a full-time service now exists, the field is so large from the standpoints of area and population that effective work is difficult. At Rice Station the nurse who is assigned to one of the largest Indian reservations in the country, in addition to reservation work also has to travel a distance of thirty miles to see Indians living at Globe and Miami. The nurse

at Albuquerque has three pueblos in her district, one thirteen miles in one direction from Albuquerque, and one fifteen miles in another direction.

The qualifications of these nurses are on a whole much higher than those of any other group of employees in the Indian medical service. All have had special public health training in addition to their regular nursing courses, in conformity with civil service requirements.

The public health nurses are making a very definite contribution to the health of the Indians. Due to their training and experience they are able to handle the perplexing problems that have been neglected for so long by the field matrons generally who have no training and have little conception of the health problems in the Indian homes on the reservations and in the camps.

The public health nurses' work has been greatly handicapped by the following factors: The extensive territory to be covered; the poor transportation facilities available; inability to speak or understand the Indian language; lack of equipment with which to work; and the difficulties encountered in working with the present agency personnel, especially physicians. As a matter of fact, the first attempts of the nurses have been in some instances quite like those of many agency physicians, namely, to dispense some form of medicine. It has been different, however, in that drug dispensing is used only to gain the confidence of the Indians and very rapidly thereafter more constructive work was started in the homes. This establishment of confidence was admirably illustrated at one pueblo upon visiting homes with the public health nurse. The cordiality extended to her by Indian men and women in their homes after only a few months' acquaintance, and the type of service she rendered demonstrated that a capable trained person could accomplish marvelous results in a comparatively short time in creating health habits for the prevention of illness and in raising living standards, provided her territory was not too extensive.

In view of the instances observed, it is believed that if a similar service could have been substituted years ago in place of the field matron service, the health situation among Indians would be far different today.

One of the most serious difficulties encountered by these nurses in the field is their relationship with the existing agency physician.

Their training has been of a specialized character, sometimes considerably in advance of the physician's training in his field. Their viewpoints are at times widely divergent. Under these circumstances it is difficult if not impossible for the nurse to abandon her own standards. As a consequence, if she is to function at all effectively, she must work more or less independently. This procedure she believes is forced upon her though it is in direct violation of all public health nursing ethics, and it greatly curtails her work.

The generally accepted ratio to population is a minimum of one trained public health nurse per 3000 population for general public health work, and one per 1000 for school nursing. The Indian Service presents a problem vastly different from the average American community, and therefore these ratios would not necessarily apply on all reservations. Where the reservation covers a large geographical area, and the population is widely scattered, obviously one nurse could not begin to care for the same number as in cases where all are concentrated in one community, as, for example, in a Pueblo. The acute health situation among all Indians renders them a serious liability to the Service as well as to the state in which they reside, and consequently there is not a single tribe or group of Indians that does not need some public health nursing service. To make such effort effective, enough nurses must be available to cover any specified area adequately, which means follow-up service for her original contacts with great enough frequency to accomplish the desired results.

In various health demonstrations and in numerous experiences in community and rural health work, it has been found that a nurse working in a territory with a population of 3000 averages 1540 visits per year and budgets her time somewhat as follows:

21 per cent in travel
43 per cent in homes
27.6 per cent in offices completing her records

To apply these factors to the various Indian reservations would require much time and thought in light of the marked variation in the different jurisdictions. Based on a minimum of one public health nurse for each Indian reservation, 100 nurses are needed, or 76 per cent more than are now provided for, and this ratio by

no means could be considered sufficient for the Indian population at large.

In some instances the local state, county, or city public health nursing service could care for the Indians within its jurisdiction. For example, in some sections of California many Indians are receiving the same care as the whites. Consideration might well be given to the economy of the practice of some large life insurance companies, which utilize existing public health nursing services on a fee basis with a view to prolonging the lives of policy holders.

Four positions have been authorized for California by the Service. They will be placed with due consideration for the existing facilities. It could doubtless receive additional service at several points by coöperation with the state and local health boards.

The housing facilities provided for the public health nurse are usually very poor. At one jurisdiction the nurse is located at some distance from both the boarding school and the agency headquarters. Another nurse was for a considerable time quartered in a small house on the edge of an Indian village at the extreme edge of her jurisdiction, whereas she should have been stationed near the center of the district. Not enough consideration has been given this important factor of location.

Thirteen positions have been established for traveling nurses, but only nine of them have been utilized, as they were created primarily to have nursing service available for special physicians. Four of these positions are thus in reserve for epidemics and similar emergencies. Six of these nurses are trained and have civil service certification; one is a practical nurse under civil service rating; one is a "temporary" practical nurse, and one position is vacant.

Their duties are to assist the traveling specialists in their trachoma work. They usually remain after a clinic to supervise the immediate follow-up on recent operative cases.

Field matrons have been employed for a long period of time. They are mentioned here only because a certain amount of health service is assigned to them. Their duties, as outlined from time to time, have been broad and all-inclusive. The type of service outlined for them would, in fact, tax the most modern public health nurse, social case worker, and farm demonstration agent combined. The very meager salaries offered and the low educational standards

established for this almost superhuman effort and skill have resulted on the whole in an untrained personnel.[18]

Much may be said to the credit of these workers, although a few have been uninterested and perfunctory. In many instances, they have been most self-sacrificing and within the limits of their understanding have done everything in their power to render a service to the Indians. One field matron was encountered who had a real grasp of her duties. She had had about three years of nursing training and experience and was rendering a service worthy of special commendation. Regardless of the conscientiousness and long hours of toil of many of these workers, constructive work resulting from their endeavors is rarely found. They should not be blamed for lacking qualifications which were not required by the government when they entered the service. The present administration is to be commended for its decision to abandon the long established policy of using this type of worker and to substitute for them trained public health nurses. The change cannot be effected too rapidly. The investment in this service has been a great loss when compared with what might have been accomplished had the same amount been expended for trained personnel.

Medical Supplies. The drug supplies on the shelves of practically all reservation dispensaries and hospitals are of a doubtful character, and are far in excess of the present needs.

Much of this stock is of a perishable nature, long since deteriorated, and of uncommon drugs, seldom if ever used. At Zuni, for example, ten pints of fluid extract of ergot were found, enough to supply the entire service.

This situation is due chiefly to the policy of purchasing supplies in advance, the unsystematic method of ordering, and the shipping of army surplus supplies without an order from the agency.

The estimates for the purchase of such supplies are made in November for the fiscal year beginning the following July. With the possible exception of the more staple supplies, such as cathartics and cod liver oil, the tendency has been to overload with certain perishable drugs. At the time of the visit from the survey staff some agency physicians did not understand that they were allowed

[18] For a more detailed discussion of the field matron service see the chapter on Family and Community Life and the Activities of Women, pages 591 to 599.

to purchase perishable drugs in the open market although the Indian Office reports that this practice has long been permissible. These doctors therefore deemed it wise to put in an ample supply of all listed drugs, in case they might need them.

Some agencies do not keep an inventory of their drugs and consequently order without consideration of existing supplies. In the absence of an agency physician, the chief clerk frequently duplicates the order for the previous year, thus overstocking with perishable drugs and others that perhaps only one physician will care to use.

Surplus army and navy supplies have from time to time been offered other federal bureaus. Some of this material is good and some worthless. In the past it has been shipped to agencies without an order and consequently they are overstocked on supplies for which they have little use. This has been true especially of narcotics. In several places large quantities of powdered morphine were found. In this form it is practically useless on a reservation. Within the past year this practice has been remedied. All such supplies are now carefully checked for their potency and suitability before being received by the Service.

The district medical officers with the agency physicians are now going over the agency supply with the view to eliminating deteriorated stock and transferring surplus supplies.

The annual estimate lists the drug supplies that can be ordered without special request, and the physician is supposed to keep within this limitation. If sufficient cause is shown for the purchase of drugs not listed, they can be supplied by special order from the Chief Medical Director. These lists are being revised to give the physician the widest possible range in the selection of his medicaments.

The Service maintains large warehouses in St. Louis and Chicago, from which drugs and supplies are distributed to the various agencies. They are being carefully checked at this time to eliminate surplus and inferior drugs.

In several instances the funds available at present are not sufficient to provide the necessary medication. In some instances the fund amounts to less than ten cents per capita.

The quality of drugs supplied in the past has not always been good. Acetyl-salicylic acid tablets (aspirin) are so friable that they

are frequently found in a semi-powdered state. Other drugs have been purchased at the lowest bid from pharmaceutical houses not manufacturing the highest grade of product. This practice is receiving attention at the present time. It is reported that in the future only bids from reliable houses will be considered.

Biologics are now contracted for at the leading laboratories. Previously the agency was required to order all such supplies at specified distributing centers. In the case of diphtheria, this arrangement caused unnecessary delay in administering anti-toxin and the difference between the cost and the purchase price in the local market was negligible. The Indian Office has now issued orders permitting the purchase of such supplies locally in emergencies. Large supplies for immunization purposes are purchased directly from the main supply depots.

The agencies are now supplied with catalogues of the more reputable houses and their requisitions are carefully checked in the Washington office before being finally approved. Thus a better quality is assured, unnecessary supplies are eliminated, and additional ones are added where the chief medical director determines that the need exists. The specifications for medical supplies are being revised to conform to existing standards in other federal bureaus.

Large quantities of army cotton in small packages is being supplied to the agencies. It is not suitable for refined operating room use, but can be used in small dressings.

Recommendations. The more necessary organization changes are summarized in the following recommendations:

1. The Headquarters Staff: The Chief Medical Officer of the Indian Service, under the general direction of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, should determine the policies to be followed in respect to strictly medical affairs. Policies in matters which involve medical affairs and economic and social conditions or general education should be formulated jointly by the Chief Medical Officer and the specialists in other branches of the Service. The Chief Medical Officer should prepare and present the sections of the budget directly relating to medical activities and he should be present when other sections that involve health are presented. In making appropriations for health work more use should be made of lump sums not designated for specific institutions or for detailed

particular purposes so that the Chief Medical Officer, under the general direction of the Commissioner, will have a freer hand for effective administration.

The Chief Medical Officer should be supplied with a small staff of specialists to aid him in developing and perfecting the specialized medical services which must be rendered. The position of epidemiologist at present authorized should be filled. New positions should be created for specialists representing the fields of tuberculosis, trachoma, child hygiene, venereal disease, and hospital administration. Their duties should be primarily consultive rather than directly administrative. Additional trained clerical assistance should be provided to permit of the compilation and analysis of the medical data necessary for the efficient planning and control of the medical activities of the Service.

To provide more adequately for the development and supervision of the public health nursing work, the present supervisor of public health nursing should be given not fewer than four trained assistants, each to be assigned to a district in the field. The public health nursing work should be under the general direction of the Chief Medical Officer.

A system of medical cost accounting should be installed.

A thorough study of existing law relating to health work among the Indians should be made and a report submitted to Congress through appropriate channels, including a draft of a bill or bills to bring the law on this subject abreast of present developments in the field of public health.

2. District Medical Directors: The Indian medical service should as soon as possible take over full responsibility for the district medical directors.

Need for the cooperative service rendered by the specialized field personnel of the Public Health Service will always exist. An extension into more of the Indian communities should be sought. Consultation and cooperation with private national health services should be further developed.

Subdivision of the territory embraced in the three districts numbered four, five, and six into five districts, should be made, on the basis of existing population and transportation facilities.

Adequate trained clerical assistance should be provided for each of the district medical directors, without depletion of the clerical forces of other branches of the service.

3. Special Physicians: In selecting special physicians, due consideration should be given to their fundamental background in general medical work and to their general adaptability for their work.

Appointees should receive special training at trachoma clinics where cases are being handled under the various methods, but which are not connected with the Indian Office, and they should be allowed subsistence and transportation in connection therewith. This is important because of the present uncertain knowledge of the causative factors in trachoma and the fact that all specialists in the field of ophthalmology do not agree on the methods of its control.

The future activities of special physicians should include only the number of cases that it will be possible for them to follow-up at regular periods of three months.

A complete medical file should be kept of every case treated containing all data relative to general physical as well as eye conditions. This is absolutely essential if a reliable and constructive method is to be evolved for the care of trachoma.

4. School, Agency, and Hospital Physicians: The medical personnel in the Indian Service should be brought to as high a standard as that maintained by the Public Health Service, the Army, the Navy, and the Veterans' Bureau. To achieve this object it will be necessary to raise the general level of salaries and to adopt a salary scale comparable to that used for the Public Health Service. When salaries are raised, higher entrance qualifications can be set and an effort made to draw into the service promising younger men well trained for the work.

New physicians entering the Service should be given an apprentice assignment to a well organized field service hospital and reservation to prepare them for the special conditions they will meet in the Indian Service.

When higher salaries and higher qualifications make available a supply of well qualified candidates, the Indian Service will be in a position to deal effectively with its existing personnel. This problem would, however, be simplified if Congress would amend the retirement act so that Indian service physicians could be retired as early as age 60 at a reasonable retirement allowance. The Service should promptly establish high standards for the medical service and require compliance with these standards. Those of the existing

staff who prove unable to meet these standards should be allowed to resign. The practice of transferring a physician who has failed at his station will be rendered unnecessary if a sufficient number of well qualified candidates can be secured.

Definite steps should be taken to afford the existing personnel an opportunity to improve their work and to fit themselves to meet higher standards. They should be expected to register in the state where they practice, to become members of the state and local medical societies, and, insofar as possible, to attend meetings. From time to time they should be sent to local and in some cases national meetings and to district conferences of Indian Service physicians. Special arrangements should be made to have them visit stations where particularly good work is being done either generally or in some special field such as trachoma or tuberculosis. Leave of absence for special study and advancement should be granted whenever possible.

Both the salaries and the living and working conditions should be raised so that the physician can maintain a reasonable standard of professional life. His house should be the equal of that of a moderately successful country doctor both in professional equipment and in domestic furniture. Unless the government itself provides the domestic furniture, the doctor should be given an adequate allowance for meeting costs of moving when he is transferred from one station to another.

The Service should require all physicians to comply with reasonable minimum standards in their practice. They should be required to keep the essential records and to submit proper reports, a matter which will be considered in detail under the practice of preventive medicine.[16] The indiscriminate doling out of medicine should be stopped and examination, diagnosis and complete case records should be required. The agency physicians should make greater effort to encourage the Indian women to have physicians in attendance at child-birth. Although the existing evidence suggests that either men or women physicians who show real interest can achieve equally good results, it is suggested that an experiment be tried in detailing well trained women physicians to some of the more primitive tribes.

[16] See pages 266 to 268.

To permit of the maintenance of higher standards of practice it will be necessary materially to increase the number of physicians. The number to be employed should be determined after a careful study of the field with due consideration to the factors of distance and accessibility. A rough estimate would be that at least twice the number now employed will be needed. Every hospital of fifty beds or more should have a full time physician selected with special reference to the type of service to be rendered by that hospital. Physicians at hospitals for fifty or more patients should not be expected to do reservation work. All boarding schools of three hundred pupils or more should have a resident physician specially qualified for the type of work in such institutions. These physicians should have general oversight of all activities of the school which affect health and should give or supplement instruction in health.

5. Contract Physicians: The contract plan should be replaced as rapidly as possible with a fulltime personnel, except for certain specialized services, such as surgery.

Permission to utilize contract physicians should be granted, however, when it is necessary to fill positions which would otherwise be vacant. The maximum patient population should not exceed four hundred.

A careful inquiry into the qualification and standing of physicians to be given contracts should be made, and contracts awarded only to those of the highest standing.

6. Dentists: Much more adequate dental service should be rendered the Indians, both in schools and on the reservations. The dental service in schools should be comparable with that in the best public school systems.

The number of dentists should be materially increased to render this service. Effective use can, however, be made of dental hygienists, especially at schools, thereby reducing somewhat the need for dentists. One full-time dentist and one full-time dental hygienist can together probably take care of the needs of two of the largest schools or even more of the smaller ones.

7. Nursing Service: The number of trained graduate nurses in the hospitals in the Indian Service should be materially increased. Every hospital should have a minimum of not less than two graduate nurses so that one may be always on duty for day service and one on call, at least, for night duty. Where the amount of surgery

warrants it, a special nurse should be placed in charge of surgical work and cases. The ratio of trained nurses per unit of hospital population should be increased one to ten, and practical nurses or other suitable assistants should be secured to bring the ratio to one to five. This will require 262 trained nurses and 243 practical nurses, or assistants suitable to assume bedside care of patients. In male wards, an orderly service is desirable.

All practical nurses or those not holding certificates of graduation from approved training schools should be replaced with trained nurses graduated from grade A hospital training schools, unless they can be assigned to positions under the direction of trained graduate nurses.

All hospital nurses should be assured the following hours off duty, based on a twelve-hour day:

Two hours per day
Two and one-half week days per month
Two and one-half Sundays per month
One month's vacation per year

The night and day duty nurses should arrange an alternate schedule.

A careful survey should be made to determine the number of public health nurses needed on each reservation. The immediate goal should be one nurse to each reservation. The ultimate goal should be a ratio of one to each thousand population, or 262 based on the 262,293 Indians[11] now under the Indian Office on the reservations. If impossible to place so large a number immediately, there should be assigned at least one public health nurse to each reservation at the outset. Each existing field matron position should be replaced by a public health nurse as rapidly as possible.

The latest civil service requirements for "Graduate Nurse Visiting Duty," issued December 30, 1927, are to be commended.[12] If

[11] See Schmeckebier, The Office of Indian Affairs.

[12] These standards require (1) Completion of at least two years of a standard high school course, (2) graduation from a recognized school of nursing requiring a residence of at least two years in (a) a hospital having a daily average of fifty bed patients or more or (b) a hospital having a daily average of not less than thirty bed patients where the course includes not less than six months' resident affiliation with a general hospital having a daily average of not less than seventy-five bed patients or where the graduate has completed a resident post graduate course of not less than six months' duration in general nursing in a hospital having a daily average of not less than seventy-five bed patients; (3) not less than one year's institutional or two years' private duty postgraduate experience in nursing; (4) evidence of state registration, and (5) at least four months' postgraduate training in public health or visiting nursing at a school of recognized standing, or in lieu of such training, one year of full-time paid experience under supervision in public health or visiting nursing. This special training or experience under (5) may be included as part of the periods called for under (3).

the Indian Service can pay salaries sufficiently high to keep all its public health nursing positions filled with persons who have met these standards and who show in the probationary period that they possess the character and personality for work with Indians, it will have made a marked advance. The Service should resist the temptation to reduce these standards because of difficulties in securing and keeping persons who can meet them at the salaries paid. The new entrance salary of $1860 should prove satisfactory if arrangements can be made to advance the salary of the successful nurses fairly systematically until they reach a reasonable maximum.

Whenever possible, the Indian Service should coöperate with local, state, county, and city health authorities in utilizing their public health nurses by sharing a reasonable proportion of the expense attached thereto. In all such instances, the ratio of nurses to unit of population should be such that efficient work could be done.

The housing facilities made available for nurses should be comfortable and reasonably well furnished, and located at a point convenient to their activities. Hospital nurses should have quarters outside the hospital.

The Practice of Preventive Medicine and Public Health in the Indian Service. The medical and health service of the Indian Service in its operation has as a rule been curative and not, as has been asserted to be the case for some years past, educational and preventive. In fact, it has to a great extent been merely palliative in practice. The major single exception of a general character has been the widespread campaign for vaccination against smallpox.

Lack of Preventive Program. The findings that substantiate this statement are as follows:

1. Until the past year or so trained public health personnel has not been permanently employed by the Indian Service. This personnel embraces physicians, epidemiologists, and nurses, with adequate clerical assistance for each.

2. The permanent clinic, the back bone of case finding and follow-up machinery of public health practice seems not to have been established until recently[*] and then only at Crow agency, Montana; Cass Lake, Minnesota; and Keshena, Wisconsin. These attempts are commendable, but at this stage cannot be said to constitute a well developed project. This does not refer to the dispensary service rendered in boarding schools. The clinic should carry out preventive as well as curative measures, have access to family case records, and be so organized that it supplements all other preventive and curative health procedures. The manner in which permanent clinics are conducted is in most instances unsatisfactory.

3. The compilation and analysis of accurate vital statistics has never been a general practice in the Indian Service. Without these essential data it is absolutely impossible effectively to plan or direct a constructive health program. This subject is so important that it will be further discussed later.

4. Tuberculosis, the most serious disease problem among the Indians, has not been effectively attacked. The sanatoria and reservation schools have been operated far below acceptable standards.

5. The preventive work in the trachoma campaign has consisted mainly in providing separate towels in boarding schools, displaying posters in Indian communities, and in a small amount of rather ineffective segregating of cases in schools. The really worth while activity is at Fort Defiance, and that is of a curative nature, although it does segregate cases. A more limited, though commendable, activity is at the Reno Colony, where a permanent clinic is being operated jointly by the local field matron and the county public health nurse. As has been pointed out more at length in the section on trachoma the existing knowledge of the disease is limited; and it may doubtless prove true in trachoma, as it has in tuberculosis, that emphasis must be placed on diet and a hygienic regimen. As the Indian diet both in schools and on reservations is obviously markedly deficient, the tendency to put almost the entire emphasis on local curative measures is open to serious question.

[*] This statement it should be noted refers to permanent clinics. Special and temporary clinics have been held from time to time in the past.

6. Child welfare and hygiene have been neglected. Scientific effort is made in prenatal and preschool work only in a few instances. The school child has had the most cursory of physical examinations and wholly inadequate correction of defects. This statement is borne out by the reported prevalence of tuberculosis among children in the schools and by the epidemic of acute infectious diseases that spread almost unchecked. Adequate facilities for isolation are lacking.

The teaching of health education in boarding schools has to a great extent been rendered ineffective by two factors: the inability of teachers untrained in this subject to handle it effectively, and the negative practices in the every day life of the child in school. As examples may be cited, stressing in formal instruction the drinking of milk, but at the same time not providing it, and advocating regular bathing and yet making only limited provision for it.

7. Provision for potable water supplies and for adequate sewage disposal arrangements have been neglected. In only a few places has a concerted effort been made to meet these needs. Many years ago, a sewage disposal plant was installed for the Warm Springs Indians at Pala, California. Equipment was provided and installed in the agency quarters, but never in the Indians' homes, and the surplus equipment has long since been moved off the reservation. In boarding schools where this matter should be of the first importance from an educational standpoint, a poorly functioning system is sometimes found.

At some jurisdictions reports have been made for years of a contaminated water supply, yet corrective steps have been taken but slowly. The first really broad and systematic effort to change this situation has been made during the present year through surveys of water and sewage disposal systems by the Public Health Service.

8. Inadequate provision has been made for coöperation with other organizations, federal, state, and philanthropic.

These eight points cited appear abundantly to justify the conclusion that as a rule the medical work of the Indian Service has been curative or even palliative rather than educational and preventive.

The important matters of coöperation with other agencies and adequate statistics and records require further discussion.

Coöperation with Other Organizations. Various national and local health agencies have asked permission of the Bureau to carry out on Indian reservations certain activities in their particular fields. The permission has been granted. The private agency has been permitted to send workers to the reservation and a degree of courtesy has been assured them by Indian Service employees. Their studies were made with a certain amount of independence. In the case of public health nursing, where the most constructive results could be obtained only by a close coöperation with the reservation employees, it was found that the relationships were often strained, even to the breaking point, as the work progressed, although they had been cordial at the outset. This was due to the fact that the outside workers had no definite responsibility to the Indian Service. With salaries that were much in advance of those paid within legislative limits by the Indian Service and training of a more specialized character than that of the reservation employees a definite clash in personalities resulted.

The most serious fault, however, lies in the fact that generally the work attempted by these workers was not done with any idea of its ultimate incorporation into the Indian medical service. If this idea was ever advanced, it was theoretical, because, by and large, this goal has not materialized. In practice, most of these endeavors have vanished as abruptly as they started, leaving little that was constructive.

The Office of Indian Affairs has also failed to assume leadership in these matters, largely because it has not had a trained personnel in close contact with, and able to evaluate, the activities of these private agencies. It has seldom taken the initiative and requested service from outside agencies, and therefore has not assumed responsibility in such endeavors. One exception to this is found in the Red Cross Survey of 1924. The Indian Office requested the American Red Cross to make a survey to determine the public health nursing needs on certain Indian reservations. A study was made and a report with recommendations submitted. As a result, the Office has attempted to carry out some of these recommendations, although in a limited way, due largely to the lack of funds with which to bring about the changes suggested. It may be said in passing that the findings of the Red Cross report correspond

very closely to those of the present survey insofar as they relate to the same reservations.

In August, 1912, Congress authorized the Public Health Service to make an investigation into the prevalence of contagious and infectious diseases among the Indians of the United States. A report was submitted in 1913, containing findings, conclusions, and recommendations. Viewing the situation of this problem in the Indian Service today, it would seem that the Service has lacked the technical staff necessary to correct the preventable mistakes outlined in that report. It has of course been seriously handicapped for funds with which to prosecute such a program, but, more important, it has lacked a well equipped technical staff adequately to present its technical requirements to Congress and the Budget Bureau.

The American Red Cross, the American Child Health Association, and the Metropolitan Life Insurance Company have coöperated with the Service by preparing, and in some cases even by providing, brief pamphlets on various subjects pertaining to health. As this literature has been published in English, it is useful chiefly in the schools and among the more advanced better educated Indians. Obviously it can be of little service to the Indians who do not easily use English. Religious literature has been printed in the Dakota language for the Sioux tribes, and in the Five-year Program at Pine Ridge mimeographed folders have been prepared in that language. The fact that this has been done shows that it could be done in health literature. Little use has thus far been made of moving pictures. Home surveys have been made on several occasions. They are too often filed instead of being used as the basis for an active cumulative index of the health situation inherent in the Indian home.

It should be noted that from time to time various other voluntary agencies have carried on health activities among certain Indian tribes. These activities have generally dealt with a specific problem and not with the situation as a whole.

To the activities of the Red Cross in providing public health nurses can doubtless be traced in no small measure the recent development of this service by the Indian Office itself. The Eastern Association on Indian Affairs is making a similar demonstration by providing field nurses in New Mexico. The survey made by the

Red Cross, although never published, served a valuable purpose in stimulating the Service to review its work and undertake new and improved efforts. The Junior Red Cross activities in the schools have undoubtedly been helpful although possibly not sufficiently adapted or related to Indian conditions. The hospital maintained for eye cases by the Episcopal Church at Fort Defiance should also be specifically mentioned, and also the recent health survey at Klamath made by the Oregon Tuberculosis Association and the National Tuberculosis Association. Mention has been made of the coöperation of a committee from the American Medical Association in the trachoma campaign and of the work of Noguchi under the auspices of the International Health Board in the study of trachoma. The catalogue of such activities, however, is comparatively brief, especially if the age of the Indian health problem is considered. Unquestionably enough has not been done through close coöperation between the Indian Service and private agencies in perfecting well developed programs.

In some states, such as California, Washington, Oregon, and Minnesota, the Indian has benefited by the state traveling tuberculosis clinics, and the activities of the local county public health units. This service, like that of the voluntary activities mentioned above, has been independent of the Indian Office, and has received no subsidy from it.

The Indian Office is engaged in no coöperative full-time public health services. In the Northwest, such a point has been selected, but details have not been worked out.

The general lack of coöperation and exchange of ideas between the Office of Indian Affairs and state boards of health is a matter of frequent comment and is to be deplored. The Office has had no technical personnel to arrange such coöperation, and the state boards of health have interpreted lack of definite action as a suggestion to stay off the Indian reservations. In point of fact, the courts have upheld this isolation policy on the part of the Indian Office. Legislation today, technically speaking, would hold the Indian reservation inviolate by outside agencies.

Several national voluntary health agencies devote their time to the various specialized fields of preventive medicine and public health. Their executive staffs are composed of trained specialists, qualified to speak with authority on health activities lying within

their respective fields. These organizations are supported by private or public contributions, and their purpose is to make available to established health agencies the fruits of their studies, experimentation, and demonstrations. They have conducted certain important health demonstrations to test the practicability of their studies, demonstrations that federal agencies were unable to make because of restrictive legislation, lack of funds, and, too frequently, lack of initiative. The results of their investigations have been accepted as standards in many phases of the field of public health.

In sanatorium planning and construction, a very highly specialized field, the Indian Office has not until within the last few months consulted those agencies to which the entire country looks for guidance and standards. The service offered by these organizations is available merely for the asking. The Indian Service hospitals and sanatoria are much below the minimum standards in planning, construction, and administration.

Although the Indian Office has from time to time permitted outside agencies to make valuable studies on the reservations, it has taken more of a passive than an active interest. It has not viewed the situation from the standpoint of possible incorporation into its own program of a demonstrated method. Further, it has not often in the past assumed the initiative in requesting expert opinion from the outside.

The Secretary of the Interior, however, took a commendable step to correct this state of affairs when he requested the Public Health Service in 1926 to detail a member of that organization to the Office of Indian Affairs to assist in the reorganization of the Indian medical service.

In 1924 the Office collaborated with the American Child Health Association in the preparation of health education material for the boarding schools. The American Junior Red Cross prepared material on first aid and accident prevention.

Since that time, there has been a decided favorable change in the attitude of the Office of Indian Affairs toward federal, national, state, and local, official, and voluntary health agencies. Several worth while examples are:

1. The sanitary inspectorial service rendered by the Public Health Service.

2. The Montana Tuberculosis Association offered the services of a tuberculosis nurse for any reservation in Montana. The Blackfeet Reservation was selected. The Indian Office stipulated the conditions of the contract which, in general, were that this worker should do a generalized rather than a specialized nursing service. The Montana Tuberculosis Association would provide salary, and the Indian Service would furnish a car and its upkeep as well as living quarters. The activities of this worker would be under the direction of the Indian Service, and the report would be made both to the Montana Association and the Indian Service.

3. In Montana a plan has been under consideration for the establishment of a full-time health unit at Hardin. The territory embraced by this unit will include the majority of the Indians at the Crow Agency. Plans have not materialized as yet, but there is a definite interest on the part of the Indian Office in coöperating with the Montana State Board of Health and other interests in this plan by providing a part of the cost.

4. At the present time negotiations are under consideration to bring about a coöperative working arrangement between state health authorities in the states of Minnesota, Wisconsin, and California.

Vital Statistics and Records. It is a generally accepted axiom today that the quality of a service is accurately reflected in the completeness and accuracy of its records. In this respect the Indian Service has been weak. Vital statistics and records of medical activities at present are incomplete and as a rule unreliable. Wide variations are found between figures obtained at the reservation and those at the Indian Office in Washington. The Office has depended too much upon the initiative and interest of its field personnel, not recognizing that such personnel were not selected for fitness in the technical field of statistics, and has not itself demanded and used accurate original basic records. Physicians who have not been in the habit of keeping careful records in their private practice cannot be expected to make accurate and complete returns when they enter the Indian Service unless they are required to do so and are given definite instructions regarding details. General circulars issued by the Indian Office on this matter as far back as 1916 have urged and insisted on more accuracy, but a casual glance at the present day reports makes it evident that comparatively little has been accomplished, because of the failure to prescribe suitable definite forms, give precise instructions, and carefully check the results through actual use of the records. To be fair, certain inherent difficulties in the Indian field service should be considered:

1. The Scarcity of Physicians: The number of physicians on the reservations has always been much too small, a fact which increases the difficulty in collecting data. If a physician with far more before him than he can do makes an attempt to keep complete records of births, deaths, and disease, he must neglect his care of the patient. At the reservations where complete vital statistics records were found, some of the Indians criticized the physician for devoting more time to the collection of data than he did to the care of the sick. They particularly resented the fact that he came only after the Indian had died to inquire about the cause of death.

2. Tribal Customs: Some tribes are averse to reporting births and deaths because of prejudices and tribal custom. Many are merely indifferent because of their ignorance of the importance of prompt reporting.

3. Confusion in Names: The Indians in some tribes have more than one name, which makes it impossible to keep accurate records unless there is an adequate field personnel.

4. Indians Living off their Reservations: An Indian who dies on some reservation other than the one in which he is enrolled may be counted twice. Many Indians living in urban communities are carried on their tribal roll, but births and deaths among them are frequently not reported to the reservation, or only after a period of time. Again, private practitioners do not always make the proper returns to the agency.

Definite recognition must be given the fact that under existing conditions not all the returns can be equally complete and reliable. For certain jurisdictions the Washington office can reasonably demand approximately perfect figures. For others, notably the Navajo jurisdiction, the difficulties are so great that considerable time will have to be spent in developing an adequate statistical system before reasonably complete figures can be expected. Some jurisdictions have districts from which practically complete figures can be easily obtained, but in others the problem is more like that

in the Navajo country. In the preparation and analysis of the statistics the Indian Office must recognize these facts and separate its accurate reliable figures from the less accurate. To combine accurate and inaccurate figures in inseparable totals may lead to erroneous conclusions. Accurate facts are diluted with inaccurate. Separate figures should be given even if this course necessitates dividing jurisdictions into districts according to the reliability of the data for them. The Office is now beginning to recognize this principle and is asking that the distinction be made.

Factors Affecting Health Statistics. Other factors that affect the accuracy and completeness of health statistics which must be considered are:

1. Returns made by Field Personnel other than the Physician: The various field workers on the reservations have been instructed to report all births and deaths coming to their attention. Frequently such reports are made to the agency office and not to the physician. Such records relating to deaths are almost certain to be incomplete and inaccurate because at best the diagnosis as to cause of death is a guess. Often no report at all as to cause is given. Several such instances were found. At Fort Peck in the past five years, 53.2 per cent of the deaths recorded in the office were reported without a statement of the cause. At Pine Ridge in the past eighteen months 31.2 per cent had no statement of cause of death. At Cheyenne River in a period of four years and three months 37 per cent were reported without cause of death. On the other hand at Crow Agency where three physicians and three field matrons serve an Indian population of approximately 1800, during a period of three years a definite cause of death was reported for all but 2.8 per cent of the deaths. The Consolidated Chippewa Agency in Minnesota had a record of the cause of death in all but 10.8 per cent in a four-year period. The Rosebud Reservation, comprising approximately 5700 Indians scattered over an area of forty by sixty miles, with two full time and two contract physicians and a public health nurse, reported a definite cause of death in all but 13.5 per cent of the cases.

2. Lack of Accurate Case Records: Indian Service physicians have never kept accurate case records of disease and illness in Indian families. Thus the transferred physician must learn his new field from contact with cases, a thing which would require an enormous amount of time. At present apparently physicians rarely make the attempt. The rapid turn-over of the medical personnel prevents the physicians from learning the local fields and discourages them from attempting to compile case records. The fundamental records from which reliable data could be taken are therefore almost totally lacking.

3. Inaccuracies in Diagnoses: The diagnoses made by physicians are frequently little more than guesses. Some guesses are made in all vital statistics, but in the Indian Service figures the percentage of preventable inaccuracies is undoubtedly far above normal. At one agency, a list of thirty-six deaths was examined, regarding which the physician admitted that he knew one-third were incorrect. He had made no effort to rectify the errors. The annual report on disease at this agency was admittedly compiled at the close of the year by paging through Osler's *Practice of Medicine*, and tabulating largely from memory the number of cases of this or that illness seen. Colds and influenza were excepted.

Little effort is being made at this time to analyze existing facts. In some instances much valuable information could be compiled from existing data if an attempt were made. In the work of this survey it was possible on several occasions to use such data to determine certain trends in mortality.

Since January, 1919, the Indian Office has requested its physicians and agencies to make all vital statistics records in triplicate, retaining one copy at the agency, sending one to the state department of health, and one to Washington. In the past eighteen months the Indian Office has attempted to take off the data contained on the census forms, and then forward them to the United States Census Bureau for checking and tabulation. The copies retained at the agency are often not filed in any logical order.

The Census Bureau compiles its vital statistics of Indians from the various census areas, irrespective of agency or tribe. Thus a comparison of statistics from the two sources is sure to reveal wide variations. Navajo reservations spread over the corners of four states.

The same difficulty in obtaining accurate vital statistics exists in most of the states. By and large, the state boards of health could not supply data that they considered really accurate. As a rule they either did not segregate Indian deaths from those of the total popu-

lation, or else they classified Indians under the general headings including negro, Japanese and Chinese.

No systematic effort is made at this time to report morbidity. In a few instances the acute infectious diseases have been reported to the state health officers. Such reports, however, are rare. No epidemiological case record has generally been kept of infectious and contagious diseases, although possibly this may be done in some school or hospital.

The dispensary records examined on reservations were as a whole unsatisfactory. They lack detail. Frequently entries are made according to symptoms, and in one instance a record was found of "supplies." The present book used for recording such data would be acceptable if the entries were more accurate and complete.

Medical reports made by the agencies to the Washington office have been unreliable for the following reasons:

1. Inaccuracy of the basic source of most figures.

2. Use of figures previously reported without making a careful check-up.

3. Preparation of reports from memory.

4. The editing of the physicians' reports to conform to the superintendent's opinion as to the facts. The possibility of this practice will in the future be largely eliminated because physicians may now report directly to the Chief Medical Officer.

5. Changes of forms and character of information desired. In the past ten years, such changes have been frequent. This has caused confusion and too frequently a multiplicity of reports.

Recommendations. 1. The Indian Service should adopt a well-rounded, effective program of preventive medicine and public health service. The outstanding features of this program should be: (1) An adequate directing force of well trained public health physicians; (2) a greatly increased staff of public health nurses; (3) well organized and administered public health clinics on all reservations; (4) special emphasis on the prevention of the three outstanding diseases among Indians, tuberculosis, trachoma, and diseases of infancy; (5) general efforts to interest the Indians in hygiene and to instruct them in it; (6) the collection, tabulation, and use of reliable vital statistics; and (7) full coöperation with state and local government health agencies and with private national and state health organizations.

2. The specific recommendations regarding the physicians and public health nurses have been already made and need not be repeated here.

3. The object of the clinic should be to encourage all Indians on the reservations to consult physicians freely regarding their general physical condition without waiting the onset of serious diseases. Through this agency it should be possible to detect incipient cases of tuberculosis, trachoma, and other serious diseases or susceptibility to such diseases and to arrange for preventive treatment while the chances for complete arrest and cure of the disease are good. It should also serve as an agency for the follow-up and after treatment of Indians who have been to hospitals and sanatoria because of serious conditions, especially tuberculosis and trachoma. It should give especial attention to expectant mothers and to mothers with young infants. In this work it would encourage women to come to hospitals for confinement or at least to have skilled attendants.

The location of the clinic, its days and hours for patients, and other similar details will depend on local conditions. In general, stress should be laid on holding clinics at times and places convenient for the Indians.

The facilities should be adequate, and reasonably attractive waiting rooms should be available for the Indians. The personnel should place special emphasis on maintaining friendly relations with the Indians and on winning and keeping their confidence. At regular intervals the traveling specialists of the Service should visit the clinics and give special attention to the Indians found to require their services.

4. Through the clinics, the public health nurses, and the school physicians, a determined effort should be made to locate all Indians in contact with cases of tuberculosis, trachoma, and other communicable diseases. If these persons show evidence of the disease or susceptibility to it, appropriate measures should be taken for their protection. In any case educational work should be done to instruct them in respect to hygiene and especially diet. Recommendations with respect to hospitals, sanatoria, sanatorium schools, and boarding schools are given in detail in the respective sections dealing with these subjects.

5. Special attention should be given on the reservations to child welfare and hygiene, so that correctable defects may be detected

and remedied at an early age before the child is sent to school. Recommendations regarding the care of boarding school children are contained in the section of this chapter dealing with that special subject.* The local Indian medical service should make complete and careful examinations of all Indian children attending public schools or Indian Service day schools and should arrange for the care and treatment of all found in need of attention. Local officers should give special attention to the sanitation and hygiene of local schools for Indians. This service should be extended to Indian children in public schools unless the public school authorities are found to be making adequate provision.

6. The routine practice of the reservation public health organization should include vaccination against small pox, immunization of preschool children and school children against diphtheria, the prompt reporting and isolation of cases of communicable disease, and as far as possible general testing for the discovery of venereal diseases, as is now being done at the Consolidated Chippewa Agency. Provision should be made for treatment of cases of venereal diseases thus located.

7. The local health organization should also give special attention to water supply and sewage disposal. In many Indian village communities regular water and sewer systems are practicable and the program should look to their ultimate development. Tribal funds or reimbursable funds might well be used in such a program. Where the installation of such systems is impracticable a privy campaign, such as has been successful in many white communities, should be inaugurated. Working models of acceptable simple plans for these buildings should be available on every reservation, and Indians should be aided in building sanitary privies on their own places.

Further steps should be taken toward providing a safe water supply. This matter is discussed under hospitals, sanatoria, and schools so that here reference is made particularly to water supplies on the reservations. The use of tribal well-boring machines is suggested. Arrangements can be made for having water tested periodically by the laboratories of state health departments or by the Public Health Service.

* See pages 392 to 396.

8. Popular health instruction should receive more emphasis than heretofore. Motion pictures dealing with health should be shown to reservation Indians as well as to school children. Lectures and conferences with Indians on health could well be used more. Where the Indians have a written language, health pamphlets in these languages could well be distributed. Special baby clinics could be more generally held.

9. The policy of the Indian Service should be to attain maximum possible coöperation with the public health authorities of the states and counties in which Indian jurisdictions are located. Insofar as practicable the state and local organizations should be utilized even if this arrangement requires some payment to the state or local authority from national or tribal funds, but where this payment is made the national government should exercise at least some supervisory authority to see that service to the Indians is adequate.

10. The Indian Service, through the recommended Division of Planning and Development, should enlist the coöperation of private national and state health organizations and of national societies of the various classes of public health workers. Among the first group may be mentioned national and state organizations interested especially in tuberculosis, infant care, trachoma, and venereal diseases; among the second, the associations of public health nursing, general nursing, and social service. Wherever private organizations are willing to coöperate with the Indian Service in demonstrating the practicability of a program, or in experimenting to determine the practicability of a program believed sound, maximum coöperation should be extended.

11. An adequate system for the collection, tabulation, and use of vital statistics should be immediately installed. The first step in this direction should be a reasonably liberal appropriation for a competent statistician and a small corps of experienced statistical clerks. The second step should be the preparation of suitable forms and instructions. In devising forms the effort should be made to use the forms of the state in which the jurisdiction is located insofar as they are applicable or at least to make them supply all information required by the state. The third step should be to arrange for the examination of the returns, their tabulation, and their use as a device for controlling and directing the public health work.

The records and statistics should include: (1) Mortality statistics, (2) morbidity statistics for reportable diseases, (3) family case records, (4) dispensary records, (5) hospitals and sanatorium records, (6) school medical examination records, and (7) records of work done by the various medical workers.

No attempt will here be made to indicate precisely what each of these records should contain or how they should be tabulated and presented. To attempt such a presentation would open up the whole field of vital statistics. If the Indian Service can get an adequate appropriation for this work it will have no difficulty in securing competent experts who in coöperation with public and private agencies can work out the details.

Hospital Facilities in the Indian Service. The hospital and sanatorium facilities offered in the Indian Service do not meet the minimum requirements according to accepted standards in this and other countries.

Hospital and sanatorium standards and practices vary enough to necessitate a separate discussion of each type of institution, such as school and agency hospitals, sanatoria and sanatorium schools, and hospitals for the insane.

In the main, this problem will be discussed in its broadest aspects with reference to specific instances that best illustrate the point in question.

Hospitals. The Office of Indian Affairs has classified its hospitals under the following headings: (1) School, (2) agency, (3) school and agency, and (4) hospitals for the insane. With the exception of the last named, the demands made upon the three types of hospitals are much the same. They are supposed to offer facilities for general surgery, confinements, and acute and chronic diseases, and, in some instances, for such acute infectious diseases as tuberculosis, trachoma, and for other communicable diseases.

In order to get a fair cross section of the character of the work done in Indian Service hospitals, statistics were compiled from Indian Office reports relating to seventeen hospitals in as many states. The following tabulation summarizes the data. The figures are only totals, as it was impossible to determine the exact nature of the individual cases from the reports submitted. They give, however, a general idea of the types of service rendered in the average hospital.

Indian Service statistics on character of work done in seventeen selected hospitals in the period January 1 to June 30, 1926

Type of treatment given	Cases treated in 17 selected hospitals		Average number of cases per hospital
	Number	Per cent distribution	
All treatments	6,326	100.0	372.11
Surgical	1,911	30.2	112.41
Trachoma	438	6.9	25.76
Other	1,473	23.3	86.64
Medical	4,415	69.8	259.69
Trachoma	129	2.0	7.58
Tuberculosis	295	4.7	17.35
Other	3,991	63.1	234.76

The Indian Service reported that it operated during the fiscal year ending June 30, 1926, sixty-two school, agency, and school and agency hospitals. These hospitals represented a total capacity of 1672 beds, with a total of 264,714 days of hospital treatment rendered. The available hospital days of treatment would equal the total number of beds (1672) multiplied by 365, or 610,280. It is obvious, then, that approximately 43 per cent of available bed capacity was utilized. These data may be conveniently subdivided for each class of hospital, as follows:

Indian Service statistics on use of hospital beds in Indian Service hospitals, 1926

Type of hospital	Bed capacity	Available bed days	Bed days used	Per cent used
Total	1,672	610,280	264,714	43.3
School hospitals	670	244,550	76,632	31.3
Agency hospitals	68	24,820	11,212	45.1
School and agency	934	340,910	176,870	51.9

This table shows that the school hospitals had the lowest use of beds, the agency hospitals next, and the school and agency hospitals the greatest.

No adequate scientific study of hospital needs has been made by the Indian Office upon which to base the type and number of beds required for individual reservations.

In well organized hospitals in the average American community, the average use of beds approximates 85 per cent of the available bed capacity. Hence the Indian Service hospitals are using less than half the bed capacity ordinarily used. The question at once arises, are there too many hospital beds in the Indian Service? The answer must be in the negative, for although no accurate figures are available on the sickness rate among Indians, the most superficial observation in the field will impress the observer that scores of Indians are not receiving the hospital attention they need. The cause of this situation as observed at approximately forty-three of these institutions resolves itself into the following:

1. The Indians have to be educated to accept medical treatment and hospital care. This fact makes it imperative that the Service should be of reasonably high grade and that the personnel should be qualified to win the confidence and friendship of the Indians.

2. The medical personnel in charge is not of sufficiently high grade. Physicians are frequently placed in charge who are not experienced in or qualified for hospital administration. The result is lack of interest and poor service.

3. The hospital staff has been so small that reasonably adequate service could not be rendered.

4. The percentage of public health nurses in the service is low. One of their values lies in their ability to discover cases and urge hospitalization.

5. Such case-finding facilities as clinics are lacking.

6. A combination of the above conditions over a period of years has inculcated a distrust in the hospital on the part of the Indians. This distrust combined with their natural reticence has caused them to accept hospitalization very slowly unless in dire straits. But when they have confidence in the quality of the service, it is remarkable to find how readily the Indians accept good hospital service. With the possible exception of a few of the old Indians and some of the less civilized tribes, if they have confidence in the physician and receive kindness and sympathy from the nurses, they are in general quick to accept such care and will travel a long distance for it. A case was observed in the Navajo country in which an old woman came voluntarily from nobody knew where to the hospital to have her eyes treated for trachoma. Such voluntary action is not uncommon; many other instances could be cited. How else can the fact be accounted for that 5.6 per cent of all births on the Oneida Reservation in Wisconsin between August, 1926, and May, 1927, took place in the agency hospital? And that 29 per cent of all births from July, 1926, to May, 1927, at the Crow Agency, Montana, occurred in the hospital? Where such splendid work is being done, the evidence discloses a sympathetic personnel. On the other hand, one often hears complaints of neglect and even maltreatment.

7. The physical plant of the hospital has been responsible for a certain amount of this difficulty. The construction has not been good and the arrangement is generally inconvenient. The basic plan in most of these institutions is two large wards, an arrangement that does not permit of meeting the shifting needs of surgery, confinements, and acute infectious diseases.

A policy in the past has been to salvage abandoned forts and other buildings and to convert them into hospitals, regardless of their location and the suitability of construction. These buildings are frequently located at long distances from convenient transportation centers, where the minimum amount of contact with the outside world is possible. Sometimes the old buildings are entirely unsuited to hospital use. In the name of economy money and paint are poured into old buildings resulting in the end in the same old building, still unsuited to the needs for which it was intended.

The government has recently seen the short-sightedness of the policy in the matter of the location and construction of hospitals, and the Indian Office has formulated a plan whereby a hospital center is to be situated at Fort Defiance, Arizona. This decision is wise, as a hospital there can very adequately administer to the needs in the Navajo country. If the building plan will conform to accepted standards in hospital planning, equipment, and administration, it will be a commendable step in the right direction. To accomplish these results, however, a much larger appropriation will have to be made than is now planned.

Where the needs are obvious, the Service has been definitely handicapped by low appropriations in building institutions that will meet modern requirements. Lack of funds results in a limited cubage per patient, prevents any considerable subdivision of the hospital space, and further requires the constant building of new institutions according to old inconvenient plans.

As a general rule, an allowance of from 7000 to 8000 cubic feet per bed should be provided for the full requirements of an average general hospital, exclusive of nurses' quarters, which require an additional allowance of 4000 cubic feet per bed.[n] General hospitals of about one hundred bed capacity, situated at a distance from large centers and supplies with the minimum of laboratory, operating, and plumbing equipment, average in cost forty-eight cents per cubic foot.

The architect in the Indian Office was asked to supply the information contained in the following table to permit of showing in more detail the actual conditions in Indian Service hospitals, especially those of more recent construction. This table shows that the Indian Service hospitals have not been planned on an adequate cubage basis, and that the average cost is greatly below the standard cited:

Cost, cubage and capacity of selected hospitals in the Indian Service

Hospital	Date of completion	Cost of construction	Cubage	Cubage cost	Bed capacity	Cubic feet per bed
Total	....	$275,140	1,464,858	....	407	.....
Average	....	27,514	146,487	0.187	40.7	3,599.4
Chilocco	1926	22,640	107,736	0.21	18	5,985.3
Choctaw-Chickasaw	1916	46,000	224,357	0.21	60	3,739.3
Cloquet	1916	22,560	101,931	0.22	20	5,096.6
Ft. Lapwai	1927	29,000	185,440	0.16	110	1,685.8
Ft. Peck	1926	24,000	106,759	0.22	12	8,896.6
Kiowa	1915	42,000	286,022	0.15	42	6,810.0
Klamath	1927	25,000	127,868	0.20	30	4,262.2
Laguna	1914	17,000	89,904	0.19	66	1,362.2
Leupp	1927	27,800	132,910	0.21	24	5,537.9
Red Lake	1916	19,140	101,931	0.19	25	4,077.2

Hospital building costs in the average American community have shown a steady rise in the past twenty-five years. This is due in part to the rising costs of materials and labor, and partly to the fact that the hospital of today is a much more refined institution than it was twenty-five years ago. Certain conveniences are now regarded as essential that were unknown years ago. In this matter, the Indian Service has not been able to keep abreast of the times.

[n] *Architectural Forum*, XXXVII, No. 6, December, 1922. Note that the figures refer to all the requirements, not merely to the ward rooms or separate rooms in which the beds are located.

Unfortunately in making appropriations for Indian hospitals, a tendency has been apparent to consider not what is requisite to meet reasonable minimum standards for the effective treatment of medical and surgical cases among the Indians, but rather what the Indians are accustomed to in their own homes. That the hospital facilities now supplied are in many instances superior to what the Indians have in their own homes is at once admitted, but it must be remembered that not infrequently the disease which the hospital is called upon to combat had its origin in the bad living conditions to which the Indians are accustomed. In many cases an important function of the hospital is to educate the Indians to higher standards so that when they return to their own homes they will know from experience what they should have. This educational work is especially important in the treatment of tuberculosis and trachoma and in maternity cases, in which the mothers should be given sound instruction in infant care. The survey staff holds no brief for ornate elaborate hospitals where patients are given luxuries, but on the other hand it does not regard the Indian's standards of living as any criterion as to what a hospital should supply. The question is not what the Indians are used to, but what is necessary for the economical and efficient treatment of the diseases which the hospital is created to combat. It is false economy to hold down the capital investment in hospitals, if by so doing they are prevented from rendering effective treatment.

It seems hardly necessary to say that many states, counties, and cities supply as modern and effective hospital care for the indigent case as is supplied for the patients coming from the better homes. The chief differences are that the indigent cases are cared for in wards and the pay cases in semi-private or private rooms according to their ability to pay, and that the pay patients may be furnished some luxuries not regarded as essential for effective treatment. This modern type of hospital service is both humanitarian and economical. The American Indians are entitled to hospitals as modern as those available for the indigent whites in this country.

The general plan and arrangement of the Indian Service hospital space has been poor. Usually no isolation rooms are available for patients. The separate rooms provided are as a rule occupied by the hospital staff.

The appropriations for hospital upkeep have been so restricted that the older buildings especially have deteriorated to a point where large sums would be necessary to restore them even to their original inferior condition, much less to remodel them. In fact many of them should be replaced with new structures embracing modern planning and arrangement. The lack of permanency in building materials causes an unavoidable deterioration that costs heavily in the end. In planning new structures and in considering the replacement of the old, consideration should be given the possibility of their future use for the community as a whole, both white and Indian. In many instances it may prove feasible to coöperate with state, county, or other local agencies in perfecting plans whereby joint hospital facilities may be provided. If such coöperation can be arranged superior hospital facilities may be made available for the entire neighborhood, giving both to whites and to Indians advantages they could hardly secure if each should have an independent hospital.

As many of these hospitals are of frame materials and none of them are of completely fire resisting construction, the fire hazard is great, especially as they are often far removed from organized fire fighting apparatus and are not provided with adequate apparatus on the ground. In addition to the insufficiency of fire fighting apparatus, water supplies are often inadequate. The number of chemical extinguishers, their distribution, and the frequency with which they are recharged, have often been found faulty. Fortunately most of the buildings are of one-story construction so that patients could be taken out if the occasion demanded it.

The fixed equipment such as plumbing, lighting fixtures, and radiators, is often inadequate, in some instances in respect to numbers, and in others, in respect to capacity, and is frequently in poor repair. The hospital at Cheyenne River, South Dakota, is of two-story construction. On the second floor are two glassed-in wards that would be suitable for the housing of tuberculosis cases. It is reported that radiators were provided, but that some time ago they were removed and placed in the children's dormitories at the reservation school. These wards, which would accommodate approximately from sixteen to twenty more patients, are thereby rendered useless, especially during the winter months. The Indian Office is now planning to correct this situation and to open this space for patients. In some hospitals the heating plant is of limited capacity, and it is with difficulty that the buildings are kept warm. When the head nurse in one of the hospitals became ill, she had to be removed to a hospital in a nearby city because she could not endure the low temperature of her own hospital.

Utility room facilities, such as slop sinks and other equipment for aids in nursing, are generally either of a poor design, in a bad state of repair, poorly placed, or absent.

Frequently the laundry equipment in general and agency hospitals is of an old inefficient design, such for example as a single-roll mangle. At the school hospitals the laundry work is frequently done at the regular school laundry. As these units usually have old equipment of limited capacity, difficulty is often experienced in getting prompt service.

Movable equipment, such as beds, mattresses, hospital furniture, dishes, and culinary equipment, is of poor quality, is frequently limited in amount and is often in bad condition. The beds and mattresses especially are of inferior quality. Many of the springs sag and the mattresses are lumpy, a combination which does not assure the patient the needed rest and relaxation. Much of the difficulty is due to the fact that such equipment in the past has been purchased at the lowest bid with little apparent regard for quality, wearing power, or hospital needs. The medical service is now endeavoring to raise the standards of specifications for such equipment so as to compare more favorably with those approved for other federal hospitals. It is assumed that the future will show a marked improvement in this respect.

Operating room equipment is of a varied character. In many hospitals the amount is adequate, but it has almost invariably been crowded into too small a space. The usual rule is to have all equipment, such as the regular operating room pieces, scrub-up sinks, sterilizers, sterile linen closets, in fact, practically everything connected with an operating suite, placed in one room. This results in serious congestion, in many instances leaving barely enough space for the operator and his assistants to walk. At the Laguna

hospital the operating room is situated between the men's ward and the dining room. As the ward has no outside exit, the men patients must pass through the operating room. The nurses' quarters, too, are located off the operating room. Similar evidence of crowding can be found in practically every Indian Service hospital. Often the objectionable condition is due to poor planning, because in place after place a re-arrangement of space with slight additions would correct the difficulties.

Sterilizing equipment is often inadequate. At the Rosebud Agency a high pressure sterilizer has been installed for years, with no possibility whatever of supplying high pressure steam to operate it. Plumbers' blow torches were utilized instead. No imagination is required to understand the difficulties under which the operator must work with such an arrangement in the operating room. This equipment is to be replaced by a type meeting the needs of the hospital.

Special hospital equipment, such as X-ray, clinical laboratory, and special treatment facilities is generally lacking. At the present time no hospital has an X-ray unit. Requests have been made for several portable units, and undoubtedly some of them will be installed in the near future. Clinical laboratory equipment, an essential of any well organized hospital, is not provided. In some few instances, one may find a microscope that is usable and a few test tubes and reagents, but ordinarily their appearance indicates infrequent use. This observation is further substantiated by the universal lack of records of such work on the meagre clinical sheets. The Indian Office has recently purchased from the Veterans' Bureau forty microscopes, which are being put in excellent condition and will be distributed to several of the hospitals. Others will be required in the near future. Special treatment equipment, such as diathermy and quartz light, is not found in this class of hospital.

The American College of Surgeons' standards for clinical laboratory work include chemical, bacteriological, serological, and pathological examinations. All tissues removed must be examined pathologically and the gross and microscopic findings recorded. Such service is not rendered in Indian Service hospitals. The serological work would be done gratis at most state board of health laboratories, but it was reported in those state laboratories visited that this service was seldom requested. The State Board of Health

of Montana reports the following laboratory service rendered Indian Service physicians for the years 1925 and 1926:

Agency	Typhoid	Wassermanns	G. C.	Diphtheria	Tuberculosis	Urine
Fort Browning ...	..	9	3	1	..	..
Crow	4	16	1	..	25	..
Lame Deer	..	..	..	..	..	..
Fort Belknap	..	..	..	..	..	..
Fort Peck	7	2	..	1	..	1

This service was rendered only partly in connection with hospital service; some was undoubtedly done in connection with routine reservation practice.

Facilities for confinements are in most instances the same as for any other case. Delivery is made either in a ward or in the operating room.

The organization of the hospital administration staff has been defective. In the past, authority and responsibility were frequently divided. Usually the physician had no control over hospital employees. At one agency the superintendent was arranging with physicians in a neighboring city to locate a hospital nurse, when the physician in charge could have secured a capable nurse whom he knew and could undoubtedly have worked with to advantage. This situation has been remedied by a recent order, placing all hospital employees under the direction of the physician. As a rule, this order is being carried out, although at one agency the physician in charge of the general hospital had to get authorization from the superintendent before he could change his nurse from night to day duty.

In all agencies the hospital physician is expected to do a certain amount of reservation work. Often on reservations where there is more than one position for physicians, and some are vacant, the physician at the hospital must assume full responsibility for the outside work in addition to his hospital duties. Under such circumstances the hospital work must obviously be neglected to a considerable degree.

Outside consultant service is usually available only at those stations situated near an urban community, except for rather infrequent visits by special field personnel.

The nursing staffs in these hospitals, as has been pointed out in more detail in the discussion of the nursing service, are almost invariably far below the standards for such practice. The accepted ratio of nurses to patients in general hospitals is an average of one to every five patients in open wards, exclusive of the employees required to do the manual labor.

It may be well to consider in more detail the ratio of total employees per unit of population in these hospitals. The commonly accepted ratio in the average general hospital is one and one-third to one and one-half employees per patient. The Public Health Service hospital authorities report a ratio of three employees to five patients, and at the same time assert that they are considerably understaffed on account of insufficient appropriations.

The most recent figures procurable from the Indian Service regarding hospital employees are based on a check made in April, 1927. They are presented in the following table, which indicates the very serious understaffing of these hospitals. In considering these figures, it must be remembered that practically all physicians listed were devoting only part time service to the hospital, that only about fifty of the nurses listed were graduate nurses on a permanent basis, the remainder being either on temporary service or practical nurses with training and experience insufficient to comply with civil service standards; and that the total employees includes farmers, dairymen, day laborers, and hospital assistants, only a few of whom gave any so-called nursing service to the patient. It was impossible to obtain figures making an accurate division of this latter class.

Indian Service statistics showing employees in hospitals as of April, 1927

Class of institution	Bed capacity	Total employees	Physicians	Contract physicians	Nurses	Other employees	Ratio of employees to beds	Percentage deficiency on basis 1:1
Total	1,764	290	51	13	82	144	1: 6.1	83.56
Ratio per bed capacity	....	1: 6.1	1: 34.6	1: 135.7	1: 21.5	1: 12.2	....	....
Hospital for insane	92	24	1	....	1	22	1: 3.8	73.91
School and agency	934	182	34	3	40	96	1: 5.1	80.51
[illegible]	78	17	3	....	3	11	1: 4.0	75.00
[illegible]	670	67	13	10	29	15	1: 10.0	90.00

On the assumption that only about 46 per cent of bed space is used in these hospitals in the ratio of one employee to one bed, the degree of understaffing still remains about 64 per cent.

The shortage in hospital staff indicated in the above table results in inadequate supervision and care of patients. Sometimes the patient has to perform many of the routine duties, as well as to wait on himself. It is not uncommon to find patients literally dragging themselves to the lavatory sections; sometimes patients too ill to be out of bed are seen doing work about the hospitals.

A rule is in force that certain specified assistant positions must be filled by Indian employees. This works a serious handicap to the already over-worked staff, because frequently Indians are not available. The positions could be filled by capable whites, but they must remain vacant until an Indian is found. The Indian Office is now changing the nomenclature for assistant positions to conform to hospital practice, and it is assumed that much of this difficulty will be overcome.

The management of the hospital staff is difficult, due to the type of employee, the low salaries paid, the poor housing facilities provided, and the isolation from contact with the outside world. These factors cause a high turnover in personnel and a consequent lack of continuity in effort.

Appropriations for new buildings and repairs to present buildings and equipment as well as funds for maintenance are far below the average. The average per diem costs in the Indian Service are around $1.80. The Public Health Service hospitals,[a] "without pride of achievement," point to their average per diem costs in 1926 of $3.71. They have suffered a gradual reduction in such costs since 1923, as follows:

1923	$4.08
1924	3.89
1925	3.80
1926	3.71

The service rendered by Indian hospitals has been in keeping with the low appropriation made for hospital maintenance. Not alone has the staff been inadequate; the food supply has often been deplorable. A well balanced ration for invalids cannot be supplied

[a] United States Public Health Service, Annual Report, 1926.

on the present allowances. Not infrequently the hospital lacks a competent cook capable of preparing special diets.

The administrative records and practices in these hospitals have been poor. In many places this defect is recognized by the Indian Office and attempts are being made to remedy it.

Occasionally an entire Indian family is at the hospital, although only one member is ill. To induce the family to send the sick member it was necessary to take them all. It would seem that for the time being there is excuse for this practice, but it is believed that with the development of the medical and public health nursing service, it can gradually be discontinued. Contrary to statements made by some Service employees, it is not believed that this factor works a serious handicap in "tying-up" the hospital beds. It does, however, give a false picture as to the use of hospital beds and administratively is unsound.

It is desirable to consider at this point the use made of non-reservation hospitals in a fairly close proximity to some of the reservations. At Carson City, Nevada, the medical service is rendered by a contract physician who does not attempt major surgery. Indians in need of such service are sent to Reno, about thirty miles distant by hard surface road or railroad. The hospitals used are thoroughly modern and are equipped to give expert service. The patient has the additional advantage of the available consultation service the average city hospital affords. When his case has reached the point of convalescence he is discharged and allowed to complete that phase of his cure at the reservation hospital. This seems to be a very happy solution in the city hospital, and it precludes the necessity of trying to maintain a completely equipped hospital at an isolated point.

Most of the surgical treatment rendered the Oneida Indians at Keshena, Wisconsin, is obtained at Green Bay, Wisconsin. The same benefits result as at Carson City Hospital. A similar service is to be found occasionally on other reservations.

A somewhat different plan has been started at Cloquet, Minnesota, under the Consolidated Chippewa Agency. Under this jurisdiction are four general hospitals and one sanatorium. Cloquet is to be made the surgical hospital and is to receive all such cases from the various points on the reservation, excepting perhaps those too

acute to warrant travel. A capable surgeon at Cloquet has been engaged to do the surgical work, but unfortunately the agency officers are expecting him to do the general reservation work in that vicinity as well. If this surgeon, who is a busy man and not at all likely to have time to concern himself seriously with reservation work, were required to do the surgical work only, and another physician were supplied for general duty, the plan would be acceptable. The time available for the present survey did not permit of determining to what extent it is practicable for the Indian Service to make coöperative arrangements with existing local general or special hospitals, or to join with local white communities in providing new hospitals. The practice has so much to commend it on the ground of both economy and efficiency that the recommended Division of Planning and Development ought to work out plans for coöperation wherever it is practicable.

Sanatoria. No sanatorium in the Indian Service meets the minimum requirements of the American Sanatorium Association.

The administration of Indian Service sanatoria differs from that of its hospitals in that usually the sanatoria have a better qualified physician in charge.

The sanatorium facilities offered by the Indian Service are divided into two classes: sanatoria proper, or institutions taking active cases of tuberculosis, both children and adults; and sanatorium schools or institutions designed for cases of latent tuberculosis in children. These latter institutions correspond to the preventorium in principle, but differ in that they are not wholly confined to latent tuberculosis. They accommodate some cases of active tuberculosis.

Institutions classified as sanatoria or as sanatorium schools are located at eleven places. At seven are the so-called sanatorium schools, with a total bed capacity of 510 beds. At four are sanatoria proper with a total of 241 beds.

For convenience of discussion, they will be listed with their bed capacity, total days of treatment available, and the total days of care actually given during the fiscal years 1925 and 1926. It should be noted that the figures for the Laguna and the Chippewa institutions include also the data for general beds at these institutions.

At the appropriations hearings in 1926,[a] the Indian Office reported 83,306 Indians examined for tuberculosis (1925), with positive findings in 5142 cases. This is 6.2 per cent of the number examined. During the same year, 1695 Indian cases, or 33 per cent of those found were hospitalized for tuberculosis in sanatoria. Quite a large number of additional cases were hospitalized in agency and school hospitals. As this service was only of a temporary character and designed to care for cases awaiting transfer to

Indian Service statistics showing use of sanatoria beds in the Indian Service, 1926 and 1925

Institution	Bed capacity		Available days of treatment		Actual days of treatment		Percentage use of beds	
	1926	1925	1926	1925	1926	1925	1926	1925
All sanatoria	241	206	87,965	64,848	52,661	30,381	59.9	46.8
1. Laguna [a]	66	66	24,090	24,090	14,710	7,596	61.0	31.5
2. Navajo	30	30	10,950	10,950	9,227	8,726	84.2	79.6
3. Chippewa [a b] ..	120	85	43,800	20,683	22,516	6,730	51.4	32.5
4. Fort Spokane..	25	25	9,125	9,125	6,208	7,329	68.0	80.3
All sanatorium schools	510	535	186,150	173,375	148,847	135,458	79.9	78.1
1. Phœnix	120	120	43,800	43,800	31,117	34,030	74.0	77.7
2. Shawnee [c]	80	80	20,200	7,300	12,216	1,674	41.9	22.8
3. Fort Lapwai...	110	110	40,150	40,150	32,421	35,625	80.7	88.7
4. Sac and Fox...	80	80	29,200	29,200	28,663	29,429	98.1	100.7
5. Jicarilla	50	60	21,900	21,900	26,280	11,451	120.0	52.2
6. Choctaw-Chickasaw	60	60	21,900	21,900	18,120	17,157	82.7	78.3
7. Carson	..	25	....	....	....	6,092	....	66.7

[a] The Laguna Hospital and the Chippewa Hospital provide both for tuberculosis and for general cases. The figures here given include both classes of cases, because data distinguishing between the two classes are not available at the Indian Office. At Laguna 36 of the 66 beds are for tubercular patients and at Chippewa 97 of the 120 beds are for this use.
[b] In operation only eight months in 1925.
[c] In operation only three months in 1925.

sanatoria or their homes, it need not be considered in the present discussion.

The only information available on the medical activities of these sanatoria was obtained from the monthly hospital reports on file in the Indian Office. They are very incomplete and do not give a clear picture of the situation. For example, it was impossible to obtain from each of these institutions a classification of cases on admittance according to the stage of disease, or a classification according to the condition on discharge, whether quiescent, improved, or progressive, excepting deaths. As there is no method of follow-up for cases, nothing is known as to what becomes of them once they leave the hospital. Thus a measurement of the results obtained is impossible.

[a] House Hearings on Interior Department appropriations bill, 1928, p. 313.

The scanty information available is given in the accompanying table which indicates the type of service rendered:

Service rendered in sanatoria and sanatorium schools January 1 to June 30, 1926

Institution	Medical service					Surgical service		Termination of case through	
	Tuberculosis				Other diseases				
	Pulmonary	Bone	Gland	Not specified or other		Trachoma	Other operations	Death	Discharge
Laguna	130	4	...	...	65	180	80	6	192
Navajo	95	21	26	...	...	...	8	2	19
Chippewa	...	...	...	[c]366	93	3	11	10	122
Fort Spokane.	13	...	1	...	1	...	...	2	10
Phœnix	...	...	...	[c]486	1	...	...	8	73
Shawnee	22	5	6	1	5	18	...	2	43
Fort Lapwai..	507	...	73	[c] 57	271	...	14	2	76
Sac and Fox..	275	67	174	2	47	...	...	10	28
Jicarilla [b]	...	...	...	[c]216	[c]54	...	...	...	...
Choctaw-Chickasaw ..	134	4	6	1	288	...	...	7	65
Carson	32	26	26	1	69	10	20	4	37

[a] Character of tuberculosis not specified.
[b] Jicarilla report is for only three months.
[c] Influenza epidemic.

These figures obviously are open to question from several angles. At most they can be assumed to represent the number of cases treated.

As the two types of institutions are used for practically the same type of case, they can be discussed as a whole. With the exception of Fort Spokane and Jicarilla all were visited during the course of the survey. For convenience they will be considered from the standpoint of location, equipment, and administration.

The salvaging of abandoned forts and other discarded buildings has been resorted to in the sanatorium as well as in the hospital program. Laguna, Fort Lapwai, Phœnix, and Talihina are the only sanatoria that have been built for sanatorium purposes. All others are converted from old buildings originally designed for other purposes. One of the most recent sanatorium schools is located at Pyramid Lake, Nevada, in what was once a reform school.

At the time of its construction isolation was considered of prime importance. A branch line railroad runs within a mile of the institution, but it is of use only as a method of bringing in supplies, for its course does not make it convenient for passenger traffic. The nearest railroad point convenient for passengers is Wadsworth, Nevada, about eighteen miles distant over a primitive desert road, very difficult of passage during bad weather. Practically all patients coming from the states of Washington, Oregon, California, and points south, are transported overland from Reno, a distance of fifty miles, thirty-eight miles of which is improved highway. This means that patients sent from points in Washington and Oregon must travel approximately forty-eight hours to reach Reno, usually in a day coach, and then must travel by car overland. Obviously such a trip is beyond all reason for a case of active tuberculosis. The nearest city of any importance where consultation could be had is Reno. The location of this institution may be briefly characterized as impossible.

A plan has been under consideration, and funds have been appropriated, to rebuild the old Fort Simcoe property on the Yakima Reservation in the state of Washington as a sanatorium. It is located about ten miles from the nearest small town, and thirty miles from Yakima. The present buildings are those customarily found at an old fort. They are of frame construction and in a very bad state of repair. This property was used in years past as a boarding school, and at that time considerable difficulty was experienced in obtaining sufficient water. The buildings proposed for sanatorium use were gone over carefully, and they were found to be totally unsuited for this purpose. The amount of money necessary to convert them into an approved hospital would more than build an entirely new and modern unit, although this does not mean that such a unit could be obtained with the present appropriation of $50,000.

The location of other sanatoria visited is not subject to serious criticism.

The materials used in the construction of new sanatoria have not always been of a fire-resisting character. This is the case at Talihina, Phœnix, and Laguna. The fire hazard in all the institutions is great. None is entirely fire-resisting. This is due not alone to the material from which they are constructed, but also to the limited water supply as at Fort Lapwai, the poor water storage facilities as at Sac and Fox, and the absence of fire escapes as at Shawnee. Modern sanatoria are as substantially built as hospitals and are permanent buildings. In the end the greatest economy is found in concrete, stone, or brick materials. The old system of cottages, as used at Phœnix, and of large wards as used in all other Indian Service sanatoria, has been obsolete for years. The American Sanatorium Association for the past ten years or more has recommended a definite division of bed capacity according to the type of patient, as follows: Infirmary cases, or those confined to their beds, 40 per cent; semi-ambulant cases, or those who are in bed the majority of the time, about 35 per cent; ambulant cases, or those who are up most of the time, 25 per cent of the bed space.

These figures are based on the average use of sanatorium beds as observed in dozens of sanatoria all over the country. In other words, the average sanatorium, taking average cases of tuberculosis finds that 40 per cent or more of its cases are in need of infirmary treatment for a variable period of time. No evidence is available to indicate that the Indians would not require the same provision.

The infirmary space more than any other demands the most modern arrangement and equipment. The patients are bedfast and require the same bedside care as the acutely ill hospital cases receive. This type of case requires a large proportion of single rooms but some rooms should be provided for two and a few rooms for four, the exact ratio depending upon the size of the institution.

In the Indian Service it is rare to find a single isolation room for the terminal cases. Screens are used to segregate the patient from the others in the ward.

This faulty construction might be expected in the case of a converted boarding school, but it is also found in the newer buildings, such as Talihina, Laguna, Phœnix, and Fort Lapwai. Phœnix and Fort Lapwai are the only sanatoria said at this time to have infirmary buildings. At Phœnix a new frame unit has just been completed. It accommodates fifteen boys and the same number of girls in two wards. The only single rooms are for the employees. Other major faults in the planning of this unit were the presence of cross ventilation and the absence of sheltered porches, advisable in that climate. Four water closets and the same number of shower

baths are provided. A bed patient is seldom able to use a shower bath.

At Shawnee, Oklahoma, a sanatorium school has been established in a plant formerly used as a reservation school, and consequently not adapted to the present needs. A plan is under consideration to convert an old frame building on the place into an infirmary for bed cases. This unit is the poorest on the grounds. It is a fire trap, and is in no sense suited to the demands of a hospital.

At Fort Lapwai old reservation school buildings were utilized up until the past year or so. They have been replaced by three new units, two dormitory buildings, and a hospital. The dormitory buildings are identical in arrangement. They are built in the form of a quadrangle inclosing a court which has no outside entrance. The patients' quarters are divided into three ten-bed and two nineteen-bed wards, with no isolation facilities whatever in these buildings.

The hospital building, which is supposed to accommodate reservation patients as well as tuberculosis cases, has a total bed capacity of thirty-four. Only two of the beds are in single rooms and four are in double rooms. Without question the amount of money spent in rebuilding this institution, differently expended, would have produced a far more effective arrangement. This building is entirely lacking in scientific planning and arrangement. As it stands, it represents the practices of twenty years ago.

The patient's comfort in the modern sanatorium is further planned for in providing locker space for his clothing as well as dressing rooms, recreation rooms, and an assembly room. These facilities are lacking in all Indian Service sanatoria.

Though the patient's comfort in a sanatorium should be the first consideration, the space provided for medical and administrative purposes is almost as important. Such space in these sanatoria is usually limited. The doctor's office, record room, examining room, and laboratory are crowded into a single room.

Arrangements for artificial light and ventilation are little better in the new institutions than in the converted schools. Sun decks for heliotherapy are absent, as are most other modern arrangements for such treatment. At Onigum, quartz light therapy must be given in the doctor's office and examining room, the ventilation of which is poor. Much of the good from the ultra-violet lamp is probably offset by the stuffy vitiated air the patient must breathe while taking the treatment.

The sewage disposal plants operated in connection with many of these institutions are inadequate. Steps are now being taken to determine the efficiency of such facilities by Public Health Service sanitarians.

The medical superintendents of all these sanatoria are provided with a residence. In some instances the quarters are quite acceptable as is the case at Sac and Fox, Talihina, and Fort Lapwai. In others, notably Navajo and Laguna, the quarters are inferior. The housing facilities for other employees are generally poor. Space is provided either in the institution or in poorly equipped quarters outside. Those housed in the institution must use bed space that is needed by patients.

Fixed equipment, such as sanitary facilities, is frequently inadequate, both in number and in arrangement. In converted schools and buildings, Shawnee, for example, this equipment may be found entirely in the basement, a most unfortunate location when many patients are semi-bedfast. The bathing facilities provided are often showers instead of tubs. The abandoned school converted to serve as a sanatorium with the least possible re-arrangement, is almost invariably an inefficient institution.

The same unwise economy and lack of understanding of sanatorium requirements are reflected in the movable equipment. Sanatorium employees often complain that Indian children refuse to remain in bed, a refusal which is readily explainable when some of the beds are found to have sagging springs and lumpy mattresses. Bad beds are not universal but they are found too frequently. This condition is due in the main to the poor quality of equipment salvaged from other buildings, and the low grade of new equipment bought in the past. The Indian Office reports that from this time on, all such equipment will be purchased on specifications meeting the standards of other federal sanatoria. Properly treated, the tuberculosis case is required to spend longer periods in bed than the general hospital case, and the least the sanatorium can offer is a comfortable bed that will be conducive to the rest and relaxation the patient needs.

Other equipment, such as kitchen utensils, dishes, and food conveyors, is limited. Some of the sanatorium superintendents are

aware of the deficiencies in their buildings and equipments. They report that they have repeatedly asked for additional funds to rectify conditions, but in most instances with little result.

Laboratory equipment, both clinical and X-Ray, absolutely essential for a modern sanatorium, is likewise deficient. At present not a single sanatorium has an adequate clinical laboratory or an X-Ray outfit installed, but some provision is now being made for the purchase of X-Ray outfits. The occasional X-Ray examinations now made are done at outside laboratories. At Phœnix, these examinations cost seven dollars each. The clinical laboratory at Fort Lapwai was designed to be in connection with the drug room, a room without outside windows. At this sanatorium, space was provided for an X-Ray outfit in the basement of the hospital. The patients would have had to walk, or to be carried down a long stairway. Only the most insistent protest from a visiting officer against the recommendations of the Indian Office architect and the agency officers changed this location to the first floor. A large room on the first floor intended for dispensary purposes has been divided to accommodate this equipment when it arrives.

Approximately two thousand dollars has been allowed for an X-Ray outfit for this institution. This sum will purchase only a portable machine, better than nothing, but inadequate for the demands made upon such equipment in the modern sanatorium.

The Indian Service will have this year funds amounting to $3100 to secure X-Ray equipment for the Fort Lapwai sanatorium. This is intended to purchase one unit."

Actinotherapy in the form of quartz lights has been provided in the Chippewa, Fort Lapwai, Sac and Fox, and Talihina sanatoria. This method of treatment has been long accepted as of value, especially in extra-pulmonary forms of tuberculosis.

Occupational therapy equipment is not provided, and dental equipment is usually supplied by the traveling dentist.

Grade schools are operated in connection with all these institutions. The personnel in charge is of no higher standard than that found in the boarding schools.

" Hospitals at Forts Browning, Peck, and Lapwai are receiving X-ray equipment from savings and not by special appropriation. The budget for 1929 is asking for five portable units at $1600 each, and five standard with fluoroscope at $3000 each.

Drolet, of the New York Tuberculosis and Health Association, in 1926, reports a questionnaire survey of tuberculosis hospitalization in the United States." In this report, he states that in 177 institutions studied, the average cost of establishing a tuberculosis bed was $3761. In the Indian Service the cost per bed at Talihina was $766.66. Fort Lapwai and the Phœnix infirmary unit building costs in the Indian Service are lower than on the outside partly because labor and oftentimes materials are cheaper. This, however, does not account for all of the discrepancy. A casual comparison of Indian Service sanatoria with the average state, county or city sanatorium will reveal at once the very poor construction and equipment provided.

The expenditures made for maintenance of sanatoria and the average per diem costs are listed in the accompanying table.

Drolet, in the study mentioned above, furnishes information on this point for 198 institutions representing 32,073 beds. The average cost of maintenance per patient was $21.60 per week for beds used, or $3.08 per day. With this figure of $3.08 may be contrasted the Indian Service figures of $1.36 for sanatoria and $1.95 for sanatorium schools.

Indian Service statistics showing per diem costs in sanatoria, 1926 and 1925

	Per diem 1926	Per diem 1925
Average	$1.36	$1.73
1. Fort Spokane	1.47	1.64
2. Laguna	1.36	2.48
3. Navajo	1.25	1.07

Indian Service statistics showing per diem costs in sanatorium schools, 1926 and 1925

	Per diem 1926	Per diem 1925
Average	$1.95	$2.26
1. Phœnix	1.82	1.31
2. Shawnee	3.12	5.75
3. Fort Lapwai	1.43	1.28
4. Sac and Fox	1.63	1.54
5. Carson	*	1.76
6. Choctaw-Chickasaw	1.77	1.97

* This hospital ran only three months in 1925.

" *American Review of Tuberculosis*, December, 1926, XIV, No. 6.

The low cost of maintenance in Indian Service sanatoria can be accounted for in the following manner:

1. Salaries paid the superintendent and employees are lower than the average in other institutions. This is especially true in relation to other federal sanatoria.

2. The staff is always less per unit of patient population. This makes it necessary to have much of the service done by patients. The lack of order and cleanliness in institutions is doubtless a reflection of this same situation.

3. The lack of equipment to render reasonable service saves much money, but at the same time it results in inferior treatment. This fact, combined with that of limited personnel, is definitely reflected in the impermanence of results obtained with discharged patients. In the State of Washington, frequent comments were heard from tuberculosis workers not in the Indian Service, as well as from Indians, that the discharged patient from Indian Service sanatoria did not remain in an arrested condition of health as long as those from state and county institutions.

4. A difficulty that has existed in the past, but is not so prevalent now, is the authority the agency superintendents have exercised over administrative policies of the institution. Not appreciating the needs and requirements, they have ignored the pleas of the physician for additional employees, and insisted that sick children able to be up and around should devote their activities to some occupation or service about the building.

In connection with these figures it should be said that the many elements of cost, such as food, technical service, heating, repairs, special activities, and depreciation, should be higher in Indian Service sanatoria because of their location than in institutions more favorably situated. These items caused a wide variation in cost in the institutions studied by Drolet. He found the highest maintenance cost in federal institutions.

The physicians in charge of the Phœnix, Fort Lapwai, Sac and Fox, and Talihina institutions have all had some special training in tuberculosis work. The superintendent at Chippewa is taking a special course in tuberculosis this summer at Colorado Springs. The other superintendents have had no special training. For the most part, all these employees have been fairly permanent. The marked exception is at Pyramid Lake, where in eleven months of

operation, there have been seven physicians, and, as far as could be learned, only one of them was qualified for the position. Except at Phœnix, Sac and Fox, and Talihina, the superintendent is supposed to perform some reservation duties in addition to his hospital work.

The nursing personnel for all sanatorium patients is far below the accepted ratio of one to seven for bed and one to thirty for ambulant cases. Matrons not trained and frequently unsympathetic are often depended upon for nursing service. At Fort Lapwai a matron was punishing three tubercular boys by requiring them to take their afternoon rest on the floor in a draughty hall instead of in bed.

That the staff of employees as a whole is below that requisite to render approved service will be seen from the accompanying table:

Indian Service statistics showing employees in sanatoria and sanatorium schools, April, 1927

Class of institution	Bed capacity *	Total employees	Doctors	Contract doctors	Nurses	Others	Ratio per bed	Percentage deficiency (basis 1:2)
Totals ...	814	166	10	1	21	134	1:4.9	59.23
Sanatoria ...	241	42	3	....	9	30	1:5.7	65.14
Sanatorium schools	573	124	7	1	12	104	1:4.5	56.71
Ratio per bed capacity	....	1:4.9	1:81.4	1:81.4	1:38.8	1:6.1	...	...

* Bed capacity is as of November, 1926.

If it is assumed that the actual use of these beds approximates 79 per cent in any one year, there was still a deficiency in all employees. The same factors must be considered in these figures as were outlined under Hospitals.[*]

The conditions described above are sure to react on the results obtained with patients. All cases hospitalized are supposed to have some form of active tuberculosis, and the fact alone demands that the greatest care and precision characterize the treatment accorded

[*] See page 284.

them in the hospital. The inadequate care of the patients may be summarized as follows:

1. Patients often travel long distances by day coach and over land by auto to reach a sanatorium, a trip that in itself is inadvisable.

2. On entrance to the sanatorium, the patient is not given a complete and careful examination because the physician claims that he is usually so overworked that he does not have the time. Possibly in some instances initiative is also lacking. The available records in sanatoria do not indicate that complete examinations have been made. The physician in charge is further handicapped because of lack of X-Ray and laboratory facilities. The intelligent handling of tuberculosis cases depends, it should be added, upon the accuracy and completeness of diagnoses at the outset.

3. Frequent re-examinations are not uniformly a part of the routine in Indian Service sanatoria. The admittance examination is only a beginning. It is customary to make frequent re-examinations, depending upon the condition of the case in question.

4. Indian Service sanatoria have no segregation of bed space, nor sufficient personnel with which to assure the observation of cases in bed on admittance. On an average, from 40 to 50 per cent of patients admitted to sanatoria are in need of definite bed care for periods of time varying from a few weeks to months. Only the desperately ill Indians are accorded such care.

5. Insufficient personnel necessitates relying upon the patients to do a certain amount of manual labor. Although this practice is permissible in some cases no scientific selection is made in the Indian Service, and doubtless many patients are required to work who would be far better off in bed.

6. A large proportion of patients in these sanatoria are suffering from extra-pulmonary forms of tuberculosis that could be definitely benefited by actinotherapy, either by exposure to natural irradiation or the artificial quartz light therapy. Practically none of the former is being done, and not enough of the latter.

7. Artificial pneumothorax, an approved method of treating selected cases of pulmonary tuberculosis, is not being used in a single Indian Service sanatorium. The explanation usually offered is that the Indian will not remain once he feels his strength returning, and that no facilities exist for continuing the treatment when

he is discharged. Although there is doubtless an element of truth in both statements, this method has not been given a real trial. The Sac and Fox Sanatorium has been able to keep its patients on an average of 385 days. Much could be accomplished in that time, and it is not improbable that a longer length of stay could be secured if other facilities were available, such, for instance, as an up-to-date occupational therapy department. No well developed program of occupational therapy is being carried out in these sanatoria, important as it is, considering the economic condition of the Indians.

8. Treatment through exercise is not scientifically applied in the Indian Service sanatoria, for it requires an intimate knowledge of the case. Exercise properly administered has an important place in the treatment of tuberculosis, because it prepares the patient nearing an arrest of the disease to withstand the strain of returning to his ordinary life.

The medical records kept of patients reflect the general conditions described above. A careful examination of available records in Indian Service sanatoria shows that the forms on which to chart clinical data are meagre. Not a single institution maintains a complete case record of its patients. A beginning could be made by completing the present meagre forms but better ones are necessary for good work.

The very minimum standard record requirements include forms providing for the following data:

1. Social report
2. Medical history
3. Physical examination
4. Chest examination
5. Re-examination
6. Laboratory report
7. X-Ray report
8. Special reports (eye, ear, nose and throat, dental, etc.)
9. Temperature chart—graphic
10. Weight chart—graphic
11. Nurse's progress report
12. Physician's progress report
13. Physician's orders
14. Record of daily activities
15. Report to agency

In addition, a well ordered sanatorium keeps the following forms:

1. Statistical record of cases
2. Case summary
3. Pneumothorax record
4. Tuberculin record
5. Heliotherapy record
6. Occupational therapy record

Such records as were found in the Indian Service were generally on small cards, or often on a single form. The superintendent at Leech Lake was attempting to make use of form No. 5-353 used by the Indian Service. This form is defective because of its awkward size and arrangement. At Phœnix, the most complete assortment of record forms was found. The forms included:

1. Entrance examination
2. Monthly examination chart
3. History chart
4. Report of patient's condition

At the outset of this discussion, it was stated that the Indian Service was not making a clear distinction between the use of its sanatoria proper and its sanatorium schools. The sanatorium is an institution designed for the open case of tuberculosis. The sanatorium school, if it is supposed to fill the place of the preventorium, should take only the incipient and contact cases of tuberculosis. These are children who have been "contacts" in a home with tuberculosis or who are malnourished and in all probability are likely to develop tuberculosis if not given systematic care.

The prevalence of tuberculosis among Indians, their seriously defective dietetic habits, and their low economic standards would indicate that there are large numbers of children of this type who would be benefited by preventorium care. Unquestionably a fair percentage of children in the government schools would fall within this classification. At Tulalip, for example, out of a population of 250 children, forty were found with evidence of latent or quiescent tuberculosis. The children at this school came from homes in which the disease was widely disseminated. The very poorly balanced ration served at these schools plays no small part in increasing their susceptibility.

No effort has been made to rehabilitate the Indian once he leaves the sanatorium. A person who has had tuberculosis, even though he may have achieved a quiescence of his disease while in the sanatorium, is not necessarily in a condition to be returned to his old life. In the white population nearly fifty per cent of discharged sanatorium cases relapse within two years. The Indian's inherently low resistance and lack of immunity and the deplorable home he often returns to would seem to require that he be carried under supervision for a longer period than the white to assure the permanency of the arrest of his disease.

Institutions of colonies established to meet this need in the general population make provision for teaching the patient some vocation that he can follow with safety. They include selected types of agriculture, poultry raising, certain building trades, clerical work, and other occupations found suitable. Indian handicrafts open a very wide field of activity for the Indian patient. These combined with other established occupations would make it relatively easy to meet the needs of the Indian patients.

The institutions used for this purpose are not of the sanatorium type. As the idea is to adjust the patient gradually to the conditions he must face at home, dormitories are used as a measure of economy. Cottages, however, would undoubtedly serve better, especially for the man or woman with a family, for thus the patient could live under more nearly natural conditions while carrying out the hardening up process.

In this type of work it is frequently necessary and desirable to provide for the family of the patient in which case a percentage of his earnings goes to cover the cost of family maintenance. This type of service is of course intended for the adult and does not apply to children who are in need of further schooling.

In time it is conceivable that small colonies will be built up somewhat similar to the colony at Coolidge, New Mexico, where for commercial purposes Indians are producing a very high grade of weaving and silver handicraft that has a ready market. It is assured and understood that such a project for the tuberculous should be under the direction of medical authority.

A discussion of sanatorium facilities in the Indian Service would not be complete without reference to their relative size and ability

to meet the needs in the Indian Service and the needs of the various reservations.

The accepted formula for estimating these needs is one bed for each annual death, averaged over a ten-year period. The most accurate figure obtainable for the Indians is an annual average of 1076 deaths for the period 1916-25. The sanatoria and sanatorium schools in 1926 provided a total of 814 beds, or 75.6 per cent of the number of deaths reported. On the average about 74 per cent of these beds have been used which indicates that approximately 55 per cent of the minimum needs were served.

The number of Indians admitted to state, county, and city sanatoria is unknown. Conferences with a few superintendents in these institutions would indicate that the number is small, although such service is available in many instances. The exact causes for non-use of such facilities is not known accurately, but it is believed that lack of funds plays no small part. Another cause may be the hesitation of the Indians to accept hospitalization in an institution in which there are no other Indians. Again, in the majority of states, the existing facilities are inadequate for the white population, and therefore little effort is made to encourage the Indians to accept hospitalization. This is well illustrated in Montana, with a total of 434 deaths from tuberculosis in 1924 and with 150 civilian beds, and 211 beds for veterans of the Army and Navy, including Indians. This latter group of beds serves many out-of-state cases. If all beds were used for Montana residents, a shortage of seventy-three would still exist.

Within the past year or so many requests have come from the various agencies to establish beds for the tuberculous on their reservations, either separately or in connection with their hospitals. Invariably they ask for small units of from ten to fifteen beds, hoping to care for all stages of the disease. They offer three arguments in support of this request. First, a serious need for isolation of the open case to prevent the further spread of the disease; second, the reluctance of the Indians to accept hospitalization off the reservation; and third, the belief that small units are more economical than large ones, which opinion apparently is based on their difficulty in obtaining appropriations in the past. The Indian Office apparently has a similar belief in this matter.

Such a solution of the problem is not deemed to be sound, and it is out of harmony with present methods of handling the tuberculous.

Tuberculous patients may be easily grouped into two general classes; the curable and the incurable. The curable case may be in the early or in a more advanced stage of the disease, but in either case it is believed that the patient will respond to proper treatment in a variable period of time and therefore will require a very different course of treatment from the incurable or terminal case. This latter type of case is hopeless, and consequently the most to be done is to make the patient comfortable and keep him from infecting others.

The sanatorium is first and last a curative institution, and requires many special facilities for the treatment of its cases, as well as especially trained personnel, whereas the terminal case can be cared for by the regular hospital service.

All the national health and medical agencies have for years recognized the advisability of hospitalizing the terminal case at the general hospital, rather than at the sanatorium. If the two types of case are placed in the same institution, difficulties at once arise. Frequent deaths in an institution will discourage the curable patients and in a short time cast a shadow over the institution, thus affecting other cases that should come in. This has been the history of practically every institution attempting to hospitalize all stages of tuberculosis. The accepted plan, therefore, has been a sanatorium for the curable case and isolation beds in general hospitals for the incurable. Of course, any sanatorium, no matter how carefully it selects cases will get some that are terminal, but the practice is not to take such cases if it can be avoided.

Sanatoria cannot be operated economically in units of less than forty or fifty beds. From this minimum up to 150 and 200 bed institutions, is found the greatest economy. Institutions of this size warrant the employment of a trained physician and the adoption of acceptable standards of operation.

The general belief that Indians cannot be induced to leave their reservation for sanatorium care has not been borne out by the experience at the Phœnix and Sac and Fox sanatoria. Both of these institutions draw patients representing various tribes from

long distances. At Sac and Fox the average length of stay has been somewhat over 385 days, and the superintendent reports that he has no particular difficulty in keeping patients as long as he wishes them to stay. With the Indians' appreciation of good treatment and a sympathetic understanding on the part of the hospital authorities, no valid reason seems to exist for contending that they would not accept treatment at a well operated sanatorium off their reservation.

To build small units would mean poor equipment and operation, a restricted service, and in the end, false economy. If, however, the small units proposed for general hospitals are to be used for advanced cases and for isolating terminal cases, the plan is good. A few general hospitals in the Service, such as Rosebud and Cheyenne River, could with a small amount of alteration or addition readily care for this type of case.

As the need for sanatoria is obvious, it will be well to illustrate the problem by a definite situation. An analysis of the deaths from tuberculosis on the reservations in Montana indicates that there are not fewer than one hundred per year; thus an equal number of beds is required. If these beds were divided among the six reservations, it would mean a number of small units each receiving a part-time service from the regular agency physician who is not trained in tuberculosis work. It would result in a mere repetition of the ineffectively operated hospital now in existence and little if any really constructive help could be rendered to the curable patient. It would not be as economical to employ six specialists for these units as it would be to provide two for a single institution.

On the other hand, allowing an average of five beds for isolation purposes at each reservation, need still exists for an institution of seventy beds, manned by trained personnel and properly equipped. A thoroughly modern service could be rendered in an institution of this size.

The idea of economy in building small units is erroneous. The prevention and cure of tuberculosis is not measured by the money spent in buildings, but rather by the results obtained with individual cases. Thus a multitude of small inefficient units in the end would result in greater loss of life and a questionable degree of isolation of cases.

Hiawatha Hospital for Insane Indians. One hospital for the insane is operated by the Indian Service. It is located at Canton, South Dakota. It has the highest average use of available beds of any hospital in the Indian Service. For some time it has averaged approximately 100 per cent. In 1926 the average was 102 per cent.

The prevalence of insanity among Indians is not known, though the general impression is that such cases are proportionately less numerous among Indians than among the average white population. It is reported that some cases are hospitalized in state institutions. The constant demands made on the Hiawatha Hospital would indicate that there are many more than are receiving care.

At Hiawatha are two hospital buildings with several additional service buildings. The central portion of the main building contains the administrative quarters and the culinary section on the first floor, and the employees' living quarters on the second floor. The patients' quarters are in laterals extending from either side of the central portion, on the first and second floors. The basement contains the bakery and ample storage space.

The kitchen and dining room have tiled floors and are ample in size. At the time of the visit of the survey staff the range was out of order and the supply of kitchen utensils and of hot water was limited. A refrigeration outfit supplies ample refrigeration.

The bakery, located in the basement, was in disorder and the oven was in a bad state of repair.

The patients' quarters provide for males on one side and females on the other. The arrangement of these sections in all four wards is identical. There is one twelve-bed ward for adults and children; one eight-bed ward; and two one-bed rooms. The sanitary facilities for the twenty-two patients in each ward consist of two lavatories, two water closets, not enclosed, one slop sink, and one drinking fountain. Windows are screened with a fairly light weight iron screening attached and not built in. Equipment is confined almost entirely to iron beds.

The hospital building is located about fifty yards from the main building. On the first floor is a good sized dining room in great disorder. The club dining room for employees is located in the central section and to the rear. The patients' quarters on this floor consist of one five-bed ward with a porch and one fourteen-bed dormitory. On the second floor is the operating room;

its only equipment was two lavatories and a slop sink. On this floor are also located one five-bed porch, one four-bed room, and one twelve-bed ward. In addition, there were three employees' rooms. In one of the patients' rooms, two patients were sleeping on the springs of a bed placed on the floor. The sanitary facilities for each floor consist of one water closet, one lavatory, and one tub.

In this building males are hospitalized on the second floor and females on the first. Children were housed with adults, as in the main building.

The institution operates a farm of approximately 325 acres. The produce consists of the usual garden vegetables and feed for the dairy herd, which at the time of the visit consisted of eighteen certified milk cows. The milk supply is reported to be adequate for patients and employees. The dairy barn was very disorderly, due to the dependence on patient labor.

Water is obtained from two deep wells, the second of which has just been completed. Sewage is discharged directly into the Canton City disposal plant. The power plant and laundry are located in a separate building to the rear of the main unit. Both were in disorder.

The superintendent has a very attractive cottage near the main building.

Unfortunately the superintendent was away on leave at the time of the survey visit and the nurse in charge had arrived only a few weeks previously, so that it was impossible to obtain much information relative to patients. Later correspondence showed the following types of patients present in June, 1927, about one month after the visit:

Epilepsy	16
Dementia præcox	31
Imbecility	17
Constitutional inferiority	3
Idiocy	8
Senile dementia	7
Paranoia	1
Intox. psychoses	4
Manic-depressive	3
Undiagnosed	2

The length of residence was high, as is indicated by the following table:

One year or less	6
One to two years	5
Two to three years	2
Three to four years	1
Four to five years	15
Five or more years	65

Deaths for five years past were reported as follows:

1923	14
1924	2
1925	2
1926	5
1927	4

One birth occurred in 1926, the result of co-habitation between patients.

As stated previously adults and children are housed in the same quarters; only the more violent cases are segregated in single rooms. Cases of tuberculosis were reported in the hospital building, but no precautions were being taken to protect the other patients from them, nor were their dishes sterilized.

It was impossible to study the diet served patients, as no file of menus was available. On the day of the visit, it consisted of a stew of meat and carrots, with more fat and bones than anything else, thin apple sauce, bread, and coffee. Proper facilities, such as tables in ward dining rooms, and personnel to supervise the patients at their meals, were lacking. Several patients were eating from the floor.

Since the personnel in attendance is untrained and limited in number, the patients receive but a minimum of care. The first trained nurse for this institution was engaged in April, 1927. She received her training at St. Elizabeth's Hospital in Washington, D. C., and appeared to be very capable but bewildered at the responsibilities thrust upon her. This institution had twenty-four employees, including farmers, day laborers, and those engaged in caring for patients.

As in all institutions of this character, much of the manual labor about the place is done by patients who are able to work. Clinical records of cases in this institution are inadequate. It was impossible to obtain a complete picture of the case from the available notes. A monthly statement of the physical condition of each patient is sent to the superintendents of the agencies from which they came.

One case in particular was studied; a young boy sent there from Arizona. The facts in the case as presented in clinical notes and correspondence would indicate that the reservation superintendent was determined to have this boy hospitalized, despite the fact that the superintendent of the hospital reported repeatedly that he was not a case for this institution, as he had been unable, after several months of observation to determine any sufficient cause for hospitalization. At the time of the survey visit, correspondence was still in progress between the two superintendents and the Indian Office. It seemed obvious, however, that the agency superintendent was determined to be rid of this boy. This conclusion was strengthened after comparing notes with a member of the survey staff who had studied the facts of the case on the reservation from which the boy came. He was subsequently sent home.

Recommendations. 1. In the future far more study and planning should be done before hospitals are constructed.

The first point to be determined is the real need for a hospital in the general community. The established hospitals in communities adjacent to the Indian reservations should first be given thorough consideration. As eventually the Indian is expected to amalgamate with the local community, wherever possible he should use established hospitals. Such a procedure will prevent overbuilding and assure the patient the services of a well equipped hospital and good diagnostic treatment and consultation service. If no established hospitals are available, steps should be taken to ascertain whether the local white community and the Indian Service can coöperate in a plan to develop a hospital which will be of general service to the community, providing both the Indians and the whites with a service superior to that which either could secure if acting alone.

The second point to be determined is the proper location of the hospital with due regard to the community which it is to serve. How are patients, doctors, and nurses to get to it? How is it to get its supplies? These questions, if frankly faced, will generally avoid utilizing some isolated old buildings, improperly located for use as a hospital.

The third question is the size and design of the hospital. The size should depend on the facts obtained by the survey to show need and probable use. The design should be worked out by experts in hospital planning or by the utilization of the work of experts. Numerous sets of plans are available emphasizing interior arrangement and equipment. The Hospital Library Bureau, Chicago, Illinois, will lend such material without charge. The following basic requirements should be met in all new hospitals constructed and in those reconstructed: (a) Isolation rooms, (b) maternity wards separate from other wards with necessary sanitary facilities, (c) an operating unity providing separate room or rooms, depending on size of the hospital, for sterilizer and service equipment, (d) one or more rooms, depending on the size of the hospital, for laboratory equipment, X-Ray, and special treatment facilities, (e) one or more rooms to serve as physicians' and nurses' offices, and (f) preferably a separate examining room. Living quarters for the employees should be outside the hospital.

The fixed equipment in hospitals should be located to promote efficiency in its use and should be designed with a capacity equal to the demands to be made upon it. The ratio of fixed equipment to patients should approximate for lavatories one to six, for water closets one to eight, and for tubs one to ten.

X-Ray equipment, preferably stationary, should be installed in every well equipped hospital.

The rooms should be equipped with comfortable beds and mattresses and with suitable lockers and bedside facilities.

The fourth and final question to be considered in planning the hospital is the cost. If due consideration is given to the needs of the community as a whole the buildings should be permanent structures to meet a lasting community need. The material used should be reasonably fire-resisting and should insure a low maintenance cost. The cost should be accurately figured and the estimates presented to Congress. If the plan is to build a part at once and subsequently to develop the institution further the original plans should give enough detail to present the ultimate scheme. It is to be hoped that Congress will give careful consideration to the plan as a whole and will appropriate in accordance with it so that the facilities provided will meet community needs. The recommended Division of Planning and Development should insofar as possible work out arrangements for coöperation between the Indian Service and the state and local governments for a division of the cost in constructing and operating hospitals which will meet all local needs.

2. The personnel in hospitals should be materially improved. In hospitals of sixty beds or more the physician should be on a full-time basis and should be specially selected on the basis of his qualifications for this type of work. A graduate nurse should be in charge of the nursing activities in each hospital. The ratio of graduate nurses to patients should be one to ten. The number of assistants and other employees should be sufficient to bring the ratio at least to three employees to five patients. A competent cook, capable of preparing special diets, should be employed.

3. The per diem allowance for hospital maintenance should approximate that in other well administered hospitals. The figure in the Public Health Service hospitals is approximately $3.71 and in general hospitals approximately $4 per day. This increased expenditure should result in the serving of better food specially adapted to the requirements of the individual patients.

4. Some hospitals at present in use can be arranged to accommodate cases of tuberculosis by making available space now used by employees, by installing heating equipment and by increasing the hospital staff.

5. The Indian Service should adopt for its hospitals the standards established by the American College of Surgeons for accredited hospitals. These standards cannot be met immediately but they should be achieved in the course of a reasonable time, say three to five years.

6. As is the case in hospitals, the first sanatorium need is for a careful detailed study to determine the number of beds needed for the tuberculous. The basis for the computation should be the minimum formula of one bed for each annual death. The number of deaths should be averaged for a considerable period, preferably ten years.

7. Before the Indian Service itself undertakes to construct and operate new sanatoria it should determine the possibility of cooperative relationships with state or local institutions. Wherever possible it should utilize such institutions, even if it is necessary to use federal appropriations to pay the cost of having the Indians hospitalized in their sanatoria. The use of federal funds to assist in the expansion of their institutions would in some instances be justified if a fair cooperative agreement could be reached.

8. The existing figures indicate the need for a minimum of 250 sanatorium beds for Indians. A more careful survey would tend to raise rather than lower this figure, since it is based on incomplete reports of deaths from tuberculosis. Exactly where these beds should be provided should be determined by the detailed survey, but certain suggestions can be offered at this time.

At selected reservation hospitals provision should be made for incurable cases of tuberculosis. The number of beds required at the hospitals selected will probably be found to be from five to twenty. Space not now available should be made so by installing necessary equipment, by supplying employees with living quarters outside the hospital, or by other necessary action. In some cases small additions should be built.

For the care of cases believed curable, sanatoria of fifty beds or more, depending on the needs, should be constructed at those points in the several districts that will serve the greatest number most economically. The State of Washington, east of the Cascades, the State of Montana, and the Navajo country are three locations that, according to present data, seem desirable. The exact location should be determined with due consideration of accessibility to transportation centers, supplies, and medical consultants.

The needs of the Navajos require the construction of a thoroughly modern sanatorium of from fifty to seventy-five beds to be a unit in the proposed hospital center for that territory.

New infirmary units should be constructed for Sac and Fox, Talihina, and Chippewa.

9. In planning new sanatoria and in adding to existing ones the advisory services of specialized national organizations should be sought and plans should be carefully developed with due regard to needs. The plans should be carefully worked out to show costs and the data presented to Congress. As sanatorium planning and construction lends itself well to the expansion idea, funds may be sought first for the administrative and infirmary sections and later for the ambulant and semi-ambulant sections. It is hoped that Congress will insist upon the submission of detailed plans and statements for needs and that the practice of providing insufficient data will be discontinued.

10. The practice of salvaging old buildings and converting them into sanatoria should likewise be discontinued. In this connection

it is specifically recommended that the institution at Pyramid Lake be entirely abandoned because it is too remote for efficient administration and because most of the plant is not adapted for use as a sanatorium. The proposal to convert old Fort Simcoe into a sanatorium should be abandoned for like reasons. A sanatorium is needed in this district, but it should be at an accessible point and have buildings suited to the requirements. The present plan to provide an infirmary at Shawnee is also bad. An entirely new unit is needed and should be built in accordance with approved plans.

11. The equipment of all sanatoria in the Indian Service should be brought up to the standards of the American Sanatorium Association. All sanatoria should be equipped with X-Ray, clinical laboratory appliances, quartz light, pneumothorax, and material for occupational therapy. Indian handicrafts, such as bead work, basketry, and weaving, offer great possibilities for occupational therapy.

12. The personnel at the sanatoria should be materially improved. The medical director in charge should have had special training in the care and treatment of tuberculosis. If sanatoria have more than sixty patients an additional full-time medical assistant should be provided for each additional sixty patients or major fraction thereof. Each sanatorium should have as superintendent of nurses a graduate of a recognized sanatorium training school or at least of a general hospital. For the care of bed patients the ratio of nurses to patients should be one to seven, and for the care of ambulant cases one to thirty. At least 10 per cent of the bedside nurses should be graduates. A sufficient number of employees should be available to do the necessary work about the sanatorium. Patient labor should only be used when the physician certifies that the work required will be in no way injurious to the patient. The amount of such labor will be negligible.

13. The medical service at these sanatoria should embrace the following points:

(a) Complete records on suitable forms
(b) Complete history, X-Ray examination, and sputum, urine and Wassermann tests, within twenty-four hours after arrival
(c) Re-examination every two months if patient is doing well, and at least every two weeks if doing badly
(d) Visit to bed patients by physicians once daily

(e) Visits to ambulant patients by doctor or nurse daily
(f) Weekly weighing
(g) Proper disposal of infectious material
(h) Adequate consultation service
(i) Careful regulation of activities in accordance with physical condition
(j) Use of actinotherapy in suitable cases
(k) Use of artificial pneumothorax in suitable cases
(l) Provision for recreation, religious, and instructional needs

14. Appropriations for administration and maintenance of sanatoria should be raised to a point comparable with accepted practice. The average cost is approximately three dollars a day. The exact figure will depend in part on the degree of isolation.

15. The water supply at each sanatorium should be approximately two hundred gallons per day per capita. This supply will insure adequate fire protection but fire escapes should be installed on all buildings of two stories or more not yet so equipped. All chemical extinguishers should be recharged once a year and properly labelled. The water supply should be analyzed twice a year.

16. The sanatorium school of the preventorium type is recommended for the Indian Service. This type of school takes not the open cases of tuberculosis, but the "contacts" and the undernourished. The thorough medical examination recommended for boarding schools should indicate the need in these institutions. A thorough survey should be made of Indian children in public schools and in day schools, and provision should be made in accordance with ascertained needs. The educational facilities for children in sanatorium schools should be of as high a standard as is recommended for Indian schools in general.

17. The personnel at Hiawatha Hospital should be materially increased. A graduate nurse should be in charge of each building in which patients are housed. A sufficient subordinate personnel should be employed so that some one will always be on duty day and night in all wards or buildings. Additional laborers should be employed to supervise the operation of the institution farm and dairy and to keep them in reasonable condition.

18. Arrangements should be made at this institution for the segregation of (a) epileptics, (b) children, and (c) the tuberculous.

19. Material improvement should be made in equipment of this hospital. The kitchen and the bakery should be given special atten-

tion. A plentiful supply of hot water should be always available. For the less violent patients, tables and chairs should be provided.

20. A system of records conforming to accepted psychiatric practice in hospitals for the insane should be installed.

Health Conditions in the Boarding Schools. Of the seventy-eight government boarding schools and fifty-two mission boarding schools, sixty-four and thirty, respectively, were visited by one or more members of the survey staff. Certain fundamental data have been carefully compared and the following discussion is based on what may be considered the average conditions to be found in them, although, as has frequently been pointed out, variations between the best and the worst are wide and the best frequently have some weak points and the worst some good ones. For convenience of discussion, the subject will be treated under several headings.

Design and Capacity of Dormitories. Large dormitories are found almost invariably. Some have sleeping porches added to increase their capacity, usually at the expense of the light and ventilation of the inner rooms. Occasional dormitories have been built with some rooms for from four to eight pupils and a few have a number of small rooms for two. Some changes have been made in the design of these buildings since the first ones were built. The newer units show evidence of a more advanced knowledge of school construction.

The desirable cubage per child for dormitory construction is usually estimated at at least six hundred cubic feet. Indian schools in most instances fall far below that figure. The percentage of window space to wall space is low in Indian schools, and hence ventilation is often unsatisfactory. In some instances this is aggravated by the practice of nailing down windows in girls' dormitories.[21] The only sections assured of adequate ventilation are the porches, and generally they are not ideal, as several sides of the porch are exposed.

Heating facilities are often limited. Either the radiation surface is inadequate or the capacity of the power plant is insufficient. This applies especially to sanitary sections and dressing rooms and frequently to sleeping quarters.

[21] The Indian Office has taken steps to eradicate this practice.

The Washington office has requested all schools to install ventilators. They are boards inserted in the window frame to divert the current of air. In some instances they are adequate but in many they are not, because the arrangement of windows and the orientation of the buildings cause a direct and often strong draft directly over the child.

A few buildings are in use the safety of which is open to question. The outstanding illustration is the boys' dormitory at Santa Fé, which has been condemned for some time because of serious cracks in the main walls, but regardless of that fact the number of children housed in it has been increased. The steam boilers at this school are buckled, making it unsafe to carry a head of steam really sufficient to heat the radiators.

It was not possible in all instances to make detailed measurements of the dormitories to compute the cubage allowed per pupil. In one or two instances, fairly representative of conditions in the great majority of dormitories, the cubage was found to be very low. A series of such computations was made in schools in the northwest by the district United States Public Health Service officer. His report is in the Indian Office and reveals the same overcrowding. Viewing these dormitories at first hand, it was hardly necessary actually to compute this factor when in dormitory after dormitory beds were found very close together, often even touching each other.

This problem of housing is so serious that a few of the numerous instances should be mentioned. The Pipestone School has a new porch on the boys' dormitory which is said to give adequate space. This porch in itself is adequate, but in building it, a large dormitory was deprived of three windows, leaving only a single outside window for about thirty-five beds, which were separated from one another by only a few inches. The three windows between the new porch and the old dormitory are still in place, thus allowing at best the window space of one and a half windows. The inner rooms were very poorly lighted, and the air was greatly vitiated. At the Carson School the same porch idea was recommended for the boys' dormitory over the protest of the superintendent. In practically every instance observed where the capacity of a building was increased by sleeping porches, it was at the expense of the

inner rooms.[a] The building at the Carson School was in such a bad state of repair and was so poorly arranged that the greatest real economy would have been effected by replacing it entirely. Furnishing a sharp contrast to this dormitory were the very modern horse and dairy barns. Such contrasts are not uncommon in the Indian Service. The farm buildings are often of recent construction and of most modern design. At Santa Fé, twenty-five thousand dollars was put into a gymnasium, although as has been pointed out the boys were housed in a building that had been condemned.

The overcrowding of rooms with beds is not the only problem. In a few instances, two children were in a single bed, not because they preferred it to keep warm during the cold nights, but because no room was left to place additional beds. A single instance might have been excused but in one case as many as thirty children were accommodated two in a bed.

Every available space that will accommodate beds is often pressed into service. Thus children are frequently quartered on attic floors, in closely placed beds, with the same lack of light and air. Not infrequently in these attic dormitories the fire hazard is serious. In a school recently renovated, for example, approximately seventy girls were quartered on the third floor of a building of temporary construction. The only fire escape for this floor was located off a store room at the rear of the building. The entrance to this escape was securely locked and the matron kept the key. In case of a fire coming up the stairway, it would be impossible for these girls to escape through the windows onto the roof. Locked fire escapes and nailed windows were sometimes found in girls' dormitories. The explanation offered was that such measures are necessary to keep the sexes separated. At some schools this is not done, and the matrons, who are usually of a higher type, do not report any particular difficulties in controlling the situation.

The state of repair of these schools has rapidly deteriorated yearly, due to their inferior type of construction and the fact that sufficient funds for upkeep have not been available. At present several of them are apparently beyond the state where a reasonable expenditure could restore them.

[a] Porches have, of course, been built as an economy measure. The cost of construction is much lower than in the case of dormitories.

The question of fire protection is a serious matter in these buildings because practically none are of fire resisting construction. Stone or brick outer walls offer very little protection to wooden roofs and interiors of frame. The condition is made more serious when stoves are used for heating purposes and when the buildings are of more than one story.

Fire fighting facilities are frequently inferior. Not all schools have an adequate water supply or water storage facilities. Fire hose outlets with hose on reels are not available in all buildings. The chemical extinguishers provided are not always sufficient in number, and infrequently they are not tagged to show the date of last recharging. Several were tested and a few were found dead. While fire drills are required of all schools, in some they are not routine.

The main sanitary sections are usually located in the basement of the dormitories, making it necessary for the pupil to go down from one to three flights of stairs at night as well as in the day time.

Many dormitories, especially those occupied by boys, are not provided with night toilets on the upper floors. These facilities on the upper floors are generally locked during the day. The Indian Office reports that the present plans will provide more toilet facilities on upper floors.

The main sanitary sections in the basement are as a rule poorly lighted and ventilated and are rarely sufficiently heated. The floors are usually made of cement frequently not so laid as to insure quick drainage. The conditions are often unsatisfactory, though girls' sections were almost universally in better condition than the boys'.

The equipment found in many of them is old, and rarely is each piece of equipment in working order. Leaky faucets and water closets are common, causing great waste. In an extreme instance only two water closets were found in order for eighty girls. All other equipment was clogged and in some instances overflowing onto the floors. The explanation was that the engineer was also the athletic coach and the team activities were always given preference. This situation was the worst seen, but in practically all dormitories one or more toilets were out of order. This constant trouble is caused partly by carelessness on the part of the pupils but much more by the nature and age of the equipment, which is diffi-

cult to keep in repair. The flushing device in the boys' building at Haskell could only be operated by the use of some strength, a fact which probably explains the conditions found there.

About half of the sections visited were without toilet paper. Much toilet paper is wasted, especially by the boys, and frequently it is used in lieu of towels.

Facilities for washing face and hands are often of the trough type. In some places the water is obtained through spigots and in some through a perforated pipe controlled by a master valve. The faucets were often leaky and in a few instances entirely out of order. The perforated pipe method is often unsatisfactory, as water is sprayed over the floor as well as in the trough. In some instances, the hot and cold water faucets alternate, but this makes it difficult for any single individual to obtain the right mixture. The children frequently overcome this difficulty by plugging up the waste pipe and then all washing together in the same trough, despite the prevalence of trachoma and impetigo.

Shower baths are far more numerous than tubs. The latter are seen most frequently in the girls' sections. They are generally in rooms adjoining the regular lavatory section. The floors are of cement and hence cold, except in warm weather. These sections are often kept locked and are opened for use on specified occasions. Thus where the ratio per unit of population is low, the child has but one or two baths at the most during the week. At Sherman these quarters are open practically all the time and they are used freely. As a result, the children are cleaner, and this is reflected in the clean bed linen seen.

The bath sections often have no dressing room facilities. In some cases a long bench is provided, but rarely ever hooks on which to hang clothing. These are essential.

Hot water for washing and bathing purposes is in most instances supplied by an individual heater adjoining the bathroom. These units are as a rule small for the demands made on them, and that fact has something to do with the personal cleanliness of the children, especially of the boys working in the shops and needing warm water and soap to remove grease and grime.

Soap was rarely immediately accessible. In only a few instances was liquid or powdered soap seen, and the supply of ordinary hand soap, if any, often consisted of but a few thin pieces. The Indian

Office reports that it is negotiating for liquid or powdered soap and containers. This form of soap is the most sanitary and is highly desirable.

The Pullman towel system has been installed in nearly all schools, but its effectiveness varies. Apparently about as many towels are used improperly as are used properly. The explanation of misuse is generally the limited supply of towels, necessitating the issue of one to each child either daily or at the designated wash periods. If a child wishes to wash between periods he must make a special request for a towel, which involves the problem of locating the matron, or use available soiled towels, or toilet paper, or nothing. The laundry may be so crowded with work that the soiled linen cannot be laundered properly, thus causing a shortage. In a few wash rooms piles of soiled towels were seen which had been there for boys. Practically all towels supplied, except the bath towels, are too small, being little larger than a man's pocket handkerchief. The containers are frequently not locked, thus permitting the child to take a soiled towel if clean ones are not at hand.

The reason usually given for not having clean towels available at all times is that the children resort to towel fights and in other ways abuse the privilege. To control the children, especially the boys, in the use of towels, is admittedly an educational problem of considerable difficulty, but it is not to be solved properly by keeping towels away from them. Since hardly any Indian school is without cases of trachoma and impetigo, both contagious, the use of towels has an important bearing on the transmission of disease.

Tooth brushes are supplied usually by the school, though in some cases the pupil is required to purchase his own brush, if possible. This is a responsibility rightly belonging to the child, but if he cannot purchase a brush, the school should. Apparently the same brush serves for a long time, as the majority appeared much used. A tooth powder is supplied in one can for all children, unless the pupils can purchase individual tubes. This practice is unsanitary because many brushes come in contact with the top of the can. In some schools, the children keep their tooth brushes in their individual lockers, a plan much better in principle than the hanging of dozens of brushes according to numbers on a rack, even though the rack is screened and the rows are staggered to prevent contamination by dripping.

In the smaller schools the lockers provided for the personal effects of the child are generally extremely small.* In fact they ordinarily afford only space for one change of clothing and a few odds and ends. Suits are frequently hung on the walls in the rooms. The uniform rooms provide long racks for the regulation school regalia used on dress occasions. In most small schools the locker space is in the basement, poorly lighted and ventilated. The small lockers are generally constructed of wood and many do not have ventilation, an important matter especially for the boys who do fairly heavy manual labor in the shops or on the farm.

In the larger schools the arrangements, especially for the higher class students, are generally much better. Many times in rooms for two boys a small closet space is provided. The new boys' dormitory at Chemawa makes excellent provision for two boys to a room, with ample locker space.

The Indian is often criticized for not accumulating possessions. His lack of this trait is cited as an indication of his general improvidence, and unquestionably his lack of desire for possessions is one of the factors in making him content with a very low standard of living. Certainly the boarding school is making no attempt to change this condition. The Indian boy in a typical boarding school could not possess much more than the clothes on his back, because there is no place to keep other things.

The pupils sleeping in large dormitory rooms and porches either dress at their beds or use a community dressing room. These dressing rooms are usually situated in the basement and are rarely sufficiently heated. As a rule the furniture consists of long low benches and lockers.

Recreation rooms are generally in the basement and contain the very simplest equipment, such as benches around the walls. A few, especially in the larger schools, have some equipment. Some of these rooms have chairs, tables, pianos, games, and phonographs, but they are not the rule. The well equipped rooms are sometimes set apart as "parlors" and not freely used by the children. The rooms at the boarding school at Keams Canyon are a noteworthy

* The Bloomfield School in Oklahoma is a notable exception. There ingenious provision has been made to give each girl some space and equipment which she can regard as her own. The new dormitory for older girls at the Sequoyah Orphan Training School in Oklahoma offers another sharp contrast to the typical small school.

exception. The Santee mission school and the Bloomfield school make much better provision for the housing of these children than is generally found in Indian schools. At Santee, though the buildings are old, there is considerable privacy for the individual.

Quarters for matrons, usually small and very simply furnished, are generally provided in the dormitories.

Kitchens are located either in a section of the dormitory building or, as in larger schools, in separate buildings. They are usually of adequate size, although in some instances, such as Tulalip, Sherman, and Warm Springs, they are very small and crowded. In many places not enough attention has been paid to lighting and ventilation. A new dining hall and kitchen has recently been built at Chemawa. The plan is good, but the arrangement of the equipment in the kitchen might have been improved by placing the steam cookers and canopy against a dead wall rather than against the few available windows. Storage space for a day's or week's supplies is often insufficient or is located at a distance. Refrigeration is secured principally from natural ice in large chests or from a brine machine. Leupp and Warm Springs have no such facilities. Garbage is put in containers and then fed to the hogs. More thorough provision for screening should generally be made, and the cans and the immediate vicinity more carefully cleaned.

Kitchen equipment is rarely good. The ranges supplied are almost always of sufficient capacity, but time and again they were found in a poor state of repair, making it difficult to prepare food properly. Wash tubs, wash boilers, lard pails, and such makeshifts are utilized when steam cookers are not available.

Soiled clothing is often worn by the employees and school children in the kitchen. No regulation uniforms are supplied for or required of these employees.

Several large schools are still using hand methods for dish washing. The mechanical equipment in some schools is old, and in many instances where such equipment is found the supply of hot water is limited. Boiling water is rarely available in sufficient quantity and the efficiency of the work is questionable.

The dining rooms usually accommodate the entire pupil population, often with considerable crowding. The lighting and ventilation factors vary, but on the whole may be said to be fair. The tables are generally of wood, some finished and some unfinished.

Some have linoleum tops, some metal, and some are covered with table cloths which are often unreasonably soiled. Stools or benches are generally used for seats. Food is served either in china dishes, enamel ware, or aluminum. The former is of the heaviest hotel type and the second frequently chipped. As a rule all food served is eaten from a single plate. Serving dishes are provided. Cups or glasses are generally provided for the coffee, cocoa, or milk.

The bakeries are usually in rooms separate from the main kitchen. At Keshena the bakery is in the basement. The equipment ordinarily is a large rotating oven or ovens of the army or navy type. Electric ovens are used at Carson City and Keshena. The oven at Rice School was purchased as a matter of economy. Bids on a good brick oven were only fifty dollars higher than the cost of the discarded navy oven the Indian Office authorized the school to purchase. Within two months the fire bricks collapsed, destroying the efficiency of the oven. The bread from this oven was burned, top and bottom, and soggy in the center. Poorly baked bread, however, is a distinct exception. At practically every other school visited the bread was examined and found well baked.

The clothing worn by the workers in the bakery is open to the same criticism as has been made of that worn by employees in the kitchen.

The permanent employees in the kitchens and bakeries are not required to take a physical examination. Some of the pupils working in these places were observed to have impetigo or other skin disorders.

Other Buildings. Next to the dormitory, the student perhaps uses the school building more than any other. As a rule, the school rooms and buildings have not been planned in accordance with the best practices in white communities. In only a few could the lighting and ventilating be given a high score. A large number of schools still have non-adjustable seats. In the few schools where adjustable seats were found, no effort was made to adjust them because adjustment is regarded as impracticable under the half-day plan of instruction. Two or more groups of children must use the same classrooms, and therefore some seats would have to be adjusted twice daily.

The majority of the classroom buildings are not provided with sanitary facilities. The Indian Office reports that it is now setting

standards on classroom orientation, paints, light, and ventilation that will conform to the accepted standards.

The work shops are usually old buildings, not well lighted and ventilated. The one thing in favor of the children is the fact that large classes are not the rule.

The laundry is an important feature of every government school. It is one of the chief sources of labor for the pupils. With approved machinery, adequate space, and a capable laundry operator, a much greater volume of work could be handled in less time. The space allotted to the laundry is often small. At one large school this fact is capitalized. The superintendent reported that he can get much more work out of the children if he keeps large piles of laundry before them. An inspection of the plant verified his statement. A number of small children were literally hidden behind great piles of wet laundry in a greatly overcrowded room filled with steam.

The equipment in laundries is often old and in poor repair. The mangles are generally single-roll affairs, requiring three to four times the necessary labor in doing flat work, and requiring hand ironing for the very simple dresses and skirts worn by the girls. This work could be more easily and rapidly done by machines, thus freeing the children for other activities of greater educational value. The seriousness of the situation is increased by the antiquated methods used in applying power. Big drive-shafts and belts are fairly common. The machines are by no means universally safeguarded and, as a consequence, reports of accidents are fairly frequent, although fortunately most of them are minor.

The only really modern laundry equipment seen in operation was at the Phœnix School, but modern equipment has been purchased for the new Burke School at Fort Wingate. Practically all machines at Phœnix were of late design, operated by individual electric motors, thoroughly incased, thus rendering accidents practically impossible. This outfit could have been improved had a greater space been provided, making it possible to arrange the equipment in the most efficient order, but if every school had a similar outfit adapted to its size, a great improvement would be achieved.

One other building at boarding schools has a direct bearing on the health of the child; the dairy. Usually dairies are the most

modern buildings on the place and are well kept. Occasionally this is not the case. At Sherman, the dairy barn and its surroundings are old and very poorly kept.

Several dairies have milking machines, but the bulk of this work is done by hand, and in some instances the same detail of boys is kept on for the entire school year, although this work requires very early rising. Almost all dairy details include a few very small boys.

The milk rooms are usually screened and kept clean. An adequate supply of live steam or boiling water is not always available to sterilize pails and cans. No pasteurization or bottling plants were found in any of the schools. Milk is conveyed in large cans and served from pitchers to children at the tables.

The size of the dairy herd varies. As a rule the number of fresh milk cows is insufficient to supply an average of a pint of milk a day per child for cooking and drinking purposes, though in a few exceptional instances the supply averages a quart a day. Several herds are accredited and in only a few instances was a dairy herd found which had not been tuberculin tested or was not reported to be tested regularly. In no instance was chemical or bacteriological examination of milk reported. A good herd and large production were always found where school and agency officers were thoroughly interested in this most important need of the Indian children. The conclusion is drawn that all schools might have had better milk supplies had the local officers been more keenly interested in the problem.

Some schools, Tulalip, for example, were operating their dairies very efficiently. When the children are away during the summer vacation, the excess milk is sold to local commercial dairies and credit taken for butter to be used during the coming school year. This procedure is most commendable, though not possible in schools at long distances from commercial centers. Butter or cheese, however, could be made during the summer months to be served during the coming school year.

Water Supplies. The source of water depends upon the locality. Springs, rivers, and deep or shallow wells are used. In many instances, the least expensive method has been resorted to, not always after due consideration to the potability of the water. Practically every school has a large steel storage tank for surplus supplies. The pumping plants are ordinarily not automatic. The volume of water needed is perhaps greater in these schools than in similar institutions outside the Service, because of the serious fire hazard combined with the personal needs. Some schools report a shortage at certain seasons which could be obviated in some cases by increased storage facilities and in others by larger production. The minimum average needs are not less than seventeen gallons per capita per day.

The Public Health Service is now rendering the Indian Office a splendid service at nominal cost by surveying many of its school water supplies and submitting reports and recommendations for their improvement. Contamination was found in several instances.

The local state boards of health analyze water supplies gratis. In some places complete files of such examinations are kept, in others not. It is exceptional to find a school having such analyses made at regular intervals each year. The methods of treating polluted water supplies are, on the whole, inefficient. The best plant was seen at Fort Belknap, Montana. At the Orphans' Training School at Tahlequah, Oklahoma, the water is at present taken from a shallow well which is lower than the point of discharge for effluent from the sewage disposal plant. The analyses of this water supply have always shown B. coli. An appropriation for a new well was included in one of the urgent deficiency bills which failed at the last session of Congress. The work of providing a new water supply for that school should be rushed as the present methods of treating the water are bad.

Sewage Disposal Systems. In a few instances sewers are connected with local city plants, but at most schools a septic tank is provided. Several of them are defective for one or more of the following reasons: (1) The size is inadequate, as they were built for a much smaller population than is now cared for and have never been enlarged to meet present day demands; (2) the type of construction is not always good; (3) some are not cleaned frequently enough; (4) their efficiency is in many cases reduced by the large volume of laundry water passing through them; (5) the effluent is often emptied directly into streams or on the surface, as at Chemawa.

This most vital problem is also receiving the attention of the Public Health Service engineers, and there is promise of considerable improvement in the future if the Indian Service is allowed sufficient funds to make the necessary corrections.

Recreational Facilities. Playgrounds and their related activities are not given their due place in the programs of the school children. Some agency officers believe that the child's surplus energy should be expended in some productive labor. Consequently the playground area and equipment is often curtailed. Greater stress is placed on teams than on individual pupils, and as a result the provisions for individual play and recreation in Indian schools are far below the standards in our public schools.

A thoroughly trained physical education director is rarely found at any of these schools. The efforts of the few persons really interested are devoted chiefly to the few eligible for teams without proper coöperation with the medical officer. A few instances were encountered where boys had been advised by the physician not to go in for strenuous athletics, and the doctor's advice had been ignored.

Gymnasiums have been built at many of the schools. Several schools located in cold climates or where rainfall is excessive, remain in need of such facilities. Several of the gymnasiums can be rated very high; for example, the new unit just completed at Genoa. The most recently completed gymnasiums are ample in size, but more consideration should be given to the provision of sanitary facilities and shower baths.

The large non-reservation boarding schools have some form of athletic field. The one at Haskell is the most pretentious of all. A vast amount of money was put into it, so that it presents a marked contrast with the living and working quarters provided for the children. A far more splendid memorial and contribution could have been made to this school if the same amount of money had been used to reconstruct the living quarters.

Care of the Child. Thus far an attempt has been made to picture in a very sketchy manner the multitude of difficulties inherent in the average Indian boarding school from the standpoint of the child's environment, not including personnel. The most important factor, however, is the care of the child. With intelligent administration and supervision of a school, it is often possible to overcome to a degree very inferior accommodations and equipment, though in many Indian boarding schools it could not be accomplished under present conditions. For example, nothing will correct overcrowding except providing additional space or restricting

the number of pupils. Adequate sanitary facilities are dependent upon good equipment. A proper balance in recreational, school, and labor activities is dependent upon space, equipment, intelligent personnel, and a proper apportionment of the child's time.

Obviously one of the most important items in the care of the child in these schools is the food supplied, and yet in many if not most schools it was found to be limited, not only in variety but also in amount.

The average allowance for food per capita is approximately eleven cents a day, exclusive of the value of food secured from the school farm. The amount from the farm varies greatly. It permits a few schools, a very few, to approach a reasonable standard.

Generally speaking, however, the children are not given a balanced ration, and in some instances the food supplied is actually insufficient in quantity. At Rice School, to cite an extreme example, the average amount spent for food was nine cents a day. The dietary was examined at first hand for three successive days, and it was obvious that the children were not receiving an adequate amount of food even of the very limited variety supplied. Malnutrition was evident. They were indolent and when they had the chance to play, they merely sat about on the ground, showing no exuberance of healthy youth.

Sherman Institute gave the greatest variety and spent more for food than any other school studied. The daily expenditure at this school was eighteen cents per capita, which included the annual estimate allowance and a fair market value for all fruit produce and milk taken from the school farm. Even with the facilities they possess for raising early crops, their dietary was still faulty.

As a specified appropriation is made for all schools on a per capita basis, regardless of the location of the school or the difficulty encountered in supplementing the supplies furnished on annual estimate by local production, it is easy to visualize the state of affairs that exists at schools in the far north, or on the desert. A matter of this sort cannot be handled by a standardized per capita cost.

At several boarding schools visited the officers in charge would offer the explanation that Indian children do not like vegetables, milk, eggs, and other articles of diet, because they never have them at home. A child quite naturally does not like a thing he never has

had. Tastes for certain foods must be developed. It is just as much a responsibility of the boarding school to teach the child to appreciate a proper dietary as it is to teach him reading, writing, and arithmetic. It is true that dietary facts are generally taught in the school room, but this effort at formal instruction is more than counteracted by the daily meals placed before the child. What is the use of telling a child he should eat fruit, vegetables, and milk, when some of them are never available, and teaching him that he should never drink coffee when coffee is regularly served in the dining room? It is gratifying to note that in the few instances where a more abundant supply of milk was available, the children for the most part drank it freely. At Sacaton, the supply of butter is more abundant than at any other school, and the children used it in large quantities.

Considering the extremely small allowance made for food, it seems unnecessary to go into an elaborate analysis of the various food elements now served. It is enough to say that in general the dietary is excessively high in starch and meat, stews, and gravies. In the majority of schools milk, milk fats (butter, cream), fresh vegetables, and fruits are served either not at all or in very small quantities. Where fresh vegetables and fruits are served, they are generally limited in amount and are available only during the seasonal periods.

A small allowance is made each school for the purchase of food in the open market. This allowance is so small that purchases often must be confined to the needs of the hospital. At Tulalip the fund was exhausted at the end of four months, although forty children reported as having tuberculosis were in need of a better diet than that served in the regular dining room.

Supplies are generally purchased on the lowest bid and often a very poor grade of foodstuffs is secured. Unroasted coffees are supplied, and at most of the schools the only means of roasting is the ordinary oven or the top of the stove.

The milk supply has already been discussed, and little need be added here, except to say that the dairy herd is frequently too small to furnish an adequate supply of milk. Production figures for the dairy herd are unsafe indices, but they furnish the only information as to the amount of milk provided. In only a few schools are the dairy herds large enough to raise the average above a pint

a day, and in many instances the supply is much lower. The dried milk powders are rarely used. Where the fresh supply is limited they could materially improve the present diet. The Indian Office reports that it is extending the use of this product.

The preparation and service of the food supply often leaves much to be desired. The qualifications for cooks are so low that almost any one capable of the simplest operation can meet them, although the work requires mass production. Hot foods are seldom eaten when hot. At nearly all schools the food is placed on the tables before the pupils enter the dining hall. The children march in. Each one stands at his place. A bell or triangle rings for absolute quiet. A blessing is repeated. The children then sit down and at last the bell is struck that permits them to begin their meal. By the time these formalities are over, the food has been standing dished up and waiting in serving dishes on the table not less than five minutes and frequently fifteen. Several minutes are taken to serve it to the individual children, which is usually done by one boy or girl seated at the end of the table, although at some schools several serve, or the service dishes are passed. By the time the child gets food it is luke warm or sometimes even cold. The additional food supplies have usually been emptied into wash tubs or other large containers and are hurried to the tables by boys or girls detailed for the purpose.

In some schools the child must maintain a pathetic degree of quietness. In fact, several matrons and disciplinarians said that they did not allow the children to talk. The loud laughter and incessant din of young voices heard three floors above the dining room at the St. Francis Catholic School on the Rosebud Reservation was in attractive contrast. At Chemawa the children are seated in what are termed "family groups." At each table are boys and girls of different ages, with a big boy at one end and a big girl at the other. If brother and sisters are in the school they sit together. Here the children talk freely, although the bell is sounded as a caution if the matron thinks the noise too great. This arrangement seemed to the survey staff far better than that usually found. In some schools the segregation by sex and age is carried out so meticulously that one table in the boys' half of the dining room contains the smallest boys in the school, and a corresponding table on the girls' side contains the smallest girls. Frequently these little

ones can scarcely manage the heavy pitchers and serving dishes. The youngsters charged with the duty of serving the others struggle manfully and get through this task after a fashion, though sometimes a six or seven year old child cannot make a satisfactory distribution of the food. Many school authorities have recognized this fact, and although in the main they adhere in the dining room to a fairly strict classification by age and sex, they have placed one or two older children at the ends of the tables for the little folks to attend to the service, always with due precautions in the separation of the sexes. The older girls at these tables take a very motherly interest in the little girls. For the older boys it may be said that they serve the little boys with far more accuracy and dispatch than is the case where the little ones serve themselves, although sometimes a complaint is heard that the big boys reserve the best for themselves. The dining room employees so far as could be observed gave no close or particular attention to service of the smaller children.

Recently an attempt has been made to analyze the dietary provided these children. As a result, the Service has asked for an increase in food allowance to bring the average to about thirty-five cents per capita per day. No attempt should be made to establish a uniform standard figure. Thirty-five cents a day will probably suffice, however, at the more favorably located schools, but will be inadequate at those less favorably situated. This problem can be handled successfully only by providing to meet the needs that exist in each school.

Some may contend that the poor diet served the Indian children is adequate because so many of them are at or above the normal weight, as computed on the standard height-age tables. To the student of nutrition the weight of a child is but one of the many factors to be taken into consideration in evaluating his nutrition. The Indian child, long subjected to a diet with an excess of starchy foods, frequently has a flabby, unhealthy fat that is sometimes mistakenly assumed to indicate good health. On stripping the child the body is mute evidence of the fallacy of such an idea. The winged scapulæ, pot-belly, stooped shoulders, and the general lack of tone and healthy color in the skin give unmistakable evidence of malnutrition. The Indian child frequently suffers from diseases

influenced by a deficient diet, notably tuberculosis and possibly trachoma.

At this point mention should be made of a most commendable effort made at the Nespelem public school. The agency superintendent constructed a small lunch room on the public school grounds. The equipment was just sufficient to meet the needs. A capable cook was engaged to prepare a luncheon each school day for an average of forty-seven Indian children. A well balanced meal was being served at an average of about thirteen cents per capita, more, by the way, than the average daily allowance for three meals at the boarding school. The noticeable thing in this school was the marked difference in the physical appearance of the Indian and white children. The latter were very definitely malnourished.

Daily Activities. It is commonly reported by Indian school authorities that the children come to them at the beginning of the school year in an emaciated and run-down condition and that it requires weeks and sometimes months for them to "pick-up." Unfortunately, many do not "pick-up," as is indicated by the malnutrition and tuberculosis seen late in the school year.

The part that diet plays in this situation has been discussed, but other conditions are of equal magnitude; these are the daily activity of the child and his physical defects. It is an accepted fact that over-activity will not only produce a state of malnutrition, but it will counteract any attempt to correct such a condition by feeding. In order of importance, the chief causes of malnutrition may be considered as follows:

1. Physical defects
2. Over-activity
3. Insufficient and improper diet

Over-activity resulting from the half day of school and the half day of labor is found among almost all children in Indian boarding schools excepting the very youngest. The physical condition of the child is too frequently ignored. The idea of adjusting the child's duty to his physical ability is practically unknown in the Indian school. The amount of work to be done is almost unlimited and the children must do it. It is often true that the child does not actually accomplish a great amount of work in the prescribed time,

as he learns to loaf on the job, but he does work under pressure in many instances.

Generally speaking, the Indian child's day begins at 6 a. m. and continues for the smaller children in some schools until 7 p. m., and for the older children until 9 or 10 p. m. Theoretically one-fourth of the older child's time is devoted to industrial activities, supposedly educational, and not connected with the routine labor of the school. In practice much of the industrial work is undertaken for production and not for education. In Haskell Institute, for example, a boy detailed to the print shop to be taught printing may be required to fold papers for all the hours of his detail and to work under pressure to get a commercial job out on time. Most of the industrial teachers admit that great consideration has to be given to production to the detriment of education.

The laundries are perhaps open to the most serious criticism. As has been pointed out, the amount of labor spent is far greater than necessary, a waste due to the old, inefficient equipment. Practically all this work requires the child to stand. The monotonous ironing of simple dresses and shirts for hours is frankly production work, and is not necessary to teach the child the simple processes involved.

The methods practiced in disciplining children are often unwise. More than once members of the survey staff have seen small children standing in corners for long periods as a punishment for minor offenses.

In this connection, it is well to mention the methods employed in incarcerating obstreperous children, although the Indian Service has recently directed that the jail at Albuquerque be torn down, and it has under consideration a general order discontinuing the use of jail punishments at boarding schools. At the time of the visit from the survey staff nearly all schools had some such facility, either a simple room securely locked, or perhaps an isolated building actually designated as the "jail." At Albuquerque attention was drawn to a structure closely resembling a Mexican hut. Closer observation revealed a solid concrete, box-like building, with a door and one small window. It was barely large enough to accommodate two iron beds and a small stove. Otherwise it was devoid of furnishings. It was surrounded by a barricade of heavy wire and miscellaneous boards woven into a high fence. The grounds surrounding this unit were untidy and the interior was dirty. There were

no toilet facilities or running water. Perhaps this was the worst example seen, but the principle of the "lock up" prevails in many other schools.

Clothing. Practically all children were found to have sufficient clothing to protect them from the cold. In several schools located in rainy climates, the children do not have raincoats and rubbers, and wet clothing and feet are common. This is due in some instances to their having to stand in line or march through the rain to their classes or meals as well as to their work.

The supply of shoes averages about four pairs per year. They are bought on the lowest bid and are usually of poor quality, not able to stand the wear put upon them, especially where there is considerable wet weather. Another most serious factor is the fitting of shoes to the individual child. In some instances accurate measurements are not taken. The child is given a size according to his age, or if he is among the first he may be able to secure a reasonably good fit. In the smaller schools where an extensive assortment is not possible, the child is frequently given shoes too large or too small. Complaint was made by children of corns and other discomforts due to improperly fitting shoes.

Medical Care of the Child.[30] As physical defects are one of the most serious causes of malnutrition they should be given first importance in the consideration of the school child. The routine examinations are rushed through so rapidly that it is impossible to make careful diagnoses and therefore many physical defects are missed at the outset and the child must labor under a remediable handicap the remainder of his time in school unless a sufficiently acute examination forces him to go to the hospital, and even then he may be discharged before improvement in his condition warrants.

The most extreme instance of neglect in respect to physical examination was found at one of the day schools. Approximately ninety children were enrolled there at the time of the visit. The teachers and the public health nurse reported that the physician examining these children spent not more than two hours and that he never used a stethoscope or counted a pulse or took a temperature. The records of these examinations revealed a charting of

[30] See also pages 30, 236, 237, 240.

pulse, a recording of temperature, and a check indicating that the lungs had been auscultated and palpated. A method seen time and again of examining a chest was to place the stethoscope twice anteriorly and twice posteriorly without leaving it long enough for a complete inhalation or exhalation to be heard, and without requiring the child to cough to elicit rales. One physician in examining for trachoma repeatedly examined the left eye, never reverting the right lid. These cases are exceptional, but after observing the routine school examination at first hand in a number of instances, it became clear that in many cases the findings entered on the child's record were not acurately determined.

In a few schools vision charts were available, but with the exception of those places where a trained public health nurse was employed, no records of the results of such examinations were seen. At various schools these nurses have examined the vision of children, and their records show a large percentage of visual defects requiring corrective glasses, but it is a rarity to see Indian children wearing glasses. The excuse offered is that they break them. Observation of children in classrooms and while reading indicated that a considerable proportion need glasses.

Not only are innumerable defects overlooked, but there is not enough specialized personnel to make the necessary corrections. On a few reservations where more intensive work has been done, such as, for example, Rosebud, a larger number of defects have been corrected than is the general rule.

When a child is acutely ill, he is usually sent to the hospital for care. He may not remain until convalescence is complete, and in the case of tuberculosis, the child is frequently sent home, even though the conditions in the home may be the worst possible for the child. The Indian Office is now making an effort to hospitalize such cases at the school hospital or send them to a sanatorium school. To make this really effective will require far greater facilities than it now possesses or is likely to have on the present low appropriations.

It has been reported that special nutrition classes are provided for the undernourished. The extent of this practice at best is to attempt to give these children extra food and not to analyze their particular problem as individuals. This plan is of questionable merit, because in many schools there is nothing much additional

to offer at a special table. In some instances, as at Chemawa, the underweight report at the hospital twice daily and receive extra milk. At Pipestone mid-morning and mid-afternoon milk was furnished the underweights in the classrooms.

Recommendations. 1. Immediate steps should be taken materially to improve the quantity, quality, and variety of food served Indian children in boarding schools. Under most favorable conditions an average per diem expenditure of not less than thirty-five cents per capita apparently will be required. In schools with inferior farms, in the smaller schools, or in schools remote from supply centers, a larger allowance is necessary. If it does not seem practicable to consider each school separately, they should be classified according to their requirements and an adequate per diem per capita rate established for each class of schools.

2. The production of milk should be increased so that the average daily supply will be at least one quart per capita. Until this standard can be reached through the production of the school dairy farm, milk should be purchased; fresh, if an adequate supply of clean fresh milk is procurable; dried, if fresh milk cannot be secured. The practice of regular tuberculin testing of cows should be extended to all schools without exception, and as rapidly as possible the standard of an accredited herd should be attained at every school. Regular bacteriological examinations should be made of all milk supplies, and records of such tests and examinations should be kept on permanent file. In the few instances where dairy barns are not of modern design, these should be reconstructed or replaced on a basis comparable with the barns at Carson School, Tulalip, Bloomfield, and Pipestone.

3. The definitely malnourished child should be provided with a fuller and more specialized diet than that furnished others. The nutrition class method, so extensively used in public schools but not generally practiced in Indian schools, is one method for bringing a large number of undernourished Indian children up to standard.

4. Material improvement should be made in the preparation and serving of food, both for the children in normal health and those below standard. All persons handling and preparing food should have a physical examination at least once a year, and they should be supplied with clean uniforms. A sufficient supply of

steam or hot water should always be available to sterilize dishes thoroughly. Mechanical dish washers that will permit of sterilization should be installed. Those schools not now equipped with ranges, bake ovens, steam kettles, and cooking utensils of good design and in good condition should promptly have their equipment brought up to a reasonable standard.

5. The over-crowding at present found in many boarding schools should be corrected promptly, preferably by providing for more Indian children in schools near their homes, either Indian Service day schools or public schools. The Indian Service day schools, maintained where public schools are not available, should carry children at least through the first six grades, so that the necessity for providing for young children in boarding schools may be reduced to a minimum. Definite standards of capacity should be established and children should not be admitted beyond that capacity. A minimum of six hundred cubic feet per pupil in dormitories is recommended. Beds should be at least four feet apart. Not more than one child should sleep in the single thirty-six or forty-inch beds provided. At least ten square feet of floor space per capita without furniture should be provided for "rough house" games.

6. Much more adequate medical care should be given the children. Since so many Indian children are below normal, thorough physical examinations should be made of all children at least twice a year and more frequently for those found below standard. A well-trained teacher or nurse can inspect for sight, hearing, weight, and physical measurements, and can record the results. The child can then be examined by the physician. When examined by the physician the child should be without clothing or at least stripped to the waist. The rate of examination by the physician should not average more than six to eight an hour. The physician should be required to fill out and certify a complete record of findings on a prescribed form. The present record system is inadequate, but the one in use at Tulalip perhaps more nearly meets the requirements. Laboratory methods of diagnosis, such as serological, sputums, X-Ray, and urine should be utilized wherever indicated, either at the school hospital or at outside laboratories either public or private.

Those children found to be malnourished or suspected of infection from tuberculosis, trachoma, or other diseases should at once

be segregated and put on such special treatment as the case demands. When possible the children in need of hospital or sanatorium care should be transferred at once. If places are not available for them and there are vacancies in the school hospital, they should be cared for there until provision can be made for them in an institution especially adapted to their needs. The practice of sending open cases of tuberculosis and other infectious diseases to the home of the patient where no care is available should be stopped.

The dispensary methods for the treatment of children should be radically revised. More thorough examinations and diagnoses should be made, and where treatments are required lists should be prepared and each treatment recorded.

Much more attention should be given to control communicable diseases. Careful examination and prompt isolation will greatly reduce the high incidence of infectious diseases in Indian schools. Immunization for smallpox and diphtheria should be routine practice for each pupil not showing satisfactory scar, or history of antitoxin injections, on admission to school. If instructions in the new circular prepared for doctors are carried out it will greatly facilitate this practice in the future.

Better provision should immediately be made for the correction of defects of vision and hearing, tonsils, adenoids, and teeth. In some cases this service can be secured through contracts with local specialists. If this method is impracticable the field personnel should be increased to meet the situation.

Enuresis should be recognized by all workers as a medical problem to be handled by the physician himself or under his orders. All punishment should be immediately discontinued. The sufferers should be supplied with rubber sheets and clean linen and be made as comfortable as possible.

7. The physician in charge, and not the principal, the disciplinarian, or the matron, should be the authority on all matters directly relating to health. The diet provided at the schools should be approved by him, and he should have definite authority to regulate and control the work of the children and their participation in athletics.

8. The question of the amount and the nature of the work required of boarding school children should be given serious consideration. At several schools both the amount of work required

and its nature appear to be an important factor in explaining the low general health condition. Modern labor saving machinery should be generally provided for production, and if the children are below par additional adult employees should be employed to operate it. The laundries in particular need attention in this respect, and especially should attention be given to equipment to prevent accidents.

9. At many of the schools, particularly the smaller ones, more attention should be given the clothing of children. Shoes are especially important. Great care should be exercised to see that they really fit, even if this necessitates carrying more sizes in stock than has been the practice in the past. At schools where a long rainy wet season is normal, rain-proof outer garments and rubbers or overshoes should be supplied and the children should not be required to form in lines and stand in the open. Each child should have space to keep his own clothes, preferably near his sleeping space. If locker rooms are necessary they should be well ventilated and lighted.

10. Material improvement should be effected both in the toilet facilities themselves and in their use. The equipment should be at least sufficiently modern in design to be effective, and it should be kept in practically perfect order. The minimum standards should approximate: lavatories one to four pupils; waterclosets one to six; showers one to ten; baths one to six where showers are not used; where both baths and showers are used one to ten. Hot water should be available throughout the day. Liquid or powdered soap should be provided at all lavatories. A sufficient supply of individual towels should be available at all times. If possible tooth brushes should be kept in the child's own individual locker. If racks are used, they should not hold more than twenty-five brushes. The toilet rooms should be well ventilated and lighted and should be kept reasonably warm. Provision should be made for night toilets on each floor of dormitories.

11. Facilities for recreation and the supervision of recreation need much more attention. A trained physical director should replace the present disciplinarians, and he should work in close harmony with the physician. Suitable leadership should also be supplied for girls. Schools in northern climates or in places where rainy seasons are long should be provided with gymnasiums, notably

Tulalip, Fort Peck, and Cheyenne River. Recreation rooms should uniformly be provided and should have proper ventilation, light, and heat. They should have reasonable equipment, consisting of comfortable chairs, tables, games, and some musical instruments, such as a phonograph or radio. Special attention should be given to the needs of the smallest children if in some places it proves necessary to keep them in boarding schools.

12. At many schools improvement is needed in the water supply and in the sewage disposal plant. Improvement in many instances will require building larger facilities unless the number of pupils is reduced. The water supply should be analyzed regularly and reports filed. If a contaminated supply must be used, thorough treatment should invariably be given. Unless sewage can be discharged into a regular system, a thoroughly modern treating plant should be built of sufficient size so that the effluent on discharge will be innocuous.

13. In the future much more attention should be given to all remodelling of old buildings and all new construction. The first question asked with respect to an old building should be: after it has been remodelled and re-equipped, will it comply with reasonable standards for a building designed originally to serve the particular purpose to which it is to be put? If that question cannot be answered positively and unreservedly in the affirmative, it is poor economy to spend money remodelling, for the building will always be a sub-standard makeshift. Sleeping porches are of course desirable and should be provided wherever possible, but they should not be built on where they will make the inner rooms materially below standard in light and ventilation.

In all new dormitory construction the following questions should be given special attention: Is the design as effective as possible in overcoming the drawbacks inherent in institutions; are big congregate dormitories reduced to a minimum and is maximum provision made for reasonable privacy through small rooms for three or four pupils? Are the sanitary sections subdivided in small units on the several floors, are they properly lighted and ventilated, and are they sufficient in number? Is the material of which the building is made reasonably permanent and fire resisting so that maintenance will be low and fire hazard slight? Is adequate provision made for fire escapes and fire fighting? Is electric wiring and the heating

adequate and safe? It would be worth while in new construction to give careful consideration to the use of the cottage system.

Nursing Education in Non-Reservation Schools. The Indian Office has been interested for some time in training Indian girls as nurses. It is believed the Indian girl's temperament is particularly adapted to that line of work, and at the same time the profession of nursing opens a new field to her.

The non-reservation schools have been selected for pre-nursing training for the following reasons: they provide secondary education, a hospital is operated in connection with each, and the step from high school to a regular nurse's training course would not be so great, especially if part of that course could be given at these schools, thus permitting the teacher and the graduate nurse in charge of the hospital to weed out undesirable pupils and stimulate and encourage the more promising.

The idea of cooperation between the Indian schools and the training schools for nurses was suggested by officers of the State Department of Health of Minnesota. In pursuance of this suggestion the Indian school authorities consulted with certain training schools for nurses of recognized standing and the nursing authorities of the states in which such schools are located in order to decide upon the minimum requirements necessary to admit their Indian pupils. As a result, Haskell Institute has an understanding with the Minnesota State Board of Nursing and an affiliation with the Anker Hospital in St. Paul. The essence of this agreement is that Haskell will teach certain subjects, such as anatomy, physiology, hygiene, history of nursing, nursing ethics, etc., during the last two years of the high school course, and assign all girls taking this course to hospital detail rather than other routine duties about the school. In return, the Anker Hospital in some instances waives the customary probationary period of three months for these pupils. After finishing the full prescribed course, they are eligible for diplomas in nursing.

The plan at Chemawa was identical in outline, with the exception that for their two years of work in the school hospital the Oregon State Board of Nursing Examiners allowed one year's credit in any recognized training school in that state, but it is reported that

this arrangement did not prove satisfactory and it has now been abandoned.

It is planned to develop the same nursing course in Sherman, Albuquerque, Phœnix, and Chilocco, but as yet these schools have been unable to reach a satisfactory agreement with their respective state boards.

The teaching facilities at Haskell and Chemawa should be considered in some detail. The civil service positions now open to instructors are identical with all other nursing positions. They pay a gross of $1500 per annum.[11] Thus it is obvious that they cannot attract the highly trained nurse desirable for such work, although attendance at classes indicated that Chemawa was much in advance of Haskell in nurse training work.

The practical training given in the school hospitals was of a like character. At Haskell there was a hospital nurse in addition to the instructor, but a clash of personalities prevented the close coöperation desirable, and as a consequence the efforts of the two lacked unity. In the hospital the girls assisted in the routine hospital and dispensary work. It seemed to be more of a routine than an educational enterprise. At Chemawa the instructor of nurses was also the hospital superintendent and therefore a more unified course was assured. But, at its best, the limited hospital personnel required much overwork on the part of graduate nurses, and thereby less guidance to the pupil nurse.

Haskell has sent its third class of nurses to the Anker Hospital, St. Paul, and this summer, Chemawa sent its first to the Immanuel Hospital in Portland.

The project is very new, and under the handicaps still existing it has not had a fair chance to prove its value.

As the Anker Hospital was the only training school in which these students had been accepted over any appreciable period of time, a conference was obtained with the superintendent of nurses to determine the results obtained. Sixteen Indian pupil nurses were enrolled. The following statement, furnished by the superintendent of nurses, will give an idea of their work while at this hospital. This table shows that for the most part these girls have been doing acceptable work. The superintendent of nurses reported that the

[11] This salary has now been raised to $1860.

Indian pupils coming under her supervision over a period of several years had given very satisfactory service, also that those who had not had the preliminary pre-nursing course did better than those who had. This may be accounted for in part by the fact that a girl who would make the attempt at nursing unaided most likely possesses initiative lacking in the girl who had perhaps been urged to enter the pre-nursing class. As a matter of fact, the Indian school endeavors to eliminate all girls from their nursing classes who they believe will not be a credit to the school, and this is another argument they offer in favor of it.

Graduate Indian nurses are scattered throughout the country. It has been impossible to make a close study of their training and the character of work accomplished on the outside. But from several hospital physicians and others who have come in contact with these workers the general impression is gained that they make splendid nurses and that they probably accomplish the best results in bed side nursing.

The field of public health nursing is new to these girls and but few have gone into this more specialized type of work. At Anker Hospital, however, it is reported that a few of the girls now finishing possess suitable qualifications for such work, and the hospital has arranged for them to secure, as part of their training, practical experience in public health work under the auspices of an instructive visiting nursing group in Minneapolis. One has been granted a scholarship by the Federation of Women's Clubs to take a course in public health nursing in the state university, and she plans to work upon an Indian reservation when she completes her course.

This attempt on the part of the Indian Office to encourage nursing as a profession among Indian girls is a very worthy step in the right direction. The openings for nurses should be many, especially in the Indian field service, both in hospitals and as public health nurses. It is believed that an Indian public health nurse could accomplish as much, if not more, than any other nurse in the Indian homes. She would have a better understanding of the Indian psychology, customs and traditions, and, in some cases the language, and would therefore have a tremendous advantage at the outset. These girls would naturally be attracted to the Indian field service if the inducements in salary and living conditions were comparable with similar situations in the average community.

The question arises whether these girls should be given a year's credit for their two years' work in the boarding school. The strongest argument in its favor is that many more girls might be induced to take nursing if they received this additional credit. Such a course is not desirable for the following reasons.

Data on Indian pupil nurses at the Anker Hospital at St. Paul, Minnesota

No.	Age	Preliminary	Entered Anker	Remarks
1	23	Grad. Haskell June 1926	9-1-26	A good student
2	23	Grad. Haskell June 1926	9-1-26	A good student
3	25	Haskell 4 yrs. 15 credits. Pre-nursing 3 mo. credit	2-1-26	Quiet, slow, gives the impression of being stoical
4	23	Grad. Haskell June 1926	9-1-26	A good student, a little slow
5	21	Flandreau 2 yrs. H. S.	3-2-25	A splendid worker, well liked by patients. Slow. Poor class work
6	20	4 yrs. Neelsville H. S. Wis.	9-1-26	A fine student, dependable
7	23	Grad. Haskell June 1926	9-1-26	Rather slow to think and act, but I think she will make good
8	24	Grad. Haskell January 1925	1-24-25	A fine young woman, good student, reliable, musical
9	20	2 yrs. H. S. Pierre Ft. Yates Flandreau	3-2-25	Neat, thorough worker. Immature. Not strong on class work
10	20	1½ yrs. H. S. Flandreau	9-2-24	Very dependable, neat. Fair student
11	25	Grad. Haskell June 1924 Pre-nursing	9-2-24	A fine young woman. Good student, very reliable, ambitious. A good example for her fellow workers
12	20	3 yrs. H. S. Haskell No pre-nursing	9-1-25	Timid manners. Has improved very much. Very ladylike. Good work.
13	25	2 yrs. Carlisle	3-1-26	An able woman. A fine student. Gives promise of a good nurse
14	23	Grad. Haskell June 1926	2-1-27	Not stated
15	21	Grad. Haskell June 1926	2-1-27	Not stated
16	25	10 grades Haskell Some work in Sanatorium, Toledo, Ohio	2-1-27	Not stated

The national nursing organizations have for many years been endeavoring to raise the standards for nursing, and as a consequence, the following standards of entrance have been adopted:[a]

1. Four years of high school (accredited)
2. Age minimum, 19; maximum, 35
3. Physical status must be good
4. Pre-nursing subjects during high school if possible—Latin, science, English, voice culture, etc.
5. Graduates having A. B. or B. S. allowed credit in time amounting to one academic year. Students from normal schools not expected to repeat but required to pass examinations on courses already studied
6. Character and experience

The soundness of these requirements can hardly be questioned. A nurse should certainly possess a sound background in fundamental knowledge before adding her more specialized nursing course. Although so much preliminary education may not be necessary for the strictly bed side nurse, it is of great importance in the training of public health nurses where considerably more initiative and self-reliance are necessary. It is believed that the success of this major undertaking on the part of the Indian boarding schools will be more definitely assured if the highest standards are adopted at the outset. Although the adoption of the lower standards may increase the number of student nurses, it may also increase the proportion of failures among those handled under such a plan. As in all other educational activities, the Indian girl who wishes to become a nurse should be so equipped that she may be given an equal chance with the white.

Recommendations. 1. All Indian schools giving pre-nursing courses should first attain the standards of accredited high schools.

2. Pre-nursing courses should be designed to meet the requirements of the Committee on Education of the National League of Nursing Education.

3. A definite course in theoretical and practical nursing covering somewhat the same ground as is now outlined in these schools is of the utmost importance.

4. The nurses selected for teaching purposes in the class room and the hospital should be selected on the basis of their teaching

[a] Committee on Education of the National League of Nursing Education.

ability, and they should be supplied with the necessary equipment to do their work. A sufficient number of employees should be provided to do the work of the hospital so that the pupil may receive the necessary instruction and guidance.

5. The character of the course given should be such that the graduates would be eligible for any accredited nurses' training school, and an effort should be made to place these girls in the best schools.

6. These girls should be encouraged where possible to prepare themselves for the field of public health nursing.

7. A reimbursable plan should be adopted for financing promising nurses who desire special training in the field of public health.

8. The Indian Office should encourage these graduates to qualify for Indian Service hospitals and public health nursing positions.

9. The salaries paid and the living quarters provided should conform to the suggestions outlined in the section devoted to Organization of the Medical Service.[a]

[a] See page 224.

CHAPTER IX

EDUCATION

Fundamental Needs. The most fundamental need in Indian education is a change in point of view. Whatever may have been the official governmental attitude, education for the Indian in the past has proceeded largely on the theory that it is necessary to remove the Indian child as far as possible from his home environment; whereas the modern point of view in education and social work lays stress on upbringing in the natural setting of home and family life. The Indian educational enterprise is peculiarly in need of the kind of approach that recognizes this principle; that is, less concerned with a conventional school system and more with the understanding of human beings. It is impossible to visit Indian schools without feeling that on the whole they have been less touched than have better public schools by the newer knowledge of human behavior; that they reflect, for the most part, an attitude toward children characteristic of older city schools or of rural schools in backward sections; that they are distinctly below the accepted social and educational standards of school systems in most cities and the better rural communities.

Recognition of the Individual. It is true in all education, but especially in the education of people situated as are the American Indians, that methods must be adapted to individual abilities, interests, and needs. A standard course of study, routine classroom methods, traditional types of schools, even if they were adequately supplied—and they are not—would not solve the problem. The methods of the average public school in the United States cannot safely be taken over bodily and applied to Indian education. Indian tribes and individual Indians within the tribes vary so much that a standard content and method of education, no matter how carefully they might be prepared, would be worse than futile. Moreover, the standard course of study for Indian schools and the system of

uniform examinations based upon it represent a procedure now no longer accepted by schools throughout the United States.[1]

A Better Personnel. The standards that are worth while in education are minimum standards, and the most successful American experience has made these apply, not primarily to courses of study and examination, but to qualifications of personnel. The surest way to achieve the change in point of view that is imperative in Indian education is to raise the qualifications of teachers and other employees. After all is said that can be said about the skill and devotion of some employees, the fact remains that the government of the United States regularly takes into the instructional staff of its Indian schools teachers whose credentials would not be accepted in good public school systems, and into the institutional side of these schools key employees—matrons and the like—who could not meet the standards set up by modern social agencies. A modernly equipped personnel would do more than any other one thing to bring necessary improvement.

Salary Schedules. Better personnel cannot be obtained at present salaries, which are lower than for any comparable positions in or out of the government service. In many of the positions, however, it is not so much higher entrance salaries that are needed as high qualifications and a real salary schedule based upon training and successful experience. Public school systems long ago learned that good teachers could be attracted partly by good entrance salaries, but even more by salary schedules assuring increases to the capable—a principle already written into law by Congress, but apparently never made effective in the Indian Service.

The Question of Cost. Although high entrance salaries are not the essential factor in getting and keeping better employees, it would be idle to expect that a better educational program will not cost money. It will cost more money than the present program, for the reason that the present cost is too low for safety. The real choice before the government is between doing a mediocre

[1] Recent recognition of this principle by the Indian Office has led to action looking toward fundamental revision of the course of study. For the past two summers teachers in Indian schools have been required to take courses in curriculum-building, the curriculum was the principal topic of employees' meetings during the past year, and some material has already been gathered for the proposed revision.

job thereby piling up for the future serious problems in poverty, disease, and crime, and spending more money for an acceptable social and educational program that will make the Indian cease to be a special case in a comparatively short time. At a time when states and cities everywhere and the national government likewise have found it necessary to adjust expenditures to a new price scale, the Indian school service has been kept as near as possible to the old level, with very unfortunate effects. Cheapness in education is expensive. Boarding schools that are operated on a per capita cost for all purposes of something over two hundred dollars a year and feed their children from eleven to eighteen cents worth of food a day may fairly be said to be operated below any reasonable standard of health and decency. From the point of view of education the Indian Service is almost literally a "starved" service.

Education and the Indian Problem as a Whole. That the whole Indian problem is essentially an educational one has repeatedly been stated by those who have dealt with Indian affairs. Commissioner Burke says in his foreword to "The Red Man in the United States":

> Practically all our work for the civilization of the Indian has become educational: Teaching the language he must of necessity adopt, the academic knowledge essential to ordinary business transactions, the common arts and crafts of the home and the field, how to provide a settled dwelling and elevate its domestic quality, how to get well when he is sick and how to stay well, how to make the best use of his land and the water accessible to it, how to raise the right kind of live-stock, how to work for a living, save money and start a bank account, how to want something he can call his own, a material possession with the happiness and comforts of family life and a pride in the prosperity of his children.

Similarly, Mr. Malcolm McDowell, secretary of the Board of Indian Commissioners, points out in his statement, issued following the conference of Secretary Work's Committee of One Hundred, that the program for the Indian centers on "the training of all Indians for the best type of American citizenship, looking to their absorption into the general citizenship of the Nation" essentially an educational policy.

Importance of Home and Family Life. Just what pronouncements like these should mean in actual practice has never, however, been clearly defined. None of the statements usually made, for example, takes into consideration home and family life as an essential part of the process of educating the Indian, yet this, as has already been suggested, is fundamental. "However important may be the contribution of the schools," says Dean James E. Russell, "the atmosphere and conditions of the home are, especially in the early days of the child's life, the primary determinant in the development of the child, and, since it is the parents who determine these conditions and create that atmosphere, it is they who are of necessity the most important educational factors in the lives of their children." A recent statement adopted by representatives of many nations places education for family and community as a first requisite in any educational program.

More Than Mere Schooling Necessary. The Indian educational program cannot simply take over the traditional type of school; it must set up its own objectives, finding out in general and for each reservation or tribal group the things that need to be done. It cannot too positively be stated that mere schooling, of the unrelated academic type, is not the educational answer to the Indian problem. The Indian Office has recognized this principle in part in its efforts to set up a school industrial program. As tools the three R's still have a place for the Indian, as for others, but they should by no means be the main objective, and, moreover, they cannot be taught to Indian children in the usual conventional way. Confusion on this point in the leadership of Indian education has led to an unjustifiable insistence by Indian school staffs upon learning English as the main objective of the elementary school. Even in the acquisition of this language tool, the older methods are relatively ineffective with Indians. Of what use is a classroom drill and technique with children, some of whom may never have spoken a word in school because of shyness? In such cases what the teacher has to deal with is a home and family condition far more important than any mere skill in speech.

Adults in the Education Program. No matter how much may be done in schools, or how much the educational program may center about the school, as it very well may, a genuine educational program will have to comprise the adults of the community as well as the children. Several of the superintendents have realized this

keenly, and have started adult education campaigns of one sort or another that are deservedly praised in various parts of this report. Such a community program must include, as Commissioner Burke says, teaching how to farm; it must include a thorough campaign to eliminate illiteracy; it must teach interdependence and reliance upon their own efforts to a people who have been largely miseducated in this direction for several generations. It must put health and morals ahead of external attainments. Even the business side of the Indian enterprise has to be predominantly educational. Merely conserving the Indian's property and funds will not suffice. Every transaction with an Indian should be viewed not as a mere item in the daily routine of business, but as to its effect in putting the Indian on his feet. Some of the best of the superintendents act upon this principle, utilizing money advances, for example, to inculcate lessons in financial management and gradually extending responsibility with demonstrated ability to assume it, as with the Osages. The Osage situation also illustrates, however, the lack of a real social and educational approach in Indian affairs. The agency building at Pawhuska is itself symbolic of the way the task has been viewed. The first floor is like a beautiful city bank, and upstairs are the well-appointed meeting rooms for councils, directors, and the like. Down in the basement, occupying a corner in one small office, is the day school inspector, representing the only approach there is to a real social and educational program in a place which needs such a program—school, health, welfare, recreation—above everything else.

Civic Education Through Directed Experiences. It will take courage as well as skill to do some of the things that belong in a comprehensive educational program—such as, for example, helping the Indian to understand that many of the privileges for which he now asks, many of the unwise governmental promises he insists upon having kept, are in reality bad for him and for his own sake should not be granted. Instead of tolerating the Indian's dislike of paying taxes, for example, those in charge of Indian affairs will have to help the Indian to see that taxpaying is an essential part of the duty of citizenship, desirable and necessary if he is to be eventually freed from a system that will otherwise hold him permanently in the "irresponsibility of childhood." Such a change in point of

view cannot be imposed upon Indians from above; it cannot be taught by doing things for Indians. The Indian will have to learn it, as others have, through actual experiences; and it is the business of education to furnish and direct these experiences.

Education and Other Indian "Business." If the whole Indian problem is to be regarded as educational there will have to be radical changes in personnel, as has already been intimated. The so-called "farmers," for example, many of whom are in reality poorly paid sub-agents and clerks, will have to become real agricultural teachers, with qualifications and compensation similar to those white communities demand when they employ farm demonstration agents. The whole situation will have to be viewed as an educational rather than a clerical or administrative one, and superintendents will have to be appointed on this basis. Everything in the Indian life and surroundings will have to tie into the educational program in a manner now seldom observed. At present it is not at all unusual to see the schools teaching one thing and the school plant and agency exemplifying something else. This is especially true in health teaching, where a conscientious teacher will be found instructing her children in the necessities of a good simple diet, and the school dining room will be violating most of the principles laid down, serving coffee and tea instead of milk and seldom furnishing the vegetables and fruits called for in the sample menus the children have learned in the classroom.

Undesirable Effects of Routinization. The whole machinery of routinized boarding school and agency life works against the kind of initiative and independence, the development of which should be the chief concern of Indian education in and out of school. What all wish for is Indians who can take their place as independent citizens. The routinization characteristic of the boarding schools, with everything scheduled, no time left to be used at one's own initiative, every movement determined by a signal or an order, leads just the other way. It symbolizes a manner of treating Indians which will have to be abandoned if Indians, children and adults alike, are ever to become self-reliant members of the American community.

Can the Indian be "Educated"? It is necessary at this point to consider one question that is always raised in connection with an

educational program for Indians: Is it really worth while to do anything for Indians, or are they an "inferior" race? Can the Indian be "educated"?

The question as usually asked implies, it should be noted, the restricted notion of education as mere formal schooling against which caution has already been pronounced; but whether schooling of the intellectual type is meant or education in the broader sense of desirable individual and social changes, the answer can be given unequivocally: *The Indian is essentially capable of education.*

Evidence of Intelligence Tests. Like members of other races, the Indian has recently been subjected to intelligence tests. Without entering into the objections sometimes raised to these attempts to measure inherent ability, it may be said at once that the record made by the Indian children in the tests, while usually lower on the average than that of white children, has never been low enough to justify any concern as to whether they can be "educated," even in the sense of ordinary abstract schooling. T. R. Garth, of the University of Denver, who is generally credited with having done more than any one else in the study of racial psychology of Indians, found in a study of over a thousand full-blood children of the southwestern and plains tribes that the ratio between the Indian mental age and that of the whites was 100 to 114, or that the whites were 14 per cent better than the Indians. Miss Goodenough, who tested California Indians with a drawing test intended to be less linguistic than the ordinary group test, reports a median score of 85.6 for Indians, as compared with 100.3 for American born whites, a score for Indians that is higher than that for Negroes, about the same for Spanish-Mexican children, and somewhat lower than for European, Japanese, and Chinese children, but obviously not below a workable point for even schooling of the conventional sort. Furthermore, Garth calls attention to the fact that there is a constant tendency for "I. Q.'s" as found to increase with education, and he concludes that "because of differences in social status and temperament" even the differences in intelligence quotients probably lose much of their significance.

Experience of Teachers and Others. The experience of teachers in the public schools having Indian children is almost exactly what one would expect from these experimental data. It shows clearly the ability of Indian children to do school work. Indian children, in both government and public schools, are usually abnormally old for their grade, but statistics collected during the present investigation show that this over-ageness is almost wholly a matter of late starting to school, combined with the half-time plan in use in government boarding schools. By far the great majority of public school teachers who have Indian children in their classes say that there is no essential difference in ability: that on the whole they get along satisfactorily and do the work. Once language handicaps, social status, and attendance difficulties are overcome, ability differences that seemed more or less real tend to disappear. Interviews with the teachers of the eighty-eight Osage children in the schools of Fairfax, Oklahoma (about one-tenth the total number of pupils in the school system), indicated that these children were doing just about the normal work that would be expected of white children. Fifty-six of the eighty-eight are full-bloods. The boy ranking second in scholarship in the senior high school in this community last year was a full-blood Osage. Graduates of the American Indian Institute, Wichita, Kansas, representing fifteen different tribes, a majority of them full-bloods, have in the past four years done successful work in higher institutions of learning in eight states. Among the nearly two hundred Indian students of varying degree of blood at the University of Oklahoma are students of every possible scholarship rank, including at least one member of Phi Beta Kappa, the honorary scholarship fraternity. Few people who have handled Indian children in public schools, who have observed their remarkable talents in the arts, who have worked with university students of Indian blood, or who have sat in Indian councils, have any doubts as to the inherent ability, mental and otherwise, of the Indian people.

Indian "Psychology." Differences in psychology there may be; but the resemblances are more striking than the differences. Garth quotes a chief of the Cheyennes and Sioux as saying:

> There are birds of many colors—red, blue, green, yellow—yet all one bird. There are horses of many colors—brown, black, yellow, white—yet all one horse. So cattle; so all living things—animals, flowers, trees. So men; in this land where once were only Indians are now men of every color—white, black, yellow, red—yet all one people.

Much more important for the educational problem than the evidence of so-called intelligence tests is evidence as to the adaptability of the Indian for *learning* in the broader sense, for making those changes in individual, family, and community life that are necessary if the Indian is to maintain himself and progress as he should. Is the Indian capable of change in this sense? Can he take on new ways where necessary? While there is not the same type of experimental evidence available on this point that there is with regard to ability to do school work, there are at least strong indications that the Indian is indeed adaptable; that if anything the Indian is probably more adaptable, more docile, than is good for him. The submissiveness of Indian children to boarding school routine, the patience of Indians under difficult conditions, their willingness to surrender, at times, their most cherished cultural heritage, suggest that, without inquiring too deeply into the racial historical cause of it, the Indian of today is more than ordinarily susceptible to the changes the white man offers him under the label of education. This is simply another way of emphasizing, of course, the responsibility of those in charge of educating the Indian. Whether certain Indian characteristics of today are racial or merely the natural result of experiences—and the probabilities are strongly in favor of the latter assumption—it is the task of education to help the Indian, not by assuming that he is fundamentally different, but that he is a human being very much like the rest of us, with a cultural background quite worth while for its own sake and as a basis for changes needed in adjusting to modern life. Moreover, it is essential for those in charge of education for the Indian to remember that the Indian's attitudes towards society have been determined largely by his experiences, and that these can, wherever necessary, be changed to desirable social attitudes by exposing him to a corresponding set of *right* experiences in the relationships of home, family, and community life. A normal human attitude toward the Indian boy and girl in school and toward Indian parents as human beings not essentially different from the rest of us, is justified by the evidence and is indispensable for teachers and others who direct Indian education.

The Amount of Schooling. One of the first tests of any educational enterprise is the number of children attending school in proportion to the total number of children of school age. Modern educational systems put as their first task that of finding out precisely how many children there are and of what ages. Unfortunately this simple test cannot be applied satisfactorily to Indian education, for the reason that there are no reliable statistics of Indian population of the United States.

Need for Indian School Census. The statement of a qualified observer that "probably the most accurate count that has ever been made of our Indian population can best be characterized as a reasonably good guess" applies to Indian school children. The official figures show a curious discrepancy between general population and population of school age. According to these figures the total Indian population increased from 318,209 in 1922 to 355,070 in 1926, but in the same period the number of Indian children of school age is reported to have decreased from 91,968 to 84,553. Recently government officers have been making special efforts to get an accurate census of Indian children. "We were able during the past year to cut down the number of children of which we had no record from approximately one hundred and fifty to twenty," says a typical 1926 statement by an agency superintendent whose total population is only a few thousands. "A further effort will be made this fall," he adds, "and I believe that one more clean-up will get an accurate record of our children." No really systematic attack upon the educational problem of the Indian can be made until a thorough school census is actually established.

Enrollment Below Normal Still. Such evidence as there is indicates real improvement in getting Indian children into school, though the figures still show that enrollment of Indian children is below that of the white population of the United States. Of the 84,553 children of school age reported in 1926 by the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 69,892 are attending some kind of school. This percentage of 82.7 is creditable as compared with that found in other similar situations, but not as satisfactory as most of the states have been able to achieve. The Bureau of Education figures for the various states give the ratio of public school enrollment to population of school age; private school enrollment is omitted. The percentage of children in private schools for Indians is about the same as in the general population. If the Indian school figure is corrected accordingly, the figure for the Indian children for 1926

would be, in terms of a decimal, 0.736 as compared with 0.830 for the entire United States. This is an improvement over 1925 and 1924 when the figures would have been .695 and .655 respectively. Actually the federal government is now getting 83 per cent of the known Indian children 5 to 17 years of age into some kind of school, as compared with about 90 per cent for the general population. Of course the Indian figure does not equal the record of states like California and Washington, which, by making abundant provision at both ends of the educational program, kindergarten and high school, are enrolling practically all of their boys and girls of school age in school. Of the forty-eight states, forty-one had better records in 1925 (the last year for which general statistics are available) than the Indian school record of 1926.

In considering the present efforts to enroll children in school it is necessary to take into account the difficulties of overcoming the slump in attendance that accompanied the war. Up to very recently the lowest number of "eligible" children not in school, according to Indian Office records, was in 1913, when all but 14,743 of the known 82,470 children of school age were in school. The number not in school reached its peak in 1918, when nearly 23,000 Indian children were reported as not in any school, and it was not until 1924 that the number of absentees began perceptibly to diminish.

The essential weaknesses in the Indian situation are that the total number of children is really not known; that the government tolerates a far larger number of "ineligibles" than city and state school systems ordinarily have, especially of children physically unable to attend; and that these figures are probably unduly optimistic in that they report enrollment only and say nothing of the serious irregularities of attendance that are found among the full-bloods nearly everywhere. Day school inspectors have helped this situation very much, but they are handicapped by the enormous territory they have to cover, and there are some regions where Indian children, especially full-bloods, simply are not attending school.

"Over-Age" Children and Attendance. The heavy "over-ageness" among present Indian school children reflects the failure to get children into school during the past dozen years. Of 16,257 Indian pupils studied in detail in the present investigation, only

1043 were at the normal grade for their age, 2170 were one year retarded, 2951 two years, 3125 three years, 2491 four years, 1778 five years, 1160 six years, 665 seven years, and 810 eight years or more, with only 264 pupils ahead of their normal grade. That this over-ageness is not, however, due primarily to slow progress is as much as it is to failure to get children into school is shown by the fact that 4192 have reached the grade appropriate for the number of years they have been in school, and 6190 others are only two years or less behind the point where their years of schooling would normally put them. This is almost exactly the discrepancy between attendance and grade that is normally found in state school systems.

Illiteracy Among Indians. Another customary measure of extent of schooling is the amount of illiteracy. Here again there are conflicting figures, but the census returns make possible some rather striking comparisons. Whereas the rate of illiteracy for the entire United States was 6 per cent in 1920 for Indians of sixteen states having large Indian populations it was nearly 36 per cent. In three of these sixteen states the Indian illiteracy rate exceeded 60 per cent, as compared with rates only a fraction of this for other groups that usually show high illiteracy, namely, rural population and foreign-born whites. In Arizona, where the Indian illiteracy was 67.8 per cent, the rate among the rural population was 20.4 and among foreign-born whites 32.9; in Utah, with an Indian rate of 61.6 per cent, the rural illiteracy rate was but 2.5 and the foreign-born 8.3. In North Dakota rural illiteracy was only 2.2 per cent, but the Indians showed 29.6. In Oregon rural illiteracy of 1.4 per cent may be contrasted with nearly 23 per cent for Indians.

These are 1920 census figures, of course, and are now more than seven years old. Furthermore, they include all persons over 10 years of age. A more significant age-group from the point of view of recent schooling would be that between 10 and 20. The Indian rate for the sixteen states is 17 per cent. It reaches 52.5 per cent in Arizona, 40.8 in Utah, and 33.6 in New Mexico, but it goes as low as 1.8 in Oregon, 2.1 in Nebraska, and 2.6 in Washington and Wyoming. In South Dakota only 3.4 per cent of the Indians of this age-group were illiterate, as compared with 30.2 per cent for Indians 21 years and over. In California the corresponding figures are 9.1 per cent for the younger group and 46.2 per cent for the

group over 21 years old. Montana shows a rate for Indians in the 10- to 20-year group of only 6.8 per cent as compared with 48 per cent for persons over 21. The 17 per cent illiteracy for 1920 for Indians of this age-group represented improvement over 1910, when the census illiteracy rate for Indians in the same sixteen states 10 to 20 years of age was 25 per cent.[2]

Heavy Increases in Enrollment Likely. Those in charge of the education of Indians are looking forward to heavy increases in school attendance, particularly the more advanced grades, in the very near future, and such increases are sure to come. One may seriously question the building of new boarding schools as the means of caring for the increase, yet commend strongly the foresight shown in expecting heavy enrollment. It is bound to come. The old day of the two or three years of elementary schooling for Indian boys and girls, many of whom were 15 and 16 years of age before they even started to school, is past. To an increasing extent Indian children will be found going to school at the normal age for white children and remaining in school as long as whites. Up to within a few years ago it was unusual for Indian children to go on into high school, but now the figures show students in many jurisdictions not only attending high school but also completing the course and going on to college and university.

Better Attendance a Home and School Problem. As the government intensifies its efforts to get the Indian children into school and keep them there, it will more and more find it necessary to use other methods of securing full and regular attendance than those now in vogue. Merely using police methods may perhaps be defended as a necessary step at one stage, but long experience in city and rural school administration, with children situated very much as Indian children are, has shown that attendance officers of the school social worker type rather than of the police officer kind are needed for this work. It is, indeed, much more than a matter of mere school attendance. What has to be worked out is a home and school relation whereby the parents will be enlisted in having their children go to school regularly and the home in return will be directly affected by the school.

[2] For detailed tables and discussion, see Schmeckebier, The Office of Indian Affairs, pp. 199-202.

The Educational Personnel of the Indian Service. Properly equipped personnel is the most urgent immediate need in the Indian education service. At the present time the government is attempting to do a highly technical job with untrained, and to a certain extent even uneducated, people. It is not necessary to attempt to place the blame for this situation, but it is essential to recognize it and change it.

Amount of Training for Teachers. Standards for teachers and school principals in government schools should be raised to the level of at least the better public school systems. At present only a comparatively small number of the teachers and principals in the Indian Service could qualify on this basis. Public school systems which are regarded as meeting even minimum standards require elementary teachers to have graduated from a teacher-training course of two years beyond high school and an increasing number of the better communities are employing teachers who have completed the work in three-year and four-year teacher training institutions. This is for elementary teachers. For high school teachers communities everywhere have for many years demanded at least college graduation. The chief reason government Indian schools have not been accepted by state and regional accrediting agencies in the past is that they do not have secondary school teachers who meet this minimum requirement. But children in elementary Indian schools require just as well prepared teachers as do high school students. For work similar to that needed with Indian children there is a distinct tendency within public and private schools to employ teachers for all levels who are college or university graduates, with special preparation in the underlying social and other sciences. A good argument could be made for the point of view that the national government should in its own work take the lead in raising standards, but in any case it is not too much to ask that the government's standards shall be at least as high as those of the better states and communities. Not only are they not as high at present; there is even some evidence that the Indian Service is receiving teachers who have been forced out of the schools of their own states because they could not meet the raised standards of those states. *The national government could do no better single thing for Indian education than to insist upon the completion of an accepted college or university course, including*

special preparation for teaching, as the minimum entrance requirement for all educational positions in Indian schools or with Indian people.

Salaries Abnormally Low. The need of higher salaries in the Indian education service is evident when comparison is made with the conditions in public school systems. High pay and school teaching have never gone together, but Indian school salaries are below any ordinary standards. The uniform elementary salary of $1200 in the Indian Service should be compared with the salaries of elementary school teachers in the fifty-nine cities studied by the National Education Association, which in 1926 ranged as high as $3400, with a large number between $2800 and $2000, and a "median" (average) salary of slightly over $2000. Principals of elementary schools in these same cities averaged over $3000, with the largest number of positions between $3600 and $3800; whereas the salary for principal in an Indian school is usually $1560. High school salaries in the Indian Service have been increased somewhat, so that the $1560 that may be paid is not a bad beginning salary to teachers without experience, though considerably below what the best well-trained beginners receive, but in order to get and keep qualified high school teachers school systems are paying as high as $3000 to $4000, with nearly $2600 as a median for regular teachers and over $3000 for department heads.

Vocational teachers in public schools under the Smith-Hughes Act usually receive more than other teachers in high schools, and persons having the qualifications called for under such positions as matrons and "disciplinarians" in Indian schools would, if adequate training were insisted upon, command salaries from two to four times what is now paid in Indian schools.

It is sometimes argued that there are plenty of candidates for certain of the positions, particularly teaching. This is a familiar phenomenon to students of occupations. It merely means that standards are so low that anybody may apply. As soon as standards are raised and salaries improved, only the qualified can apply. The Indian school service throughout is an excellent example of the disastrous effects of lack of training standards.

One result of the low salaries is the amount of turnover in some of the schools. In one school visited in March, 1927, there had been twenty-six teachers since September for the eight school rooms.

One room up to that time had had ten different teachers. Only two of the eight rooms had in March the teachers they started with in September. What this means for morale and educational progress, is easy to see. It would be a serious matter in any school with Navajo Indian children, in dire need of the kind of understanding that comes only after a slow process of getting thoroughly acquainted, it seemed almost to nullify any good effects that might accrue from maintaining a school at all.

Matrons and "Disciplinarians." One of the best illustrations of the need for better equipped personnel is in the case of such positions as "matron" and "disciplinarian." The very words reflect an erroneous conception of the task that needs to be done; but whatever they are called the positions need to be filled by people with appropriate training for this work. The matron of an Indian school influences the lives of boys and girls probably more than any other person on the staff. Education is essentially changing human behavior, for good or ill, and the manner in which the matron and disciplinarian handle the children in their care determines very largely the habits and attitudes that will go to make up what the outside world regards as their personality and character.

It seems almost incredible that for a position as matron the educational requirement is only eighth grade—and even this eighth grade standard is comparatively new. The statement of duties in a recent civil service examination for matron reads as follows:

> Appointees, under general direction or supervision, will have charge of the home life of students in Indian boarding school, including the performance of one or more of the following tasks: Directing the household departments of the institution; supervising or directing or promoting the social life of students, training or guiding them in correct habits of health, self-discipline, ethics of right living, physical training or recreational work; teaching *vocational guidance*, housekeeping, care and repair of clothing. Appointees may be required to serve on a vocational guidance committee. The head matron's duties are chiefly supervisory and executive in character.

One would expect, in view of this statement of duties, training requirements that would include high school and college and certain specific training for handling children. As a matter of fact,

however, all that is required in addition to the schooling of eight grades or the "equivalent" is *one* of the following:

a. 6 months training or experience in four of the following: institution child welfare, social service, home nursing or visiting nurse, home management or general housekeeping, domestic science, general cookery, family sewing, care of children, teaching
b. 1 year as matron
c. 2 years normal training
d. 2 years nurse training
e. 2 years home economics

Professional Qualifications Necessary. It will be noted that a woman so poorly educated as to have only eight grades, not even the present average of the population of the United States, would be eligible for any of these positions, provided she could qualify with six months' experience "in home management or general housekeeping, general cookery, family sewing, or care of children." In other words, practically any woman who had ever had anything to do with a household would be eligible for a position which really requires not only a good general education but high ability and special professional training. For this work head matrons ordinarily receive $1320 and other matrons and assistant matrons from $780 to $1140.[2] It is a tribute to humanity in general that under such a scheme the matrons have been even as good as they are. At a time when business, nursing, and practically all fields open to women are insisting upon high school graduation as the minimum prerequisite for any specialized training and when the types of work such as are described under the position of matron are more and more being prepared for by special professional courses in colleges and universities, it seems incredible that the government of the United States should invite as candidates people with no schooling beyond the elementary grades and no real technical preparation.

It is easily possible to describe these positions as to qualifications and training in such a way that workers specially prepared to do

[2] The examination announcements indicate possibility of promotion, but funds have never been provided to make promotions possible. The figures given include the estimated value of maintenance.

the work can be obtained. National associations in the various educational and social fields have done considerable work on qualifications of personnel, and would undoubtedly be willing to lend their material to assist the government in the effort to bring government conditions more nearly up to what a modern community would expect. One difficulty is that in practice certain positions, especially those of assistants to disciplinarians and matrons, have apparently been set aside for Indians exclusively. This would seem to be an extremely doubtful procedure, of no real benefit to the Indians from the point of view of employment and decidedly objectionable from the point of view of the welfare of children in Indian schools. Capable Indians should most certainly be encouraged to get the necessary general and special preparation for such positions as these, but the positions should not be assigned to Indians solely because they are Indians.

Methods of Appointment. Certain appointment peculiarities in the Indian educational service also need to be carefully considered. For example, appointments in the Indian Service are seldom made at the time of year best calculated to get good candidates. American school heads make a practice of selecting most of their teachers for the following year between February and June, thereby assuring themselves of experienced teachers who have made good and also of the best new candidates available from the colleges, universities, and teacher-training institutions generally. In contrast to this, Indian Service examinations have been held comparatively late, and appointments not made until so far along that most of the good candidates have already accepted positions. Again, the modern school head almost invariably interviews the candidate for a position in his school and either sees the candidate in action or gets first-hand information from qualified persons who have. It may not be possible under government conditions to do the thing on such a personal basis as this, but it would be highly desirable if competent heads of schools in the Indian Service could have the same opportunity public school superintendents and heads of private schools have of seeing to it that a teacher is selected who fits the special conditions of his employment. In any case, it should be possible so to place the examination and selection that all the really worth while candidates will not be gone by the time the Indian Service comes around.

Furthermore, the probationary period of six months customary in the national civil service is not adapted to Indian schools. If an appointment is made late in the spring, as frequently happens under the methods that prevail, the teacher has but a few weeks at the end of the school year, when conditions are hardly normal, and a few more weeks in the fall, to demonstrate his abilities. Schools that have given careful attention to their personnel problem usually insist upon a full school year as the minimum time in which to judge of a teacher's success in his work.

These and other special difficulties in Indian educational service appointments point to the necessity for a personnel agency at the Washington office which will work on this task of recruiting the right kind of personnel for the Indian Service. Whatever success has attended other efforts in the recruiting of teachers and other educational employees, notably in the case of the Philippines and Porto Rico, was brought about by special attention to this problem.

Chief Changes Needed in Personnel Provisions. In the sections that follow other changes that are needed to improve Indian Service educational personnel are briefly summarized:

1. Superintendents of reservations as well as of schools should be held to at least as high qualifications as superintendents of public schools or directors of extension work.

The position of superintendent is an educational one in the broad sense of the term, requiring qualifications similar to those demanded of persons occupying positions in the two fields indicated. At the present time no public school board would think of employing a superintendent of schools who was not at least a college graduate, with special training and experience for his work, and many communities now demand considerable advanced special work beyond college graduation. This is not a theoretical matter; school boards have simply learned that educational administration is a profession requiring special preparation, and that it is a practical procedure to pay sufficient salary to get qualified people. It is true that the Indian Service has as superintendents of both schools and reservations some very able men who do not have the qualifications here suggested. This is merely because they are the product of the period when this training was not provided to the extent that it is now. The Indian Service can no longer hope, under present

changed conditions with regard to training everywhere, to bring in superintendents of a high type unless better educational qualifications are set up.

2. The principle of the salary schedule should be applied to the Indian education service, so that professionally qualified teachers and other members of the educational staff entering the service can count upon salary increases for capable work.

At the present time, while the entrance salary for elementary teachers is low as compared with better American school communities, the greatest difficulty is not the low entrance salary so much as the fact that advancement is almost unknown. It was the clear purpose of the application of reclassification to the field service to insure promotion within the grade upon satisfactory work, but it is the regular thing to find everywhere in the Indian Service elementary teachers of many years' experience receiving the same $1200 paid to the beginning teacher. Nothing could be so destructive of morale as this. In a good city school system entrance salaries for the type of work required by the Indian Service would ordinarily be more than $1200, but, what is even more important, there would be, in any case, a salary schedule in effect which would provide systematic increases. The Indian school service is almost alone among modern educational systems in not having a definite salary schedule. The Research Division of the National Education Association, which has made a special study of the matter, is authority for the statement that practically all large cities and approximately 70 per cent of all communities over 2500 population have salary schedules for the school system.

3. The present "educational leave" should be extended to cover at least the six weeks required for a minimum university summer session.

One of the obvious disadvantages of teaching in a government Indian school has for years been that whereas teachers elsewhere have the long summer vacation in which to travel or do summer school work, the Indian Service teacher had only the thirty days allowed other civil service employees. A commendable change was made when "educational leave" began to be granted. At present, however, this amounts to only four weeks, which means that unless the teacher or principal uses also his annual leave, which is given

him for another purpose, he cannot remain for the full summer course. It is to the credit of the teachers in Indian schools that many of them surrender their annual leave in order to complete regular six weeks' courses. This, however, is not necessary or desirable. Educational leave is not to be regarded as a special privilege for the employee, but rather as a necessity for the government, which thereby sees to it that the teaching staff is kept in touch with current theory and practice in education. Some of the most encouraging teaching seen in Indian schools has been by teachers who have made the most of their opportunity at summer schools while on educational leave.

The principle involved in "educational leave" should also be recognized to the extent of detailing an employee to visit other schools, whether in the government service or not; to study employment of other conditions having to do with his educational work; in other words, to secure any supplementary equipment from time to time that will enable him to do a better job. This principle has long been recognized by private business and by other government services, national, state, and local, and application of it is especially needed in the Indian Service. In particular the attendance of teachers and other educational officials at educational meetings should be encouraged and not made practically impossible, as at present. Public school boards and state educational departments regularly send superintendents and other school employees to educational meetings at public expense because of the obvious advantage to the school system itself of keeping in touch with the work other schools and school systems are doing. No one can visit an Indian school without realizing how much the government work is handicapped by the fact that the government does not provide similarly for attendance of Indian school people at educational meetings.

4. There is a need for a definite program of pre-service training for Indian school work.

Just as modern corporations provide training for their employees because they have found it economy to do so, the government would find it very useful to undertake a brief period of pre-service training to acquaint appointees or prospective appointees with some of the conditions they will find in the Indian Service. Indian schools and Indian educational programs generally need

not be as different from those used elsewhere as some people assume, but there are conditions that can and should be known to teachers and others about to enter the service. This training should include a short time spent at the Indian Office to familiarize the appointee with the general organization and certain of the problems from the central office point of view; probably a short survey of other bureaus of the national government that have any bearing on the education of the Indian; and brief visits to several schools or reservations in different parts of the United States. Too frequently a teacher is deposited at an Indian school with no previous knowledge whatever of Indian life, of the part of the country where the work is located, or of the special conditions that prevail. This pre-service training might well be an integral part of the appointment and probationary service previously suggested.

5. Personnel standards will have to be raised for other employees as well as for members of the strictly "teaching" staff. The most promising feature of Indian educational policy, namely, the determination to provide an educational program that will include as an integral factor industrial and other activities, falls down almost completely as a result of the low standards of training. The so-called platoon or "work-study-play" plan, for example, which many American communities have found helpful because it compels consideration of a richer educational program than might otherwise be furnished, cannot possibly succeed in Indian schools unless those in charge of the "auditorium" features, the farm, the dairy, the shop, and unless other activities are resourceful and well prepared for the work. The success of much of the home economics work in the boarding schools in the face of almost insurmountable difficulties is due to an insistence upon training standards for home economics teachers that, while by no means ideal, are far ahead of shop and other industrial workers, matrons, and ordinary academic teachers. In only a handful of instances in the entire Indian Service could the teacher of agriculture or industrial work qualify for the corresponding type of work in a public vocational secondary school as stipulated by act of Congress and the regulations of the Federal Board for Vocational Education. In the case of vocational teachers one department of the national government thereby fails to carry out or even approximate the standards set up by another agency

of the government created by Congress for the express purpose of establishing such standards.

6. More attention will need to be paid to service conditions aside from compensation.

The difficulties of getting and retaining qualified employees for the educational service are not confined to salary and salary schedules, important though these are. It would be difficult to find an educational work where the hours are as confining, the amount of free time as nearly nil, the conditions of housing as poor, as in the Indian educational service. In the boarding schools the teachers and other staff persons are almost literally on a twenty-four-hour service basis, seven days in the week. The summer school provision recently made means that teachers are obliged to teach in the summer session without additional pay—a condition that obtains, so far as is known, nowhere else in the United States and one that could only be justified by higher compensation. In the day schools the teachers are obliged to go almost entirely without any of the congenial companionship that is an essential to morale.

Living conditions at many Indian agencies and schools represent a survival of primitive rural conditions of forty years ago, of a type no longer existent in quite such an extreme form even in the remote rural districts of states in which the agencies are located. Sometimes, for example, there are only oil or gasoline lamps; it is impossible to get to town; roads are so inferior to the surrounding highways of the state and nation that the agency is inaccessible certain months of the year, or automobiles have to be pulled through by teams. The road leading from a town to an Indian agency is usually reasonably good until the government reservation property is reached, when it becomes very bad. Better salaries and a salary schedule would draw qualified teachers to an Indian reservation ninety miles from the railroad, but unless some care is taken to make living and working conditions worth while even better pay will not hold them long. It is worth noting that there are some localities where the efforts to improve living conditions have helped tenure and morale notably even with the present low salaries and impossibility of promotion.

New Educational Positions Needed. As better qualified teachers and principals begin to be provided for Indian schools it will gradually be possible to shift the emphasis from mere administration and inspection, as at present, to real professional direction and supervision. In this respect the Indian Service is about where the states were a quarter of a century ago, when adequate state leadership in education first began. At that period the state departments of education began adding to their staffs specialists in secondary education, in vocational education, and in various other fields, until today a typical state department of public instruction will consist very largely of a well-equipped technical staff whose task is that of providing help and direction to the schools of the state, the schools accepting this aid, not because they are required to—indeed compulsion is often entirely lacking—but because it is valuable to them. The state, in its turn, finds it is good policy to accompany state financial aid with the technical assistance necessary to see that the money is expended as far as possible in accordance with the best educational practice.

In the Indian Service application of the same principle would mean that instead of a largely administrative and clerical service at the Washington office, whose time is necessarily taken up to a very considerable extent with insignificant and often irritating details, there would be in addition a comparatively small scientifically trained educational staff, such as other government bureaus have, whose task it would be to furnish the necessary professional direction now so often lacking for the broad educational program of the Indian Service. This educational staff at Washington should comprise, in addition to the already existent positions (which include school administration, home economics, and nursing education) other temporary or permanent specialists in health education; vocational education, including agriculture and farm and home demonstration; vocational guidance; adult education; and school social work of the visiting teacher type. The total number of such positions would be small, and the aggregate expense a mere fraction of the total appropriation for education, but there can be little doubt that the effect would be similar to that experienced by state departments of public instruction, which have found this to be the economical way of making appropriations bring maximum results.

New types of employees are also needed for the schools and the reservations, either for present positions or in addition to them. The titles of "disciplinarian" and "matron" should be abolished in the Indian schools and the names of the positions created in their

stead should designate the real character of the duties performed. Persons in other educational fields have difficulty in understanding how such a position as "disciplinarian" can exist. The poorest "disciplinarians" are an obstacle to Indian progress; the best try very hard to be directors of boys' activities or even "deans," to use a word that secondary schools have taken from the colleges. The position should be on at least as high a level in training and and salary as other educational positions in the school. In public schools coaches and athletic directors nowadays are almost invariably college graduates, and there is a decided tendency to require special qualifications for this work because of its recognized importance for character training. The corresponding position in an Indian school carries even greater responsibilities than those of the school athletic director, since the whole social and individual life of the boys is affected, day and night, and special social and racial factors are involved that few athletic directors, even of the better type, would know anything about. Directors and staffs of modern summer camps come nearer what is required of the boys' director in an Indian school.

As the public schools develop and the boarding schools cease to be the prominent feature of Indian education they have been, there will be more and more need for community workers in health and education, especially social workers with family case-work training to make the necessary connection between the schools and the homes. There is nothing visionary about this. It is already being done successfully in a number of urban communities, and there are social agencies engaged in training persons for this type of work. The principle upon which these positions should be established is that of having as few positions as possible, but well paid and responsible, with college and special training insisted upon, even if it becomes necessary to fill positions slowly, rather than to fill a lot of positions with inadequately trained people. In the creation of needed new positions the government should avoid its previous mistakes in the Indian Service and set up high standards of personnel.

The Course of Study for Indian Schools. The adoption of a course of study is a step in advance for any educational enterprise. It means that objectives have been set up and that united effort is

to be made to attain these objectives. The Indian Office is to be commended, therefore, for its effort to make a course of study for Indian schools. It should be understood, however, that this is only an intermediate step. No course of study should remain static; it should be constantly revised in terms of children's needs and aptitudes; and no course of study should be made uniform in details over a vast territory of widely differing conditions. These are the chief difficulties with the present course of study for Indian schools, which was originally prepared in 1915, and is now very much in need of revision.

Suggestion Rather Than Prescription. Present-day practice regards a course of study as mainly suggestive rather than prescriptive. It usually lays down certain minimum requirements, or may suggest minimum attainments; but it is careful to leave considerable latitude to the teacher and to local communities. It is doubtful if any state nowadays in compiling a course of study even for its comparatively limited territory would do what the national government has attempted to do, that is to adopt a uniform course of study for the entire Indian Service and require it to be carried out in detail. The Indian school course of study is clearly not adaptable to different tribes and different individuals; it is built mainly in imitation of a somewhat older type of public school curricula now recognized as unsatisfactory even for white schools, instead of being created out of the lives of Indian people, as it should be; and it is administered by a poorly equipped teaching force under inadequate professional direction.

Program Versus Actuality. Like most courses of study of this type, the Indian school course has many excellent statements. Justifiable emphasis is placed upon health, for example, but health education of the comprehensive character therein described can only be accomplished with a wealth of qualified personnel, which is almost wholly lacking. Vocational guidance is frequently stressed, but scarcely anybody in the Indian Service has any real conception of what guidance means, to say nothing of real training in this field. The Indian school course of study contains excellent statements about the "use and scope of the library," but there are in fact practically no libraries worthy of the name in the Indian Service, almost no provision for acquiring worthwhile new books, and few if any trained librarians or teacher-librarians to carry

out the plans. Anyone who reads the statements in the course of study is bound to get a shock when he goes to the schools and sees the most elementary health principles violated and not even sufficient nourishing food supplied; when he finds that the industrial training provided often has very little to do with the future work of the boys who are taking it; when he finds that except in a few rare instances the library, where there is one, consists mainly of sets of old textbooks, a few books for teachers and some miscellaneous volumes, usually kept under lock and key in the principal's office and seldom used in the way a modern school library is used continuously by pupils in the school.

A Special Curriculum Opportunity. The special curriculum opportunity in Indian schools is for material based upon the ascertained needs of Indian boys and girls and adapted to their aptitudes and interests. Emphasis upon "community surveys" in the circulars of the general superintendent is a step in the right direction. There is so much that might, however, in the hands of curriculum specialists and wise teachers, make admirable content material for Indian schools. Such excellent opportunity exists for community civics based upon both Indian and white community life instead of the old-time "Civil Government," long since abandoned in better American public schools and especially meaningless for the Indian, who needs to have his own tribal, social and civic life used as the basis for an understanding of his place in modern society. Interesting opportunity abounds for Indian geography as a substitute approach for the formal geography of continents, oceans, and urban locations; for Indian history as a means of understanding other history and for its own importance in helping Indians understand the past and future of their own people. The possibilities of Indian arts would make a book in themselves; already in one or two places, notably among the Hopis, Indian children have given a convincing demonstration of what they can do with color and design when the school gives them a chance to create for themselves. There is such a chance to build up for the Indian schools reading material that shall have some relation to Indian interests, not merely Indian legends, which are good and susceptible of considerable development, but actual stories of modern Indian experiences, as, for example, the success or failure of this or that returned student; how this particular Indian handled his allotment; how So-and-So cleaned up his house, what he did in the "Five-Years' Program." These are real things that Indians are experiencing and that have everyday significance for them.

The Real Objectives of Education. Study of modern curriculum investigations will show that, while there are conflicting views as to whether the content of education shall be mainly quantities of subject matter transmitted or mainly experiences that will provide the child with means of development, yet there are certain principles hitherto disregarded that will have to be considered in any basic revision of the Indian school curriculum. One has already been referred to—the principle that emphasizes suggestion rather than prescription, and allows teachers to adapt content to the needs and aptitudes of the children. Still another has to do with the objectives of education. The present course of study, notwithstanding its preliminary statements, in reality accepts the old notion of the "three R's" as fundamental in education. It is historically a mistake to say, as the Indian school Course of Study does, that "from primitive times reading, writing, and arithmetic have formed the foundation of education." They have been the tools, undoubtedly, but long before they were used as tools there was education of the most important sort. The real goals of education are not "reading, writing, and arithmetic"—not even teaching Indians to speak English, though that is important—but sound health, both mental and physical, good citizenship in the sense of an understanding participation in community life, ability to earn one's own living honestly and efficiently in a socially worthwhile vocation, comfortable and desirable home and family life, and good character. These are the real aims of education; reading, writing, numbers, geography, history, and other "subjects" or skills are only useful to the extent that they contribute directly or indirectly to these fundamental objectives. With a course of study such as that provided for the Indian Service, with the limited time in which to carry it out as compared with ordinary schools, with teachers below the level of standard professional preparation and with uniform old-type examinations at the end of the year as the only real goal at which to aim, the almost inevitable result is a highly mechanical content of education handled in a mechanical way.

Timeliness of Curriculum Revision. The present is a particularly good time to undertake the revision of the curriculum of the Indian schools on a fundamental basis, not only because such a revision is so urgently needed, but because curriculum revision is one of the most prominent features of current educational activity, and it would be more possible now than at any time previously to get the advantage of various national movements. These movements range from a simple practical interchange of courses of study and the more systematic attempts at enrichment and simplification, as recorded in recent yearbooks of the Department of Superintendence of the National Education Association, all the way to searching inquiries into the whole philosophy of curriculum construction, such as are reported in the 1927 Yearbook of the National Society for the Study of Education. Some American cities have spent many thousands of dollars on special studies of the curriculum, and those in charge of educational work for the Indians could easily utilize these studies in making their own curricula. "The teaching profession at work on its problems" is one of the mottoes of the largest organization of teachers in the United States; and the testimony of this body and of separate school systems working on curriculum revision is that nothing is quite so effective in educating the teachers themselves to the changes that are going on. Many of the teachers now in the Indian Service have, by reading, by attendance at summer sessions, and in other ways, obtained the kind of a professional start that would make a coöperative study of the curriculum practical and valuable. Such a study would be impossible, however, without staff specialists in education at the Washington office who are professionally equipped to direct such a study.

School Organization in the Indian Service. In an effort to furnish Indian boys and girls with a type of education that would be practical and cost little the government years ago adopted for the boarding schools a half-time plan whereby pupils spend half the school day in "academic" subjects and the remaining half day in work about the institution. Some of the best educational programs for any people have been built upon some such provision of work opportunities. As administered at present in the Indian Service, however, this otherwise useful method has lost much of its effectiveness and has probably become a menace to both health and education.

Half-Time Plan Not Feasible for All Children. If the labor of the boarding school is to be done by the pupils, it is essential that the pupils be old enough and strong enough to do institutional work. Whatever may once have been the case, Indian children are now coming into the boarding schools much too young for heavy institutional labor. It is the stated policy of the government to discourage attendance of young children at the larger boarding schools, but even in these schools there are numbers of young children, and in the reservation boarding schools the children are conspicuously small. At Leupp, for instance, one hundred of the 191 girls are 11 years of age or under. The result is that the institutional work, instead of being done wholly by able-bodied youths of 15 to 20 nominally enrolled in the early grades, has to be done, in part at least, by very small children—children, moreover, who, according to competent medical opinion, are malnourished. Indian Office reports speak of the introduction of labor-saving devices as if they were an accomplished fact, but actually little has been done in this direction; there is no money. In nearly every boarding school one will find children of 10, 11, and 12 spending four hours a day in more or less heavy industrial work—dairying, kitchen work, laundry, shop. The work is bad for children of this age, especially children not physically well-nourished; most of it is in no sense educational, since the operations are large-scale and bear little relation to either home or industrial life outside; and it is admittedly unsatisfactory even from the point of view of getting the work done. To make a half-day program feasible, even for older students, a plan of direct pay for actual work is probably better, such as has been in operation at the Santee Normal Training School, Santee, Nebraska. Undoubtedly all pupils should have a hand in the institutional work as part of "civic" training, but for this a comparatively small amount of time would suffice, an hour a day, perhaps. At present the half-day plan is felt to be necessary, not because it can be defended on health or educational grounds, for it cannot, but because the small amount of money allowed for food and clothes makes it necessary to use child labor. The official Course of Study for Indian Schools says frankly:

In our Indian schools a large amount of productive work is necessary. They could not possibly be maintained on the amounts appropriated by Congress for their support were it not for the fact that students [*i. e.*, children] are required to do the washing, ironing, baking, cooking, sewing; to care for the dairy, farm, garden, grounds, buildings, etc.—an amount of labor that has in the aggregate a very appreciable monetary value.[4]

The term "child labor" is used advisedly. The labor of children as carried on in Indian boarding schools would, it is believed, constitute a violation of child labor laws in most states.

A Full-Day Educational Program Needed. Pupils of the first six grades in Indian schools should be in school all day. Indeed, if the right kind of educational program is provided, that is, not limited to "academic" subjects, it may safely be said that, except for conspicuously over-age children, the Indian school should as a minimum approximate the opportunities for other children by regarding the years through 14, at least, as primarily for education, and not for "work" in the adult sense.

In Indian schools, as in all good modern school systems, a full-day educational program should continue through the first six years or grades. This should not be a mere three R's academic program which would be just as bad a mistake as the present system, but one that will offer to all pupils abundant provision for play and recreation, work activities of a useful and educational nature, and creative opportunities in art and music. This should be followed by a semi-industrial junior or middle school period of approximately three years with plenty of industrial choices and specific vocational training for chronologically older boys, but a period, after all, the content of which shall be determined by general educational aims rather than by the needs of the institution or even vocational aims except in the case of older children. This in turn should be followed by three years of senior high school work, specifically vocational for some students, sufficiently general in the case of others to leave the way clear for further education in college and university for students who show that they could profit by it. No special magic, of course, inheres in this division into three-year periods, but an Indian school whose organization followed this

[4] Course of Study for United States Indian Schools, p. 1 (1922).

plan would be reasonably certain of tying in with the junior high school movement that has been developing everywhere in the United States and at the same time coming closest to what is probably the best type of organization for schools that has so far been devised; a primary and elementary school designed to give certain needed skills, information, habits, attitudes, behavior; a junior high school for all children that goes more definitely and directly into the field of citizenship, vocations, physical education and conduct control; and a senior school that will prepare specifically for future careers.

The Platoon Plan. "The boarding school program," says the 1926 report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, "has been so modified that there shall be assigned each week one half-time for classroom instruction, one-fourth for vocational instruction, and one-fourth for institutional work details of pupils. . . . The school program is essentially the platoon system of organization."

The platoon plan, however, has been tried out in only a few schools so far, but it clearly represents a commendable effort to give Indian children more of a chance at a real education than they now have. As carried out in the few schools that have tried it the plan is not the platoon system of organization as that system is understood by the large number of cities that have adopted it for their public school systems, chiefly because the national government has not put into it anything like the resources that public school systems have found necessary. It should be said, however, that anything that will release Indian boarding school children from what the Commissioner of Indian Affairs himself appropriately calls "noneducational routine labor" is a step in the right direction. At one school visited the heads of the work departments objected at first to the plan because it gave them the children for only two-hour work periods instead of four, but they later in the year withdrew their objection because, as they said, they found the children did as much labor in two hours as they had previously done in four, and the morale was better. Of course production aims should not control in the education of Indians, any more than they should in the education of whites, but the entire half-day plan has been controlled by the necessity of production, and the platoon plan will not be able to develop into what it should unless an educational

rather than a production aim is definitely accepted for Indian education and the funds are provided to get it.

The Personnel Problem Again. Furthermore, the personnel problem that affects everything in the Indian Service is involved; the platoon plan requires people who have, besides a good general education, special training in directing the assembly periods that are characteristic of the platoon plan at its best, capable health education directors to handle the all-round play and health education features that are provided for every child, qualified teachers of industries, and other special workers. The Indian schools have the activities in part, but they need the personnel. Principals, teachers, and staff people who are responsible for carrying out the platoon plan of organization should keep constantly in touch with the work that is being done all over the United States, visiting other platoon schools, and utilizing the resources of the United States Bureau of Education, the recently formed Platoon School Association, and other agencies that are active in this field.

It is only fair to say, too, that certain objections to the platoon or work-study-play plan apply with special force to the Indian Service. Unless the right kind of teachers are secured and they integrate their activities to make a well-rounded educational program, there is danger that the various parts of the work will be as unrelated to each other as they are now. But the platoon plan, even without the features that should attend it, represents an improvement over the present organization in the boarding schools, which produces a school and work day that would be too long for adults and is indefensible for growing children.

Teaching Methods in Indian Schools. An understanding of modern less formal methods of teaching is greatly needed in the Indian Service. Indian schools should at least reach the level of better public schools in this respect. This is especially necessary because the best modern teaching, especially with young children, takes into account the kind of personality problems that are basic in the education of Indians.

Need for Knowledge of Modern Methods. Although there are some striking exceptions, principals and teachers in Indian schools as a rule are not acquainted with modern developments in teaching, though "educational leave" has brought some improvement. The

impression a visitor almost inevitably gets upon entering the classroom of an Indian school is that here is a survival of methods and schoolroom organization belonging in the main to a former period. The nailed-down desks, in rows; the old-type "recitation"; the unnatural formality between teacher and pupil, the use of mechanistic words and devices, as "class rise!," "class pass!"; the lack of enriching materials, such as reading books and out-of-doors material, all suggest a type of school-keeping that still exists, of course, but has been greatly modified in most modern school systems, if not abandoned altogether, as the result of what has been made known in the past twenty-five years about learning and behavior.

This condition is, of course, only what one would expect from what has already been said about personnel. If methods of teaching in Indian schools, with a few conspicuous exceptions, are old-fashioned, without, for the most part, the redeeming quality of "thoroughness" that some of the old-time teaching is supposed to have had, it is due almost entirely to the lack of training standards and professional personnel. An encouraging feature of the situation is that here and there one does find interesting and successful efforts to get away from the formal and routine in teaching; a first-grade teacher trained under Montessori getting a delightful spontaneous activity out of her little Indian children; young college women coming back from a summer-session demonstration school touched with the newer way and struggling to put the new ideas into practice; still other teachers using the Indian interest and talent in art to give Indians a creative opportunity; a principal and group of boarding school teachers demonstrating that Navajo children, proverbially so shy that they hang their heads and will not speak in the presence of visitors, can in a few short months, with the abandonment of the stiff furniture and stiffer military routine characteristic of government boarding schools, become as lively human beings as any white children. These suggest the possibilities if personnel can be improved, if teachers can be helped by supervisors and staff specialists who know better methods, and if every effort is made to keep the education of the Indian in the stream of modern education development instead of isolated from it.

Study of the Individual Child. Perhaps the most characteristic fact about modern education is the attention given to study of the individual child and the effort to meet his needs. This is the real justification for intelligence testing and for the whole measurement movement. Given more knowledge on the part of the school and teacher of the health of the child, of his abilities, of the home conditions from which he comes, it should be possible to help him more satisfactorily to capitalize on what he has for his own sake and for the sake of society. So little measurement work has been done in government Indian schools that one danger in the measurement movement has not developed to any extent, but it needs to be borne in mind: Testing, particularly intelligence testing, should never be used in a school as a means of denying opportunity, but only as a means of directing opportunities more wisely. Most of the talk about some Indian children "not being worthy of an education beyond the grades" is indefensible. It is based on a misconception of the reason why society furnishes schooling at all. Discovery of low mental ability in any child, white or Indian, no more relieves society of the responsibility of educating him than diagnosis of a weak heart by a physician would relieve society from giving the person thus diagnosed a chance at life—in both cases the diagnosis becomes the first step in a process of improvement. It is at least as necessary in the case of Indian youth as in the case of white, perhaps more necessary, that the Indian's capacities and traits, whatever they are, shall be developed to the full; that he may become an asset rather than a liability to the community.

Using Tests in the "Regular Subjects." In the Indian schools not even the most elementary use has as yet been made of either intelligence testing or objective tests of achievement in the types of knowledge and skills that are usually referred to as the "regular school subjects." Thus reading, the one basic tool for the intellectual processes, is seldom taught with the resources that modern research in this field has put at the disposal of teachers. "Silent reading" is seldom understood or utilized, and the large number of supplementary readers that are always available for the use of children in a good modern primary room are almost never found in an Indian school. Some of the texts used in teaching reading antedate modern scientific work in this field, and even teachers who have recently been at summer schools and know better find it difficult to get what they need. Few, if any, of the teachers in Indian schools develop their own reading materials out of the life about them, as do many successful primary teachers of the better type.

Almost the only use made of achievement tests with Indian children is found in public schools, though such testing is almost the only way in which questions as to the effectiveness of the half-day plan, the platoon plan, and other schemes involving the tool subjects can be answered. A practical way to improve this situation, apart from encouraging attendance upon summer sessions and visits to other schools, would be to develop close relations between Indian schools and nearby universities, such as already has been begun at Haskell Institute. Perhaps the most obvious example of the lack of utilization of the modern testing movement is in connection with the annual examinations. If examinations are to be used at all in this way, they should at least be formulated in accord with modern principles. A staff person at Washington familiar with measurement procedure could straighten out this testing business and direct considerable valuable work in the schools by teachers and other workers.

Emotional Behavior and Teaching Methods. Recently efforts to analyze and measure "mental ability," or intelligence in the restricted sense, have been supplemented by a very great interest in understanding other elements in the lives of human beings that are usually described as "emotional behavior" and "personality." Although the terms may be subject to criticism, there can be no question as to the significance of the thing itself. Important though it is that human society should be interested in "intelligence" in the narrow sense, and especially make better opportunities for gifted children than it now does, the fact remains that for the everyday concerns of life emotional reactions are much more important. Unless teaching methods take these into account they cannot succeed in the fundamental educational task of affecting human behavior to better ends. Members of the survey staff were struck with the fact that this is particularly the case with regard to Indians, but that Indian schools and those in charge of Indian affairs generally have given almost no attention to the problems that are involved. Nearly every boarding school visited furnished disquieting illustrations of failure to understand the underlying

principles of human behavior. Punishments of the most harmful sort are bestowed in sheer ignorance, often in a sincere attempt to be of help. Routinization is the one method used for everything; though all that we know indicates its weakness as a method in education. If there were any real knowledge of how human beings are developed through their behavior we should not have in the Indian boarding schools the mass movements from dormitory to dining room, from dining room to classroom, from classroom back again, all completely controlled by external authority; we should hardly have children from the smallest to the largest of both sexes lined up in military formation; and we would certainly find a better way of handling boys and girls than to lock the door to the fire-escape of the girls' dormitory.

Methods Depend Upon Personnel. Teachers already in service can be helped to better teaching methods to some extent, but in the end the problem of method comes back again to that of personnel. Teachers prepared in the better teachers' colleges and schools of education would not have to be told that there are more scientific methods than are now used in Indian schools. Their training would lead them to keep constantly in touch with educational journals and other sources of information on changes in education. If, in turn, the principals of schools were better equipped they would know how to direct more effectively the efforts of teachers who already understand better methods. And unless the administration of the Indian jurisdiction is in the hands of a superintendent sufficiently trained to understand how to let qualified technicians in health, education, and social work do their own work, even properly equipped employees cannot carry on their activities effectively. The matter reaches still further back, of course, to the office at Washington. With staff specialists constantly in touch with educational changes, ready to advise and encourage in experimentation and prepared to help teachers keep alive on developments, newer methods are bound to come. It is significant that the few signs of better methods in the Indian schools are in those fields, namely in domestic arts and in nursing, where there is the beginning of professional aid at the central office.

Industrial and Agricultural Education. The first need in industrial and agricultural education in Indian schools is a survey to find out what Indian young people are doing when they get out of school and what the occupational opportunities for them are. This involves a study of new industries as well as the adaptation of old ones, and the establishment of a training program based upon the findings. The Course of Study and the literature generally of the Indian Office insist that Indian education is essentially "vocational," and "vocational guidance" is regarded as "of such great moment that each school is directed to establish a vocational guidance committee which shall consist of the superintendent as chairman and not less than three other members appointed by him." Actually, however, very little of the work provided in Indian boarding schools is directly vocational in the sense that it is aimed at a specific vocation which the youngster is to pursue, or based upon a study of known industrial opportunities, and vocational direction in the form of proper guidance, placement, and follow-up hardly exists at all.

Need for Industrial Survey. It is axiomatic in modern education that any industrial training program must be rooted in economic life. All the worth-while vocational programs which eventuated in the basic federal legislation of 1916, the Smith-Hughes Act, were preceded by vocational surveys of states and local communities to determine what the occupations were for which training could most profitably be given, and programs adopted since have been similarly based upon real economic situations. No such industrial inventory has preceded or accompanied the vocational training of the Indian schools. This is not because the field man of the service or the Washington office have failed to recognize the necessary tie-up between education and industry. Indeed, Commissioners of Indian Affairs have generally shown enlightenment on this point, and at the present time one of the supervisors in the field is deservedly known for his emphasis upon a practical economic basis for the whole education scheme. Failure to make the requisite industrial survey is due in part to the fact that the program was adopted before the practice of preliminary occupational study was established; in part to the fact that the present vocational program is inextricably tied up with institutional needs, and production in terms of the institution itself is all that can be considered; and in still larger part to the absence of properly equipped personnel that has been repeatedly referred to in this report.

Types of Training in the Schools. A glance at some of the work-activities of the boarding schools will illustrate the need for a more thorough understanding of vocational possibilities. Harness-making is still carried on in many of the schools; in at least one school visited there was harness-making but no automobile mechanics. It is true that recently shoe-repair machinery has been introduced into the harness shops in the effort to replace the vanishing trade of harness-making with that of shoe-repairing, but even here there will be little likelihood of vocational success unless careful preliminary study is made to determine what the actual opportunities are in shoe-repairing and unless supervision and direct help can be provided to the young Indian in setting up in business. Again, a good deal of excellent printing work is done at a few of the schools, in some cases under well-prepared printing instructors using modern material. In this case the weakness is not due so much to lack of proper instruction or materials, or even to excessive quantity production—though this is a difficulty in some instances—but to the fact that no efforts have been made to make the necessary contacts outside. The printing trades are highly organized, and, however good a craftsman the Indian printer may be, unless the way is paved for him to enter union ranks through regular apprenticeship, his way is made unnecessarily hard. The situation is particularly difficult because of the sensitive nature of the Indian, and his lack of the aggressive qualities that would make a certain type of white man fight for his place even against handicapping labor conditions. Very few of the many Indians trained in printing are found actually earning their living in the printing trades.

Vocational Agriculture. From some points of view agriculture is the most important vocation for which Indian schools could give vocational training. It is already the occupation of the majority of Indians; the schools usually have land, and the Indian himself generally has an opportunity to apply on his own land what he learns in school. On the other hand, agriculture at an Indian school is rarely taught in terms of what the Indian boy will need when he gets out. The old notion persists that farming is a desirable occupation into which more people should be sent, whereas the Department of Agriculture has recently issued warnings to the effect that there are already too many persons engaged in certain kinds of agriculture; but in Indian schools institutional needs for farm products are so immediately pressing that production becomes almost the only aim.

Even schools that have unusually good dairy herds and other stock are unable under present conditions to utilize them to the extent they should for agricultural instruction. Poultry-raising, for example, is almost always taught, not as a possible business or as a supplement to the usual farmer's resources, but as an enterprise directly necessary for the maintenance of the institution, the students merely doing the chores connected with it. At one school, Chilocco, the important step has been taken of furnishing a limited number of boys with enough land apiece to reproduce individual farm management conditions, but even here it has not been possible to press the opportunity to the point where this might become a thoroughly workable vocational agricultural project.

The fact that practically all the school farm, dairy, and poultry work is done as part of the common task with no visible financial return—so that the Indian boys and girls never get the fundamental relation of labor and ability to live—would further vitiate it as vocational training, even if other conditions were improved. Some plan of payment for services, with purchase by the student of at least clothes and food, would make the work much more real, though even here the risk of mere production rather than vocational training would have to be avoided.

The difficulty goes back once more to the question of personnel. One or two schools have managed to secure properly qualified agricultural teachers with agricultural college training, but on the whole the school farmers are seldom any better equipped than are agency farmers as teachers of agriculture. The legal requirement whereby presidents or deans of agricultural colleges are supposed to certify as to the ability of the candidate to teach "practical agriculture" is almost worthless as far as securing agricultural teachers is concerned.

Some of the supervisors and others in the Service have realized the necessity of making the agricultural instruction meet definitely the requirements of particular regions. General gardening crops, poultry, and milk cows are a few types of agriculture found almost universally, though instruction in them would necessarily vary somewhat from place to place. On the other hand, special regional

opportunities exist that need to be studied for given schools and localities—fruits in California; cotton in Oklahoma and in the Yuma country; corn at Winnebago, Fort Peck, Fort Hall, and elsewhere; alfalfa in Oklahoma, at Winnebago, Pine Ridge and Rosebud, Fort Belknap, and Yakima; wheat among the Papagos, at Winnebago, and among the Crows; and cattle, sheep, and goats at numerous places. This is in no sense intended as a complete or even accurate listing of agricultural opportunities, but rather to indicate the necessity of careful study of each locality by agricultural experts as the basis for a training program at a particular school. In certain cases, notably at Sacaton, it is possible to secure directly the valuable aid of Department of Agriculture experimental farms. No general farm program of the sort at present attempted in most boarding schools will get very far in solving the problem of genuine vocational training in agriculture.

Vocational Training for Girls. The work opportunities of an Indian school offer few opportunities for specific vocational training for girls. In recent years the schools have wisely decided against individual laundry and kitchen methods in favor of machine methods for getting the institutional labor done, but this of necessity removes both vocational and home-use values from it. Home economics courses are beginning to approach good standards for home training, however, in some instances for work that may be regarded as specifically vocational. The contrast between the valuable home economics work in some of the better schools and the mere drudgery of the institution is often striking. An honest superintendent will show the visitor the excellent work done in sewing, for example, under the home economics department, and next take him to the room where garment-making and garment repair of the old-fashioned uneconomical type are going on at a great rate.[1] He will say frankly that this is production only, with no educational value, and he will admit that he would throw it out of his school instantly if he had the chance.

In a few schools millinery has made something of a place as a type of vocational training. In one school embroidery of Indian

[1] There is no individuality in clothes in most schools, and suits are apparently passed on interminably, necessitating repeated repair. Professor Dale of the survey staff has a record of one pair of trousers worn, according to the labels, by twelve Indian boys successively.

designs suggests possibilities. In at least one school Navajo rug-weaving has been put on a real basis, with a qualified native weaver in charge, and the head of the school expressed himself as eager to do the same thing with pottery-making, if he could get a good pottery-maker as teacher. Study of women's opportunities as a basis for a training program by people who know the educational and marketing factors involved would undoubtedly lead to other types of vocational training for women. Nursing is recommended as a vocation by many physicians and others who have observed Indian girls in this type of work. The tendency to train Indian girls largely for domestic service has unfortunate features that are mentioned more particularly in the chapter dealing with women's work.[1]

Variety of Occupations Necessary. On the whole the range of vocational opportunities in Indian schools is singularly limited. In addition to those so far mentioned, carpentry and mason work find a place. Some of the work in building trades is creditable; a few good-looking buildings in the Indian service were built entirely by Indian school boys. The eight or ten occupations that are found at the very best schools, however, are only a small fraction of the hundreds or even thousands of distinctive vocations that are represented in modern industrial life. Indians themselves are represented in a surprisingly large number of gainful occupations. Data supplied by 16,532 pupils in Indian schools regarding the employment of their fathers showed that 10,011 of them are engaged in agriculture as "farmers" or "ranchers." The next largest group was laborers, 856, followed by carpenters, 151, railroad employees, 142, and lumbermen 138, with the rest scattered among some eighty-six distinctive occupations.

It is not expected, of course, that each Indian boarding school should have within its own campus training opportunities for all or even a large number of these various occupations. It is customary in modern vocational programs to do at the school certain basic work in wood and metal that is not itself vocational, but preliminary to vocation; and then to supplement the few vocations that can be trained for at the school with a coöperative training

[1] See pages 627 and 628, also 639 and 640.

plan arranged with the adult world outside. As a recent writer on curriculum puts it:

> This is often the easier method of the two, because of the frequent practical impossibility of transferring the actual responsibility to the schools. As a result of this recognition we are substituting home gardening for training purposes for the old ineffective school-gardening; the home-project type of agriculture for the school farm; and part-time work in shops, stores, offices, etc., for mere drill exercises in school shops and commercial rooms.[1]

Half-Time and Vocational Training. The claim is sometimes made that the half-time plan in use in Indian boarding schools is essentially the same as the "cooperative" part-time plan of vocational training just referred to. Admittedly an external resemblance exists between the Indian program and the plans in use at the University of Cincinnati and many technical colleges and secondary schools, in that students under this plan spend half their time at school and half at work on an alternating scheme. Fundamental differences, however, exist between this and the Indian program. In the first place, the plan is specific vocational training carried on with relatively mature secondary school or college students—never below ninth grade. The work under all these plans is, moreover, carried on outside the school under genuine employment conditions; and, above all, a careful plan of coördination has been worked out between the school and industry, whereby a well-trained educational official known as a "coördinator" sees to it that the "work" and the "education" are related to each other, and that the work opportunities are genuinely educational. Even in the Antioch plan, where the objective is "general" rather than "vocational" education, these three conditions are carefully met. They are almost never met in an Indian school, where the children are too young or too backward in school to have any general educational background, where occupational conditions are artificial, if not archaic, and where there is almost no effort at educational coördination.

Even under those conditions where an internal half-time plan has been most carefully worked out in an Indian school, as at Haskell, in the case of business training, nursing, and teacher-training, it has apparently proved necessary to operate it in such a way that vital features are missing: The business material on which the students practice is necessarily limited to the operations of the school or to artificial materials furnished for instructional purposes and with no real experience actually in outside business; the general education behind the nursing course is lower than standard requirements call for; and in the case of teacher-training young teachers from Haskell will find themselves eligible only for Indian schools or for other positions having low certificating requirements, unless the training can be erected definitely into something beyond secondary school grade. These forms of training hold out a very real promise, however, and it is to be hoped that they can be developed in the light of what has been said with regard to the necessity for higher standards.

In order to make the half-time program of the Indian boarding school approximate successful coöperative part-time plans of vocational training elsewhere it will be necessary to investigate outside occupations where Indian boys and girls might find a place; to confine the plan to older and more advanced students for whom a specific period of vocational training is clearly the next step; and to employ as directors and teachers of trades persons professionally trained for such work at least to the level of federally-aided public vocational schools of secondary grade. Employment in real adult situations outside would also bring payment for actual service, thereby giving part of the much-needed reality that is lacking in a school where pupils work but are not paid for working and cannot see the relation between labor and life.

The Outing System. The nearest approach in the Indian Service to the coöperative part-time plan is the so-called "outing system," which, originally established at the old Carlisle School, Carlisle, Pennsylvania, is still praised by graduates of that institution wherever one finds them. Its possibilities for specific vocational training have hardly ever been given a fair trial. Whatever it may have been in the past, at present the outing system is mainly a plan for hiring out boys for odd jobs and girls for domestic service, seldom a plan for providing real vocational training.

Values for Indian boys and girls quite beyond those of ordinary vocational training might be found in some modification of the outing system, if it could be administered as part of a coördinated

[1] Bobbitt, The Curriculum.

program of education and placement by trained vocational people. It might help materially to bridge the gap between school and life, in particular aiding the Indian to overcome the personality handicaps that interfere seriously with his employment possibilities. The old Carlisle plan, if the recollections of those who took part in it are to be trusted, was specially strong in this, that it brought Indian boys and girls into touch with better types of whites and gave them confidence in their ability to get along with other people out in everyday life. It is certainly true that some of the most successful Indians met with are those who were on the outing system at Carlisle or had similar training at Hampton Institute.

Vocational Guidance, Placement, and Follow-Up. Vocational guidance needs are rightly stressed in the Indian Service course of study, but the one thing necessary to realize the aims there set forth, trained personnel, is lacking. The public school systems that have set up successful programs of guidance and placement have been particularly careful to put only trained people in charge of the work, university graduates with special preparation. The field is an unusually difficult and delicate one. Whatever is done in the Indian Service should not only be national in scope, under the direction of a staff technician who knows vocational opportunities nationally and can work with the various other federal agencies engaged in placement, but should also be carried out by subordinates in the field who have had the requisite training in occupations.

Indian Service experience in this type of work so far has been exceedingly unfortunate. For example, as a result of lack of professional handling of vocational guidance and placement Indian school children as young as 11 years of age have been sent to the beet fields of Colorado and Kansas. The official circular from the Phœnix office of the Indian Service, under date of March 24, 1927, describes this work in the beet fields as "light work, though tedious." The beet thinning, the circular explains, "is all done in stooping over or on the hands and knees." "Small boys are very well adapted to this work and it can be done very nicely by the boy of from 13 to 14 years of age." "It is preferred to take boys of only school age." In some cases the date of beginning is several weeks before the close of school. No escorts are sent with the boys, experience having shown, says the circular, that the older Indian boys are better for this task than an employee. The piece-work system prevails. The boys have to pay one of their number as foreman, and another as cook; they are charged a dollar a season for the company hoes they use in thinning the beets and a dollar a month for hospital, and they have to "find" their own groceries, fuel and clothes. They are charged $20 for transportation to and from the fields in the Government Transportation Unit trucks, and precautions are taken to have good equipment and drivers so that "if an accident occurs it will be simply a matter of regret and not of remorse."*

No one familiar with employment conditions can read official statements like this without realizing the dangers of placement work for Indians in the hands of persons who, however excellent their intentions, have so little conception of the right relation between education and industry.

Education and Economic Wealth. One of the arguments that was most effective in securing the passage by Congress of the Smith-Hughes Vocational Educational Act of 1916 was that which indicated the definite relation between education and economic wealth. It has been shown repeatedly that effective development of economic resources is almost directly dependent upon programs of training. The Indian population of the United States is particularly in need of the kind of vocational training that will lead directly to increased wealth. As shown in the chapter on economic conditions of this report, the case of a very few well-to-do Indians has obscured the fact that on the whole Indians are in a bad economic situation. They need to have education applied to such resources as they have. A comprehensive program to this end would include, besides the school vocational training already suggested, a study of the special industrial opportunities in certain regions, similar to the sheep and goat enterprises recommended by Supervisor Faris; a marketing scheme for genuine Indian products, such as Navajo rugs and Hopi pottery, that will preserve the original craft values and yet give the Indians the full benefit of their skill and creative genius; a utilization of part of Indian capital resources, oil and lumber, in particular, for permanent support of education after tribal capital is gone; and especially the kind of community adult-education in agriculture that forms part

*For further details of this work, see the chapter on Economics, pages 524 to 526.

of such efforts as the "Five-Year Program" described elsewhere in this report.

Health Education. One of the most helpful signs in recent Indian school administration is the interest shown in health education. The Indian Office has shown a commendable desire to put into the schools a health education program based on the recommendations of such national agencies as the American Child Health Association, the National Tuberculosis Association, and the American Junior Red Cross, and many teachers have sincerely tried to carry out the directions as to weight charts, diet suggestions, and other aids applicable to the school room. The program has, however, fallen down almost everywhere in actual practice because the unsatisfactory school plant and the meagre food and milk supply nearly always negative any health instruction given in the classroom.

Health Conditions at the Schools. The deplorable health conditions at most of the schools have been sufficiently described in the chapter on Health of this report.* Old buildings, often kept in use long after they should have been pulled down, and admittedly bad fire-risks in many instances; crowded dormitories; conditions of sanitation that are usually perhaps as good as they can be under the circumstances, but certainly below accepted standards; boilers and machinery out-of-date and in some instances unsafe, to the point of having long since been condemned, but never replaced; many medical officers who are of low standards of training and relatively unacquainted with the methods of modern medicine, to say nothing of health education for children; lack of milk sufficient to give children anything like the official "standard" of a quart per child per day, almost none of the fresh fruits and vegetables that are recommended as necessary in the menus taught to the children in the classroom; the serious malnutrition, due to the lack of food and use of wrong foods; schoolrooms seldom showing knowledge of modern principles of lighting and ventilating; lack of recreational opportunities, except athletics for a relatively small number in the larger schools; an abnormally long day, which cuts to a dangerous point the normal allowance for sleep and rest, especially

* See pages 314 to 339.

for small children; and the generally routinized nature of the institutional life with its formalism in classrooms, its marching and dress parades, its annihilation of initiative, its lack of beauty, its almost complete negation of normal family life, all of which have disastrous effects upon mental health and the development of wholesome personality: These are some of the conditions that make even the best classroom teaching of health ineffective. Building up of health habits is at the basis of any genuine health educational program, and right health habits cannot develop where all the surroundings pull the other way. Some conspicuous exceptions, of course, must be noted to this general indictment; a few schools where there is milk in abundance; possibly one or two where most of the buildings are in good condition; and an occasional one where the children show the effect of natural human handling and are not as restrained and shy as they usually are. In almost no case, however, could a reasonably clean bill of health be given to any one school: it happens that a school with one of the finest-looking plants in the service is at the same time one of the least satisfactory in the physical condition of its children and in routinization; and in one school that is conspicuous for its delightful handling of orphan children the school authorities recently stopped testing their water supply because it regularly showed contamination.

What Should be Included in a Health Education Program. The recommendations of a group of health education experts who studied conditions in a number of medium-sized communities in 1925 for the American Child Health Association were as follows:

1. Every community should provide at least once in the course of the school career a thorough and complete physical examination of every school child. This examination should be educational in its character, interpreted to parent and teacher carefully followed up by nurses and teachers to secure maximum results.
2. The school medical service should recognize the importance of standardizing the physical examination procedure so as to make possible the comparison of findings and results.
3. Health training and instruction should be developed in a manner to interest the pupils and to maintain a balance between sound basic instruction and stimulation of proper habit formation.

4. School buildings should be built and maintained with due regard for the hygiene of the school child. Items demanding particular attention are:
   a. Adequate lavatory and toilet facilities.
   b. Sufficient play space within easy access of the building.
   c. Provisions for proper natural and artificial lighting of all rooms.
   d. Provisions for the maintenance of cool temperature and adequate ventilation in the classrooms.

As shown more in detail in the chapter on Health, Indian schools do not meet the minimum standards here suggested, largely because they have not had the personnel or the necessary funds.

A program that can be readily adapted to Indian schools if requisite medical and other personnel can be provided is that of the United States Bureau of Education, which covers nearly a score of points: (1) Thorough physical and mental examination at school entrance, in the presence of a teacher and parent; (2) individual health training throughout all the grades; (3) weighing and measuring school children regularly and sending records home to the parents; (4) arousing pleasure in teaching health habits; (5) using every school opportunity, as cleanliness of blackboards, for example; (6) daily inspection by teacher or committee of pupils; (7) enlisting coöperation of parents and the rest of the community; (8) connecting health teaching with citizenship; (9) physical exercise and play, with adequate play space; (10) mental hygiene; (11) school physician, but emphasizing vigorous health rather than disease; (12) school nurses; (13) standards of promotion dependent in part upon correction of remediable defects; (14) teacher to exemplify perfect cheerfulness and health; (15) special health classes for malnourished children; (16) domestic science courses for health teaching; (17) school furniture—adjustable and adjusted; (18) eye and ear care; (19) care of teeth in every grade.

Physical Education and Recreation. Modern emphasis in physical education is upon the recreational and play-type of activity rather than upon the formal and military. In accordance with this principle playground apparatus has been installed at Indian schools and directions have been issued from the Washington office intended to provide recreational opportunities for all school children. Lack of qualified personnel, however, has made it possible to develop this program only partially. The result is that Indian schools for the most part have as the only system of physical training applicable to all pupils a scheme of military drilling that is largely obsolete even in Army training camps. Whatever the advantages of military drill for boys of high school age (and this is a controverted matter even among military experts), few advocates of military training would find any value for girls and little children in the formal type of drill insisted upon in most Indian boarding schools. Fortunately in actual practice the rigors of this drilling are often considerably modified, especially in smaller schools, but it does seem as if the necessary financial support might be given to making the physical education and recreation program more nearly in accord with modern educational practice.

One of the advantages of the work-study-play or platoon plan as carried out in public school systems is that it makes a definite place for play and recreation as an integral part of education. The larger Indian boarding schools have developed athletics extensively, but it is almost wholly athletics of the specialist type, in which only the "star" athletes, or those approaching stardom sufficiently to make the first teams, have any chance at participation. Senior girls at one of the large schools, when asked what present lack of their school they would like best to have met, spoke almost unanimously in favor of play space for tennis and other sports for girls. Instead of play space, play time, and recreational athletic opportunities for all pupils, the larger Indian schools emphasize first-team athletics of the spectacular sort, accompanied in some cases by the evils American athletic leaders are trying hard to eliminate. Haskell Institute, for example, has been harboring athletes of the most dubious kind; and while the administration of the school has cleaned up the worst part of the situation, the school has apparently continued to feel under the necessity of deliberately "recruiting" athletes for its teams the present year. The presence of an elaborate stadium in an institution distressingly in need of other educational features can doubtless be defended, but it seems a pity that at a time when both private and public colleges and schools everywhere in the United States are engaged in a clean-up of athletics the national government, in one of the few educational institutions for which it is directly responsible, should openly countenance the abuses of a previous athletic period. Haskell and other Indian

schools should as soon as possible adopt the standards of other schools in respect to eligibility. Many desirable and practical methods are now available for carrying on athletics without the old abuses, such as, for example, a program of athletic participation of all students, boys and girls; physical education under competent medical and athletic direction; scouting, both for boys and girls, and other outside activities. Haskell's beginning in the training of physical directors is in the right direction, but even this may prove unfortunate unless the work is on a sufficiently high level to get beyond the present undesirable methods.

Religious Education. Religious education is in a sense the basis of all education, should permeate all. "We find a consensus of opinion that religion, being a vital experience, is an essential factor in education, and that no development of skill or knowledge can compensate for lack of religion," says a recent statement by a representative interdenominational committee. For the Indian this is especially important, since he has an attitude of reverence to begin with. That the government should have endeavored to meet the religious need is therefore natural and commendable; that the religious education provided should have shown so little success is hardly the fault of the government, but can be traced to failure on the part of religious organizations to apply to the Indian situation methods they have found successful in other fields, to the relatively poor type of religious worker supplied on so many reservations, and to inability on the part of many missionaries to connect religion with Indian life in any real way. Exceptions are found, of course, but in the main the religious education of the Indian has been anything but successful from whatever point of view it is examined.

Types of Religious Education. Some experienced leaders in religious education would attribute the comparative ineffectiveness of religious education among Indians to a too great dependence by the missionaries upon the purely preaching and evangelistic side of their work as compared with the practice of everyday Christianity. The point will perhaps be clearer if one realizes that most kinds of education sooner or later pass through three stages: One of "information" and sermonizing; a second, devoted mainly to habit-formation; and a third combining information, habit, and attitude to make what might be termed the stage of "discriminating

choice," where right conduct results from a well-reasoned decision to do the right thing. To illustrate from another field, health education was at one time largely taught in the purely informational way, on the erroneous assumption that knowledge of what is right in health necessarily leads to right action in health matters. This has recently been followed by an emphasis upon the building up of health habits in young children, as part and parcel of their everyday lives, leading eventually to a sound structure of habit and attitude in adults throughout life. Leaders in religious education make the same point with regard to religion, and recent experience in religious education has tended to emphasize the direct practice of fundamental religious principles through everyday activities rather than dependence upon the information type of instruction alone. In accordance with this principle the more significant work of missions generally in recent years has combined with the original evangelistic message practical exemplification of the religious life in hospitals, schools, and social service. Among Indians, however, much of the missionary work is still almost exclusively confined to the purely evangelistic side. Thus at one school visited the children attended religious services for two hours Wednesday evenings, two hours Thursday evenings[*] and twice on Sunday. Even the fact that the preaching was better than average cannot save this type of religious education from defeating its own purpose, especially with the compulsory attendance feature that is attached. The boys and girls of this and other Indian schools need a real program of religious education, which would include relatively little forced church-going and Sunday-school attendance but a large amount of scouting, club work, and other activities that will help make religion part of their daily lives and connect with their homes. Few of the missionaries on the Indian field are equipped by training or experience to make the personal and community contacts that are essential in a modern program.

Missions and a Social Viewpoint. Pioneer Indian missionaries, both Catholic and Protestant, were conspicuous for their ability to live with the Indian people, know the lives of individual Indians, and build on what they found. This is the reason, doubtless, why some of the best missionary education still seen among Indians is

[*] Actual compulsion was limited to one hour on each of these nights.

the direct continuation of their work. Judged educationally, current religious efforts among Indians fall down at precisely this point; knowing little of Indian religion or life, many missionaries begin on the erroneous theory that it is first of all necessary to destroy what the Indian has, rather than to use what he has as a starting point for something else. The fact that some of the denominations have apparently sent to many Indian jurisdictions weaker than average workers brings it about that instead of the broad handling of the religious background that one finds on other mission fields, involving recognition and even appreciation of the religious impulses and traditions of a people, the Indian missionary is only too likely to be a person who, however honest his intentions and earnest his zeal (and there are places in the Indian field where even these must be questioned), puts most of his energies into non-essentials. One finds him fighting tribal ceremonies without really knowing whether they are good or bad, interfering with the innocent amusements of agency employees, or fussing over matters affecting mainly his own convenience. It is hardly to be wondered at that after many years of work this type of missionary has little to show in building up personal character among Indians or developing the religious life of the community.

Here again one must admit some striking exceptions. Certain women missionaries have carried out the best traditions of their calling in healing the sick and caring for the unfortunate; three or four Catholic and Protestant mission schools show a better knowledge of underlying human nature than any government schools; in one or two places mission efforts have outdone all others in getting at the essential economic life; one or two missionaries have caught the spirit of community houses, home visiting, and other types of social service; but they are few and far between.

It is here that the churches have a special opportunity. One of the greatest needs of Indian education is for community workers with family case work training and experience for service between school and home. As Indian education becomes more and more a home and community task, rather than a boarding school task, it will be necessary to have high-grade field workers of the visiting teacher type to supply what many public schools are not yet ready to furnish and help build up the normal family life that has been all but destroyed under the boarding school policy. The churches

have done something of this sort in a few urban localities; they could do an important pioneer service by undertaking it with Indians.

Adult Education. No educational program is complete that does not include efforts to reach adults as well as children. This is especially true with Indians, where the rate of adult illiteracy is abnormally high; where economic salvation is largely dependent upon better agricultural methods; where health conditions are serious, and where a boarding school policy in education has tended to leave the adult members of the family isolated from necessary social change.

Elimination of Illiteracy. Elimination of illiteracy among adults, while a difficult task anywhere, is no more impossible with Indians than with other groups in the population. It can be accomplished by such methods as have been worked out in the mountains of Kentucky, in the adult day schools of South Carolina, in evening schools in cities, in industrial corporations, in the army training camps during war time, and in prisons. The principles and technique are now available, and any determined effort by the government would have the assistance of organizations like the "National Illiteracy Crusade," which is especially interested in Indian illiteracy, and the various states where campaigns of illiteracy have been carried on in recent years. Experiments already undertaken on Blackfeet and at Cass Lake show what can be done with Indians. Some of the states would be especially glad to coöperate with the national government in this work, since in some instances Indians remain the one single group to be reached. North Dakota, for example, reduced its illiteracy rate to two-tenths of one per cent as the result of efforts put forth between 1924 and 1926, and many of the nearly three thousand illiterates not yet reached when this report was made are Indians. Only a small amount of money would be needed to wipe out a large part of the illiteracy among Indians, but the work would have to be directed from the Washington office by some one acquainted with modern methods in adult education.

Illiteracy is only one part of adult education, of course. Mere literacy is not education. Just as with the three R's in elementary education, ability to read and write among adults is only a tool, though a necessary tool. In the case of adult Indians, as some of

the workers in Superintendent Campbell's "Five-Year Program" discovered, the most valuable result of eliminating illiteracy is the element of encouragement it provides. It removes one more barrier; it makes the adult Indian feel that he is accomplishing something; it helps overcome a sense of inferiority that can become fatal to all progress.

Other Forms of Adult Education. Some of the more important forms of adult education that need to be provided for Indians are those that affect directly home and community. The work of the field matron in the Indian Service was intended to furnish this, and has undoubtedly done so in a few rare instances. On the whole, however, the low training requirements, poor pay, and lack of intelligent direction have defeated the purpose of the position; too often the field matron has simply been "the wife of the farmer." A few field matrons have, however, shown what can be done by this type of work in improving health and home conditions. Community nurses, social workers accustomed to helping build up families economically and socially, visiting teachers from the schools who influence both home and school; these are indispensable types of adult education that have hardly begun to be provided for Indians. A whole series of problems which seemed to Congress and the states important enough to warrant federal legislation in the Shepherd-Towner Maternity Act for coöperation with the states suggest that something of the same sort should be done for Indians, who need it more than the general population. Here again the work for Indians done in the name of the national government is far behind the standards set up by Congress and operated through other federal agencies.

Community organization of social life for Indians, based upon the principle of participation by Indians themselves, is also a real need. The government has in effect destroyed Indian tribal and community life without substituting anything valuable for it. Tribal councils are seldom utilized by the superintendent of an Indian reservation, though they are one of the best natural training schools for citizenship. Indian play and games offer an opportunity for social life that is likely to be both objected to and exploited with almost no effort to find an in-between arrangement that will preserve what is worth while and yet interfere as little as necessary with work that must be done. One of the most valuable efforts

in this direction with Indians is the formation of the "farm clubs" and "women's auxiliaries" that are especially conspicuous in the "Five-Year Program," and while the motive for this is largely agricultural education, actually the results enter into every phase of home and family life.

The need for programs of community betterment is not confined to poor Indians on the farms; probably no situation anywhere is more tragic than the wasted lives of most Osage Indians, for whom the government has conserved material wealth but has done nothing else to help them help themselves, where deterioration has clearly set in, and where the only hope is for a social and recreational program that may educate the Osages to want better and more important things, both for themselves and for less wealthy Indians elsewhere in the United States.

Community Participation. Indians do not as a rule have even the community participation involved in parent-teacher associations and school-board membership. Most superintendents of reservations and agency employees generally do not understand the fundamental educational principle that the Indian must learn to do things for himself, even if he makes mistakes in the effort. They do not seem to realize that almost no change can be permanent that is imposed from above, that no "progress," so called, will persist and continue if it is not directly the result of the wish and effort of the individual himself. Indians are not fundamentally different from other people in this. Some of the housing plans that look most promising are likely to have this fatal defect: Unless the Indian wants the house himself, and works for it, his occupancy will be short-lived, or he will manage to have poorer health and home conditions than he had in a less imposing looking dwelling that actually grew out of his own limited needs and the community life. Long experience with housing conditions in cities has demonstrated this principle beyond the shadow of a doubt; it needs very much to be recognized in the Indian Service. The problem is to restore and recreate community life through the Indians' own activities, helped and guided only as far as is absolutely necessary by others.

One superintendent who does understand the educational principle of self-activity as applied to adults as well as children put it to the Indians of his jurisdiction in the following blunt fashion

last spring, after a particularly severe snow storm had done considerable damage:

I am more firmly convinced than ever that the solution of the Indian's problem and the welfare of himself and his family rest almost entirely with him. I want to put this fact before you as forcibly as possible; the Indian must accept his responsibility. He must meet the situation, must do the best he can with what he has. It is his only salvation. There is no other way out. Neither the efforts of the Indian office nor myself will avail, unless the Indian himself realizes the gravity of the situation and makes an effort.

That adults Indians will rise to appeals like this is evident from comments by Indians of the Blackfeet tribe on the "Five-Year Program"; "Bear Head spoke about not working but waiting," said one. "If we wait we get nowhere. Let us work and get somewhere." Said another: "I tell my children to do all they can for the Five-Year Program. It is all we have to fall back on. I urged my people this year to work hard to get stock to build root cellars. I advised them not to depend upon their big claim alone, but to work and supply their own homes."

The principle of participation applies to all Indian activities. It applies to plans for community centers, which are far more a matter of individual and group activity under competent leadership than of buildings. It applies to schemes for giving returned students special opportunities on the reservations, which will profit by frank discussion in which all concerned can take part. And one of the chief values of the corporate plan for managing tribal affairs discussed elsewhere in this report is the training it would afford for undertaking responsibility in business and other matters.

The Non-Reservation Boarding School. Although the present Indian Office policy rightly favors elimination of small children from the non-reservation boarding schools and the admission of Indian children wherever possible to public day schools, the boarding school, especially the non-reservation school, is still the most prominent feature of Government Indian education. Of the 69,892 Indian children reported by the Indian Office as enrolled in some kind of schools in 1926, 27,361, or slightly less than two-fifths, were in government and other boarding schools; and of the 26,659 enrolled in government schools, 22,099, or more than four-fifths, were in boarding schools, about evenly divided between non-reservation and reservation schools. The opening of the new school at Fort Wingate, New Mexico, this year increases the number of non-reservation boarding schools from eighteen to nineteen. Among no other people, so far as is known, are as large a proportion of the total number of children of school age located in institutions away from their homes as among Indians under the boarding school policy.

Place of the Non-Reservation School. Whatever the necessity may once have been, the philosophy underlying the establishment of Indian boarding schools, that the way to "civilize" the Indian is to take Indian children, even very young children, as completely as possible away from their home and family life, is at variance with modern views of education and social work, which regard home and family as essential social institutions from which it is generally undesirable to uproot children." "One who has observed the devastating effect of the large congregate institution or of the crowded classroom upon the personality of children," says a leading authority on social case work, "begins to understand somewhat better the relation of natural ties, of affection and undivided attention to the normal development of the human being." This is particularly true of the non-reservation boarding school.

It does not follow that non-reservation boarding schools should be immediately abandoned, but the burden of proof rests heavily upon proposals to establish new ones, or to add to the numbers of pupils in existing schools. As quickly as possible the non-reservation boarding schools should be reserved for pupils above sixth grade, and probably soon thereafter for pupils of ninth grade and above. This would leave local schools—public schools wherever possible, government day schools or even small boarding schools where no other arrangement can be made—to take care of all elementary schooling. Indian parents nearly everywhere ask to have their children during the early years, and they are right. The regrettable situations are not those of Indians who want their children at home, but of those who do not, and there is apparently a growing class of Indian parents who have become so used to being

" In fairness to the Indian Office it should be noted that the tendency in the past few years has been strongly in the direction of encouraging attendance in public day schools.

fed and clothed by the government that they are glad to get rid of the expense and care of their children by turning them over to the boarding school.

Entirely too many children are already crowded into the non-reservation boarding schools. Many of the schools regularly enroll one-fifth more than their rated capacity, and the "rated capacity" of an Indian school is in excess of ordinary standards. Members of the survey staff were repeatedly told at schools with a rated capacity of around 850 that it was the practice to enroll a thousand or more, even if there was no place to put them, so that the average attendance would meet the requirements for securing the necessary Congressional appropriation. If this is true, the situation should be clearly presented to the Budget Bureau and to Congress, so that better methods of financing may be adopted.

Furthermore, more and more Indian children are coming along for junior and senior high school work, and even if the non-reservation boarding schools were to continue indefinitely on their present enrollment basis, for which there would be no excuse, they would find they had large numbers of older children to replace the smaller grade pupils. But it is admittedly quite possible and desirable, so far as the great mass of Indian boys and girls are concerned, that we should look forward to a time not far distant when special United States boarding schools for Indian children as such will be no more needed than would special United States boarding schools for Italian children, or for German children, or for Spanish children.

Special Opportunities. The non-reservation boarding schools have, however, other opportunities than merely housing and providing schooling for children above the elementary grades. Each of the non-reservation schools should be studied to see what its possibilities are as a special school. Haskell Institute has for some time been making a commendable effort to see its task as one for bringing together widely different Indian racial strains and for undertaking higher training in certain fields. Chilocco is specializing in agriculture in a hopeful fashion. Albuquerque is starting to capitalize the arts and crafts of the Indians of the Southwest. These are examples of what needs to be done for all the places—careful study in the light of the whole Indian population to see what particular contribution each school might make to Indian

progress through education. One of the tasks in the inauguration of a comprehensive vocational training program for Indians would be to examine the resources of each school to see what vocational training it could best take on. Rather than to have a number of schools all going in rather heavily for printing, for example (assuming that printing after investigation proves to be a practicable vocation for school training) one or two might specialize in it, and Indian boys wishing to learn the trade thoroughly would know where to go for it.

Some of these schools might well become special schools for distinctive groups of children: For the mentally defective that are beyond the point of ordinary home and school care; for trachoma or tuberculosis groups, such as are already under treatment at one of the reservation schools; for extreme "behavior problem" cases, thereby relieving the general boarding schools from a certain number of their pupils whose record is that of delinquents, who complicate unnecessarily the discipline problem, and for whom special treatment is clearly indicated. In addition there will for a long time to come be a need for schools for children who come from reservations without economic possibilities or from socially submerged homes. Eventually Indians should have this kind of care in state institutions, or under state placement arrangements; but there are still states where Indian children would not have a fair opportunity, where even now they are completely forgotten in the limbo of national and state concern for Indians, and where Indian children will need special attention. It is said that a large proportion of the children in the Mt. Pleasant School, for example, are orphans for whom it would be exceedingly difficult to reconstruct any kind of home life.

Needed Changes. While non-reservation boarding schools are not the place for young children, there is an admitted value for older children quite apart from the special opportunities here suggested, namely, in furnishing new contacts and in adjusting adolescents to conditions different from those found on the reservation or within the narrow boundaries of the community or the tribe. If the schools are to be what they should be in this and other respects, however, very great improvements will have to be made. Almost without exception Indian boarding schools are "institutional" to an extreme degree. This is especially true of those non-

reservation boarding schools that have upwards of a thousand students, where the numbers and general stiffness of the organization create problems that would be bad in any school but are especially serious in Indian schools. Much more attention should be given to boys and girls as individuals rather than in the mass. This will necessitate rooms for two to four students, for example, rather than the immense open dormitory system that prevails so generally; much more adequate health care than is now provided; smaller classes; less of the marching and regimentation that look showy to the outside visitor but hide real dangers; better qualified teachers, matrons and other workers.

Comment has already been made upon the low training standards of boarding school employees. One advantage the non-reservation schools have in this respect is that they are better located and have more prestige than reservation boarding schools, and therefore attract a somewhat better type of person, but lack of training is still conspicuous in the ignorance with which sex problems are handled; in the failure to understand even the rudiments of modern treatment of behavior difficulties; in the constant violations of children's personality—opening pupil's mail from home, for example. Boarding schools should experiment with the cottage plan and other possibilities for overcoming the very bad features of institutionalism which are present in an extraordinary degree in non-reservation boarding schools.

The Returned Student. The problem of the "returned student" is mainly a problem of the non-reservation boarding school. The theory held by some that Indians should be "civilized" by removing them completely from their own environment in childhood has already been described in preceding paragraphs as erroneous. To carry it out with some show of success, however, an elaborate program of guidance, placement, and follow-up would have had to be devised. This was intended to be provided, and doubtless was in part, in the old "outing" system at Carlisle; but at present, with almost no attempt whatever to follow up those who leave the non-reservation boarding school, either before or at graduation, it is small wonder that tragic situations result.[12] To uproot a child from his natural environment without making any effort to teach him

[12] For illustrations, see the chapter on Women and the Home, pages 573 to 580.

how to adjust himself to a new environment, and then send him back to the old, especially with a people at a stage of civilization where the influence of family and home would normally be all-controlling, is to invite disaster. We have learned in all education, and the lesson needs especially to be applied by the government in its handling of Indians, that no educational process is complete with the mere finishing of a certain school or course of study, that for young people the public educational organization must make the transition from school to outside as carefully as possible, only gradually releasing youth to undertake full responsibilities.

Other departments of the national government have already developed methods of handling this problem, and the Indian Service should have the benefit of them. Junior employment service work as carried out in many cities and described by federal agencies in available public documents[13] furnishes a necessary basis on which the professional leadership proposed for the Washington office could build up a policy that would have a fair chance to work. Some of the plans already found helpful by various units in the Indian Service should be adequately financed and extended. Among these are the returned students' clubs; the agricultural project at Chilocco, which could easily be transformed into a project covering the Indian's own allotment instead of the school land; and building projects for the housing of groups of returned students in communities where the old traditions are strong and the young people would like to get a fresh start without severing themselves completely from their own kindred and community life.

Reservation Boarding Schools. Many of the statements just made with regard to the non-reservation boarding schools apply to the boarding schools on the reservation, except that not quite such large numbers are involved, and the schools are somewhat nearer to the homes of the Indians. Both of these advantages are offset, however, by the fact that recently the reservation boarding schools have become in some cases as large and unwieldy as many of the non-reservation schools, with even greater lacks in trained teachers and other workers, especially because of their isolation.

[13] Particularly of the Children's Bureau, the United States Employment Service, the Federal Board for Vocational Education, and the Bureau of Education.

and the children are often so far away from their homes that there is almost as little opportunity for maintaining family life as in the non-reservation school. A Navajo pupil at Keams Canyon or Tuba City, for example, is, for all practical purposes if not actually, further away from his home than if he were a Chippewa or a Sioux Indian at Pipestone, Flandreau, or any one of the smaller non-reservation schools in Minnesota or the Dakotas.

Place of Reservation Boarding Schools. The number of reservation boarding schools shows a commendable tendency to decrease, as public school provision begins to be made. There were only fifty-nine of these schools in 1926, as compared with eighty-five in 1916. The number of pupils has increased, however, without facilities to take care of them having increased in anything like a corresponding manner, the result being that congestion is often worse than at the large schools, and housing and health conditions bad.

Ultimately most of the boarding schools as at present organized should disappear. There should be no wholesale program for getting rid of them, however; each should be considered in the light of its surroundings and with a view to the part it might play in a comprehensive program of Indian education. It seems quite evident that in some instances boarding schools have already been abandoned where they should probably not have been; and some are still in operation that are of little use. Besides the special opportunities of the sort described under the non-reservation schools, most of which are worthy of consideration for boarding schools on the reservation, there is also the possibility of using some of the boarding school plants, with necessary modifications, as boarding homes, where handicapped or underprivileged children may live, getting necessary home care and special treatment but attending public schools. In some places the idea that needs to be kept in mind is that of the central or consolidated school as developed in many parts of the West and South, where most pupils attend as day pupils but where boarding pupils can also be accommodated—a central school with boarding facilities.

Undoubtedly boarding schools will have to continue to be maintained in some localities or at least boarding facilities furnished. The Navajo situation is usually referred to in this connection, and at present boarding accommodations are perhaps the only way; but

even here those in charge of Indian education should first of all investigate the possibilities of small day schools, schools with some boarding facilities, and even "itinerant teaching," as used in some parts of the United States before giving up the idea of something better than a boarding school. Another situation that would seem to require a central school with boarding facilities in addition to local schools is among the Mississippi Choctaws. In general, however, the boarding school as such should be abandoned as rapidly as day schools can be provided.

The changes suggested in the non-reservation boarding schools will have to be made in the smaller boarding schools on the reservation, whether maintained, transformed or eventually abolished. In some cases the public might take over the boarding schools for ordinary public school purposes, but in most cases the government plant is not as good as a local community would insist upon in building a new public school. One advantage that ought to be utilized in improving or modifying these boarding schools is the fact that even with the distances that prevail on Indian reservations the reservation boarding school is usually smaller and less institutional, is closer to the parents whose children it has, and has better opportunities for developing normal social life.

Mission Schools. From the earliest times the national government has accepted the cooperation of private citizens and private agencies in many of its activities, and there is no reason why it should not continue to do so in the Indian education enterprise. Without attempting to review the long history of missionary efforts for Indians, it would seem that at the present time mission schools might be justified on at least four different grounds: first, as needed supplementary aid to existing facilities; second, to do pioneer work not so likely to be done by public or government schools; third, to furnish school facilities under denominational auspices for those who prefer this; and fourth, to furnish leadership, especially religious leadership, for the Indian people.

Mission Schools as Pioneers. It should not be necessary to depend much longer upon mission schools for the mere purpose of supplementing public facilities for Indians, whether of the state or nation. The total Indian group is so small, in fact less than one-third of 1 per cent of the total population of the United States, and

the total cost of maintaining school facilities for Indians is so slight in comparison with the total for the nation, that there would seem to be little excuse for failure to provide ordinary school facilities for all. The national government and the states ought to take the necessary steps to do this at once without having to depend upon religious denominations. For the nation as a nation to depend upon weak little denominational schools to bear the burden of elementary schooling, as on some jurisdictions, seems inexcusable.

The pioneering function will remain as the best justification for mission schools and other private educational enterprises. Abundance of opportunity exists for a needed experimentation that would be of direct benefit to the Indians and to other groups as well. Privately maintained schools are usually credited with a certain amount of freedom that sometimes makes it possible to develop experimentation more readily than in public schools. A few mission schools, for example, are already ahead of other schools in methods of handling boys and girls; in making agriculture and other activities more directly applicable to the life of the surrounding region, and in utilizing the work-opportunities of the school as a means of developing financial responsibility and independence. The fact that mission schools and other private educational agencies have a special opportunity in this direction should not, however, bar the possibility of experimentation in government and public schools.

Government Supervision. In general the principle has been accepted in the United States that parents may if they prefer have their children schooled under private or denominational auspices. There is no reason why Indian parents should not have the same privilege. Equally definite, however, is the principle that in return for the right of parents to educate their children in private and denominational schools of their own choosing, the community shall hold these schools to certain minimum standards. In the case of Indian mission schools the national government should exert its right, as most of the states now do, to supervise denominational and other private schools. It is important, however, that this supervision be of the tolerant and coöperative sort rather than inspectional in character. Furthermore, the surest way to see to it that private schools are kept on a high plane is for the government to set a standard to which only the best private schools can attain,

and to have as its educational representatives persons whose character and professional attainments necessarily command respect.

Leadership and Mission Education. Furnishing leadership, especially religious leadership, for the Indian people is a legitimate aim of the mission schools. Under ordinary conditions leadership of any type is more likely to develop out of schools that are operated with the loftiest religious ideals. This is part of the pioneering function already referred to and needs to be recognized. It was the motive for the work of such schools as that at Santee, Nebraska, which remains one of the best illustrations of what can be done in Indian education.

If the pioneering function of mission schools is to be capitalized it would seem highly desirable that there be frequent friendly contacts between government schools, both federal and state, and mission schools. At the present time government schools and mission schools are likely to exist side by side without knowing anything of each other's work. Under the right kind of an arrangement teachers of government and mission schools should be seeing each other frequently; should be attending summer sessions and extension courses together; should be conferring regularly on common problems. Wherever a mission school has undertaken an essential pioneering task it should be eager to show its experiment to teachers in the government schools; and mission school teachers of the backward type should have a chance to see work of any neighboring government school that happens to be better.

Especially should denominations sponsoring mission enterprises understand the necessity for restricting their effort to work that can be adequately supported and for which adequate standards of personnel can be maintained. Some mission schools are decidedly worse than government schools; these should be as quickly as possible abolished or merged with stronger and more promising institutions.

Government Day Schools. Except for sections where good public school are open to Indians, the government day schools offer the best opportunity available at present to furnish schooling to Indian children and at the same time build up a needed home and community education. That this opportunity has only been partially realized is due to the usual deficiencies both in quantity and quality

of personnel. Even under present conditions as to pay, qualifications, lack of trained home and community workers, some of the day schools, especially in the Southwest, have come closer to meeting the real requirements than any other types of educational enterprises for Indians. Some places still exist in the Indian Service where day schools would be better than the present boarding schools.

A Home and Community Enterprise. The chief advantage of the day school for Indians, whether maintained by the national government or the state, is that it leaves the child in the home environment, where he belongs. In this way not only does the home retain its rightful place in the whole educational process, but whatever worthwhile changes the school undertakes to make are soon reflected in the home. The boy or girl from boarding school goes back to a home often unchanged from what it was, and the resulting gulf between parents and children is usually more or less tragic. In the day school, on the other hand, the youngster is in the home and community far more than in the school. Some connection is bound to exist between the home and the school, frequently constant and close connection; ideas of cleanliness, better homekeeping, better standards of living, have their influence almost immediately in the home and community. Thus parents of children in the Hopi day schools help build roads to make it easier for the children to reach the school; they furnish labor for the school plant; they use the school as the center for community gatherings.

The process in the day school is the same as that by which the American public school has worked a transformation with millions of children from immigrant homes. To be sure, the same risks attend it. We have learned, in the case of children from foreign homes, that there are values in the customs of other peoples that ought to be preserved and not destroyed; so with Indians; there is a contribution from Indian life that likewise needs to be safeguarded and not sacrificed to unnecessary standardization. But even here the opportunity is better for the day school than for the boarding school. The day school principal and teacher have the parents close at hand, and can, if they will, get the interest and point of view of the parents in a way that would be almost out of

the question for the boarding school. Thus at Oraibi, Arizona, the school has perpetuated, through the children, the remarkable art gifts of the Hopis. The Hopi day schools generally illustrate the value of schools close to the community; they are essentially community enterprises, involving health through hot lunches, care of teeth, and bathing; canning of fruits; parent-teacher meetings. The very plants themselves, involving from three to seven or eight buildings for from fifty to eighty children, indicate a recognition of the comprehensive nature of the educational program that is rare enough anywhere but is especially needed in the Indian work.

Needs of the Day Schools. The weaknesses of the government day schools are the usual weaknesses of the Indian Service: Low training standards and lack of qualified personnel to work with the families from which the pupils come. A few notably good teachers are found in government day schools for Indians, but the average is low. It has already been pointed out that with salaries and certification requirements as they are now in the public schools of most states, only those teachers as a rule will apply for the Indian Service who cannot meet the newer state requirements. This applies with special force to the day schools, which are usually in very remote places and lack the attractiveness of surroundings characteristic of some of the non-reservation boarding schools. There are exceptions, of course, including a few who by preference teach Indian children and a few others who go into the Indian Service in order to "see the country" or get the benefit of a certain climate, but for the most part the teachers in the day schools do not appear to reach even minimum accepted standards of education, professional training, and personality. Day school teachers should be at least graduates of good normal schools and preferably of colleges and universities.

Furthermore, the one chief opportunity of the day school, that of working with the homes, is missed if the teacher lacks social understanding and if qualified workers of the visiting teacher type are not provided. In the large majority of the hundred or more government day schools in operation the school is furnishing a limited three-R's type of schooling, with a poorly prepared teacher, with standards not noticeably better than those of country schools in the more backward sections, and with no notion of the modern way of bringing home and school together.

Even in sections where the schools are better, almost none of the home and community work that is so necessary a part of a program of education for Indians is provided. Some slight beginnings in community nurse work among the Pueblos, Hopis, and Zunis suggest what might be done. A practical plan would be to undertake in these localities, where the situation is favorable, a fairly complete program, including the family case worker, the visiting teacher and the public health nurse, and then to extend the service as rapidly as possible to other typical situations in California, in Arizona among the Pimas, on the Turtle Mountain Reservation, and among the Mississippi Choctaws—all places that are especially in need of work of this type.

Experimentation in the Day School. This and other types of experimentation are especially timely in the government day schools in view of the tendency to place Indian children in local public schools. With the four or five thousand children in government day schools in different parts of the country it would be possible, under the better qualified teachers and better professional leadership that are recommended, not only to try out workers of the visiting teacher and public health nurse type, but also to make changes in the course of study, in the methods of teaching and in the schoolrooms and equipment, that will be applicable when the Indian children go into the public schools. The Hopi day schools offer an especially good opportunity for experimental work. It is especially necessary to carry a step further some of the health and other work in the day schools, so that not merely group toothbrush drills, for example, will be done at school, but that care of the teeth and other features of personal hygiene will be carried out at home and checked up at school. The whole task of community participation, so important for the Indian, needs to be consciously worked at; for example, the Indians should be serving on school committees in the day school as a means of enlisting their general interest in all that involves the child's education and development, and also as a gradual preparation for service on boards of education. Instead of being behind the better public schools in these and other matters, as at present, the government day schools could then be ahead, making contributions to education as well as helping to solve the Indian problem.

Public Schools and Indian Children. The present plan of the government to put Indian children into public schools wherever possible is commendable as a general policy. It will be necessary to make certain, however: (1) That the step is not taken too hastily in any given situation and as a mere matter of temporary saving of money; (2) that the federal authorities retain sufficient professional direction to make sure the needs of the Indians are met; (3) that the ordinary school facilities are supplemented by health supervision and visiting teacher work—types of aid most needed at present among Indians; (4) that adult education and other community activities are provided.

Advantages of the Public School. Like the government day school, the public school has the great advantage that the children are left in their own home and family setting. In addition (and many Indians regard this as especially important) attendance of Indian children at the public school means that the Indian children usually have chance to associate daily with members of the white race. Any policy for Indians based on the notion that they can or should be kept permanently isolated from other Americans is bound to fail; mingling is inevitable, and Indian children brought up in public schools with white children have the advantage of early contacts with whites while still retaining their connection with their own Indian family and home. This would seem to be a good thing for both sides. Any one observing Indian children in various types of schools—boarding schools, day schools, and public schools—throughout the country, as members of the survey staff did, is forced to conclude that on the whole Indian children in public schools are getting a better opportunity than others; and it also seems likely that white children who have been used to Indians in the public school will have less difficulty in working with them later.

Furthermore, admission of Indian children to public schools involves the important principle of recognition of the Indian by the state. Many of the difficulties of the Indian at present are that he is regarded as in the twilight zone between federal and state authority; the state's welfare activities, usually in advance of what the national government is doing for the Indian, are not available for him because he is regarded as "a ward of the government." Once the Indian child is admitted to the public schools with other children, the community begins to take a much more active interest

in him as a citizen. Parents of other children become excited, for example, over the health conditions of Indians, if only for the selfish and natural reason that the health of their own children may be affected. In ruling that the Indian child must be admitted to the public schools the California courts have taken the broad ground that any other action would be a violation of the state's constitutional guarantees of equal educational opportunity. If the states are ever to amalgamate the Indians justly and effectively with the rest of their citizenship, they should begin by taking the responsibility for educating Indian children in the public schools.

Danger in Too Rapid Extension. That the government will put Indian children too rapidly into public schools is a real danger, or at least it may fail to follow them up properly when the change takes place. Small though the per capita for Indian boarding schools is, even this is a larger amount than the cost for tuition in a public school. The temptation is therefore a very real one for the government to save money and wash its hands of responsibility for the Indian child. The rapid increase in public school attendance in the past few years suggests that the government has perhaps been more concerned with "getting from under" and saving a little money than with furnishing Indian children the kind of education they need. Although the admission of Indian children to public schools is a recent development, 37,730, or more than half of the total of 69,892 Indian children reported attending all schools in 1926, were in public schools. The number has more than doubled since 1912. In California alone, government officers estimate, nearly four thousand Indian children have been put into public schools in the past five years. This is excellent, of course, especially in a state which furnishes as good educational facilities as California does, provided care is taken to see that the children thus enrolled are actually getting the advantages of such schooling as the community affords; and provided, also, the health and other needs of the Indian child are looked after. In the State of Washington, where there is a state school administration especially interested in Indian education, state officers estimate that there are three thousand Indian boys and girls but only two thousand of them attending school. In Oklahoma, where by far the largest numbers of Indian children live, it was clear in some localities that the right to attend public school meant little to full-blood Indians; they were attending irregularly or not at all.

Finance and Supervision. A more carefully thought-out method of financial aid and better governmental supervision would improve the situation considerably in many places, especially in the Oklahoma situations just cited. The rate of tuition paid by the national government is theoretically fixed to cover the loss to the state or local community resulting from non-taxation of Indian lands. Actually the rate varies from ten cents per capita per day among the Five Civilized Tribes to forty or fifty cents or even more in some places. If the intention of the government is to furnish adequate schooling for Indian children, the present tuition practice has obvious limitations. It means often that the high tuition rate is paid to comparatively well-to-do communities, and the low rate to poor school communities. Some of the poorest public school facilities for Indian children are in those parts of Oklahoma where only ten cents per day per child is paid—quite insufficient to induce the school authorities to put forth any effort to get and keep Indian children in school. On the other hand, some of the best school opportunities anywhere for Indian children are in the richer districts of Oklahoma. It would seem as if the national government might work out for Indian children a plan of equalization by financial aid similar to plans now in operation in most of the states.

In the Oklahoma state education survey made by the United States Bureau of Education in 1923, it was shown that the loss in school funds to the State of Oklahoma resulting from non-taxation of Indian lands amounted annually to $428,000. It would be a mistake, however, to turn this or any other amount over to the states for Indian education without better guarantees than now exist. Some form of federal supervision is necessary until such time as the states fully accept their Indian citizens. At present the best public school provision for Indian children is usually found in those places where there exists a combination of public conscience on the Indian question and a good full time "day-school inspector" or supervisor. Notwithstanding the inadequate salaries, the government has in its service some excellent officers supervising public school attendance who have managed to make records for Indian children that would be considered good for any community.

School Social Workers. Although supervisors or attendance officers are needed, especially at certain stages, what is even more necessary in the public school situation is the school social worker of the visiting teacher type, who, with the public health nurse, can visit the homes and make the essential contact between home and school. Properly qualified workers of this kind, college women with training in family case work and experience in teaching, have been conspicuously successful in handling among foreign-born children in the cities problems that are very similar to those met with among Indians. To hand over the task of Indian schooling to the public school without providing public health nurse service, family visiting, and some oversight of housing, feeding, and clothing, results unfortunately for the Indian child, especially the full-blood. He becomes irregular in school attendance, loses interest, feels that he is inferior, leaves school as soon as possible; or, in some cases, he is regarded by the white parents as a disease menace, and is barred from school on that ground, though often a little attention by a public health nurse or the school family case worker would clear up the home difficulty and make school attendance normal and regular.

An important by-product of both school nurse and family case work is, of course, the educational effect in the home. Instead of being isolated from the changes that take place, as with boarding school children, the Indian home from which the children go daily to the public school tends to change with the children, especially if the nurse and the school social worker are skillful in making the connection between school and home. This is only one of many kinds of adult education that need to go on in an Indian community even if the ordinary schooling for children is provided in a public school. The policy of the national government should continue to be to get Indian children as rapidly as possible into public schools, but the government should make certain at the same time that the fundamental needs of health care, home betterment, agricultural and industrial instruction, and other kinds of community education, are met. Public schools in remote Indian jurisdictions are likely to be lacking in just these newer kinds of child care and community education that better localities provide and that are especially necessary for Indians.

Higher Education and the Indian. More and more Indian youth will go on for education of college and university grade. Already hundreds of Indian men and women are in higher educational institutions; the University of Oklahoma has nearly two hundred students with some Indian blood, and the increasing number of Indian boys and girls in high school will undoubtedly lead to a corresponding growth in applicants for college admission. This should be encouraged, not, however, by setting up special institutions of higher learning for Indians, but by furnishing adequate secondary schooling and scholarship and loan aids where necessary for Indian students.

Types of Special Training. Whether it is necessary or desirable to extend upward certain special courses in any of the present non-reservation Indian schools will depend upon the conditions at each school and the opportunities for Indian youth elsewhere. At Haskell Institute efforts have recently been made to provide, at the secondary level and to some extent beyond, teacher-training, business schooling, and some institutional service-training, particularly in physical education and athletic coaching. Such programs may prove to be desirable: (1) If Indian young men and women find it impossible to get such opportunities elsewhere; (2) if especially good resources are available at the institution itself or in connection with it.[a] Under present conditions it is probable that some Indian young men and women could not very well get the special training offered in these courses at other places than Haskell. As to resources, however, Haskell does not have them; and with the University of Kansas nearby it would seem a sounder policy to depend upon the University to furnish such higher technical training as may be needed rather than to try to provide it with the very limited resources the Indian school has. Haskell and other schools have in a few cases been making it possible for qualified Indian students to retain their residence at the school and continue their higher education at the nearby state or other institution, which is a very useful arrangement that ought to be officially recognized and supported.

[a] Haskell and other Indian schools should be warned against tttempting to train teachers or other school employees at the secondary level. This merely helps perpetuate the very low personnel standards in Indian schools.

Adequate Secondary Education Needed. At present the chief bar to the provision of higher education for such Indians as could profit by it is lack of adequate secondary school facilities. Only recently have any of the boarding schools offered schooling beyond the tenth grade.[15] Furthermore, the secondary work offered at these schools would hardly be accepted by most reputable universities throughout the United States.[16] This is not primarily because of the half-day industrial plan, though this affects the situation somewhat, but mainly because of the difficulty so frequently referred to in this report, namely, low standards of personnel. Almost the first requisite for an "accredited" high school, whether the accrediting is done by the state or by regional associations, is that the teachers shall be graduates of standard four-year colleges with some professional preparation in education courses. So far as can be ascertained no government Indian school meets this minimum requirement. Indian boys and girls who graduate from these schools at present find it practically impossible to continue their education in acceptable colleges and universities, because the colleges cannot take them even when there are people interested in Indian youth who would provide the funds. The Indian young men and young women at the University of Oklahoma and other universities and colleges come almost wholly from public high schools or from specially established preparatory schools, such as the American Indian Institute at Wichita, Kansas.

Scholarship and Other Aids. Plans for higher educational opportunities for Indian young men and women should include scholarship and loan aids for students who show promise of being especially helpful among their own people. Indian teachers and nurses, for example, are likely to have a special field of service for some time to come. It would be a very inexpensive form of investment for the national government to set aside a small sum for scholarships and loans to capable Indian youths. The principle is already recognized in the withholding of portions of the per capita payments of minors for their education. It could very well be one of the functions of a guidance and placement specialist at the

[15] Under the policy adopted in 1925 "senior high school grades" (through the twelfth) have been established in the larger schools.

[16] Apparently one or two state universities will accept an Indian candidate from one of these schools on specific recommendation.

Washington office to bring together the available data on scholarships, loans, and work opportunities all over the country for which Indian youth would be eligible. It might prove possible to interest wealthy Indians and Indian tribes in establishing scholarships for other Indians of their own or other tribes who are poor. In any case, however, such aid will not be effective unless the necessary high school facilities are provided for Indian boys and girls so that those who are otherwise qualified may be eligible for college admission.

School Plant and Equipment. For the most part the buildings and equipment of government Indian schools are below the standards of modern public schools. The Indian Service has some good-looking school plants; there are a few creditable buildings erected by student labor, and there is some ingenious use of very limited resources, as in the Hopi day schools; but most of the school buildings are unattractive and unsuited to present-day educational needs. Furthermore, a policy of patching up out-of-date structures, combined with insufficient repair funds, puts the government school plants at a serious disadvantage. Plant and equipment are not, of course, as important as qualified teachers and other personnel, but they should be better than they are. School architecture is a recognized profession, and an adequately equipped professional staff at the Washington office would include technically trained persons comparable to those employed by state departments of public instruction to supervise school building plans.

Too Many Old Buildings. One of the difficulties of the Indian school service has been the habit of turning over for school use abandoned forts and other government property. There is almost never any real economy in this practice; the recently established Charles H. Burke School at Fort Wingate, New Mexico, for example, has already cost more than adequate new school buildings would probably have cost, and the army barracks and other structures there will never make satisfactory school buildings. Military plants of this sort usually date from long before the modern period of lighting, ventilation, and conveniences, and they are often of poor construction, necessitating continued and expensive repair bills.

The same policy of trying to make old buildings do when it would be wiser economy to erect new ones is illustrated in many other schools besides those that have been military posts. Some buildings at Indian schools should be demolished rather than repaired indefinitely. It is false economy, for example, to repair a building like the boys' dormitory at Flandreau, or certain other buildings, usually dormitories, at places like Colony, Santa Fé, Leupp, and Cheyenne River, where there are dangerous fire-hazards. The unsatisfactory character of the government Indian school plant stands out especially in the many communities where the local school authorities have put up a modern public school plant and where the resulting comparison is too often very unfavorable to the Indian school. Even where an enterprising superintendent or some industrial teacher and the Indian boys have erected a satisfactory building with student labor, the lack of qualified architectural direction and guidance is often only too evident in the incongruous array of buildings that results.

Similar to the practice of turning over abandoned forts and other plants to the Indian Service is that of dumping all kinds of salvaged equipment on Indian schools. Occasionally a school gets something useful, but more often the school authorities find themselves embarrassed by having to find some use for such articles as old beds and oversize boots.

Machinery and Other Institutional Equipment. Wherever boarding schools are to be maintained, it will be necessary to make a proper distinction between production and educational requirements, and machinery provided accordingly. To get the large-scale institutional work done, good power machinery will need to be installed. The Indian Office has recognized this principle in commendable fashion, but funds have never been provided to carry it into effect. The best educational results with the maximum economy of operation will be obtained if power machinery is used for the non-educational institutional tasks and simple equipment for teaching purposes. Under this principle, for example, a school would have in its laundry three-roll and four-roll mangles of the latest pattern, with approved safety appliances, and in its household-arts cottage or elsewhere the individual gas, electric, or hand iron, or whatever other device is practicable in the household into which the girl goes.

Indian schools are conspicuously lacking in the various types of auxiliary equipment that are characteristic of the best modern schools. The chief needs are: (1) Modern school furniture, of the movable type, especially for kindergarten and elementary schools; (2) libraries, laboratories, books, and laboratory equipment; (3) play and athletic facilities for the mass of the pupils. The meagerness of most Indian school classrooms is that of American schools of thirty or forty years ago or of the poorer country schools in remote districts today. What a modern elementary school room should be has recently been summed up by a competent authority as follows:

> The classrooms offer interesting signs of the children who work there. Each room seems especially suited to the group for which it is intended. The primary room with its work and play material, tiny chairs, low boards and tables welcomes the small stranger fresh from home and mother; the upper grade rooms seem to say that real work and individual effort and control are in order there. Walls are of soft tan, buff, green, or gray, with light ceilings; furniture and woodwork and window shades tone with them, so that there is no jar on the eye, but instead a genial sense of space, restfulness, and freedom. A rug of plain color, a low, comfortable chair or two for teacher or visitor, sash curtains and flowers or plants, painted or cretonne-covered book-ends on a single shelf, or on the book table, a few good pictures in color on the wall—all these add to the interest of the room and make for the intangible thing that we call "atmosphere." The blackboard is clean and frankly itself, without any camouflage of chalk pictures, borders, stencils, or calendars, and just high enough for proper reach.
>
> The furniture is movable and arranged in informal groups or pushed against the wall as is best at the moment; of course, there is a work-bench or work table. Built-in shelves and boxes or lockers are here to take care of materials for handwork. There is much of this, for the children paint, draw, model, sew, do carpentry work, and garden, as well as read and write. Behind a low screen by a corner window is a book table or a shelf with attractive and well-chosen books, and two or three chairs. Other screens or movable cases are used to fence off a "work shop" and to keep chips and unfinished work within bounds; for the teacher in this school knows that it is not necessary to have material all over the place to show a creative spirit and that a disorderly, mussy room is as bad at school as at home. The small movable piano or the

phonograph is brought in for a music period and then is passed on to another group.

Everything is conveniently arranged. The book table is off at one side, the bulletin board is in plain view, and cupboards and boxes are where they should be. Paint, brushes and paper, tools, bench, and wood, are conveniently close together for the small workers' use."

Few Indian school classrooms approach this standard in any important particular, though many public schools do.

Freedom to Select Materials and Textbooks. Indian school teachers and principals usually feel that they are more or less helpless in deciding what materials and textbooks to use. Even those who realize the shortcomings of the present materials consider themselves confined practically in their choice to the list of "basic texts," though a few have managed to find ways of getting more modern books. Certain of the textbooks found in use were prepared before the period of scientific study and are not adapted to the needs of the children. Better qualified personnel would doubtless be entrusted with greater freedom in selection of materials.

It is not necessary for Indian schools to be elaborate in their architecture or luxurious in their equipment. The buildings should be substantial and modern, however, and they should, if possible, help set the fashion for sincerity, simplicity, and usefulness. They should certainly not fall below the accepted public school standards, as most of them now do, nor should the equipment, textbooks, and other materials be less satisfactory than in good public schools, as is the case at present.

Administration of Indian Education. The Indian problem is essentially one of education and social welfare, rather than of land, property, or business, and principles that have been found to be successful in educational administration on a large scale should be applied to it. Instead, therefore, of a mainly clerical and administrative centralization of educational authority at Washington, as at present, responsibility should be localized in the superintendent of the school or reservation. As suggested in the chapters on Organization and Personnel and also earlier in this chapter of the report, there should be in Washington a well-equipped technical

[11] Knox, School activities and equipment (Houghton-Mifflin, 1927).

staff, of the sort both public education and business have found necessary in recent years, to furnish professional direction for the entire service. This staff should be small, but it should consist of qualified men and women of at least the rank of educational specialists in other government services, such as the Bureau of Education, the Department of Agriculture, and the Federal Board for Vocational Education. It would be the function of this technical group to advise as to educational policies, to map out programs for adult education, health education, and other activities, and to bring to superintendents and other employees in the field recent developments that will help them in their work. Under this plan it would also be necessary to fill vacancies in the superintendencies with qualified educational administrators."

Indians and Other Government Agencies. If Indian administration is to be effective it will need to have closer relations than have ever existed before with other federal agencies in education and welfare. A number of federal bureaus and boards do work that is directly related to the needs of the Indian Service and their aid should be enlisted. In the same department with the Indian Office, to use the most striking example of need of cooperation, is the United States Bureau of Education, which already has qualified specialists in the types of work in which Indian Service needs are greatest, namely, health, rural education, industrial training, agricultural education, adult education, primary schooling, secondary education, and other fields. Under reclassification the Bureau of Education, unlike the Indian Office, was treated as a scientific and technical service, with the result that salaries for specialists in the Bureau of Education are from 50 to 75 per cent higher than for the non-technical positions carrying corresponding work in the Indian Office. It seems incredible that the Indian problem has never had applied to it to any appreciable extent the professional service that Congress has gradually been making more and more effective in the Bureau of Education. Many of the states have had educational surveys and numerous other types of service from the Bureau of Education; the Indian educational program seems never to have really profited by the fact that the Bureau of Education is in the same department. This professional staff already at work in

[12] See pages 368 to 370 of this chapter, and pages 132 to 134 of the chapter on Organization.

the Interior Department should at least be called in to help any additional staff that may be created to direct the Indian educational program.

Recently the Public Health Service has been enlisted in the health work of the Indian Office, a commendable instance of the right type of coöperation. Health education will be found, however, to be at least as fundamental a problem as hospitalization and medical service, and for this the work of the Public Health Service officers will need to be supplemented by specialists in health education. In the field of vocational education the Federal Board for Vocational Education has an experience behind it of the past ten years that needs to be applied to the Indian problem. Other federal agencies which should be asked to coöperate as directly as possible in the Indian program are the Department of Agriculture, with its long experience in adult agricultural education, home economics, boys' and girls' club work, and extension work, and the Department of Labor, with such activities as those of the Children's Bureau and the United States Employment Service, vitally necessary in a comprehensive program of Indian education.

Technical Staff Necessary for Coöperation. Certain organizations exist outside the government service with which coöperative arrangements might well be made. The kind of technical staff repeatedly described is essential, however, for any successful coöperative arrangement. With the best intentions in the world, administrative officers cannot alone make professional coöperation amount to anything; there must be in the Indian work technical experts of at least as high qualifications as the employees of the coöperating agency, whether this be another federal department, a state, or an outside association. If, as seems probable, it will become desirable for the national government more and more to enter into coöperative relations with the various states in the handling of school work, health and social welfare for Indians, a technical staff at the Washington office will be indispensable. States with which the national government is likely to find it practicable to work out coöperative arrangements will usually be those like California, for example, which already have professionally qualified men and women in these fields, and the federal staff will need to be at least as well qualified. Whatever the outcome may be with regard to

the administration of Indian affairs, whether left, as at present, a separate bureau in the Interior Department, consolidated with the Bureau of Education, grouped with a possible colonial administration in the Interior Department, as has been suggested for the Philippines, transferred to some other existing department, or made part of the new Federal Department of Education and Relief proposed by President Coolidge in his annual message, the essential thing will be to bring to bear upon the Indian problem all of the available resources of the national government, the states, and outside organizations.

Financing the Indian Educational Program. The educational program recommended in this report will necessarily cost more than the present educational program. The present cost is dangerously low; it has already resulted in a school provision considerably under accepted standards. To build up a better equipped personnel it will be necessary to raise qualifications and increase salaries; to make the educational program adequate in other particulars more money will be required, and while the increased expenditure will not have to be made effective in a single year, the program to be undertaken will involve considerable ultimate increase in cost. Fortunately the total amount involved is small, and wise expenditure of funds in the next few years will prove to be real economy, in that such a method will probably settle the problem, whereas the present method will not settle it.

What the Cost is Likely to be. Indian schools and the Indian education program generally are not adequate and it will take money to make them so. Following the World War school systems throughout the United States adjusted themselves to a new price level. They were obliged to do this, in order to get satisfactory educational results. In accordance with long experience as to the effects of training requirements upon results, they set high requirements and arranged to pay for them. In particular, as pointed out elsewhere in this report, they adopted the plan of a salary schedule, whereby teachers and other educational employees are paid, not only according to certain standards of entrance to the service, but according to experience and the attainment of certain special qualifications. The national government apparently never made this adjustment in the Indian educational service, the entrance salaries still being below the level of the better school sys-

tems, and the lack of salary schedule putting the Indian Service in the class of the few school systems anywhere in the United States that are without such a method of securing and keeping efficient teachers.

How much money will be required to make the changes suggested in this report?

While exact figures are impossible because of several varying factors, it seems quite certain that a well-staffed educational program for the Indian Service will cost approximately twice what is now paid. Some indication of what will be necessary is found in the boarding school per capita cost at various periods. For many years the per capita allowed was $167.50. The most careful estimates of change in purchasing power seem to show that $100 in 1909 purchased the equivalent of $224 in 1927. At this rate the boarding school per capita, instead of $225, should be over $375. Even this is lower than for any adequately financed state institutions of which it is possible to get records. The per capita cost of the only state Indian school for which figures are obtainable, the Thomas Indian School on the Cattaraugus Indian Reservation, New York State, is $610. That this itself is not a high figure is indicated by the fact that the lowest-cost boarding schools in the United States charge $700 per annum, while most boarding schools, although almost never operated at a profit, charge much more. Furthermore, the fee charged by ordinary boarding schools does not, as in the case of the Indian schools, include clothing, transportation and other items. Some economies are undoubtedly possible as a result of government purchasing, and a reasonably low per capita, under normal conditions, would be cause for congratulation, but the present low per capita for government Indian boarding schools is only possible as the result of dangerous economies in food, housing, and education. Indeed, the attention of Congress and the Budget Bureau should be called to the unsatisfactory method involved in the uniform per capita charge; conditions on various jurisdictions differ so that a uniform amount is bound to result unfortunately.

Amount Suggested is Small. Doubling the amount of funds for government Indian education does not involve the expenditure of large amounts of money. The Indian education expenditure is one of the smallest items in the national budget. The procedure suggested is based on the principle that it is good business to spend sufficient amount to get satisfactory results, rather than to do a half-hearted, unsatisfactory job. Spending the recommended amount will not create an ideal educational service; it will, however, bring Indian education up nearer the level of better educational work in the United States, and it should make possible a certain amount of pioneering and leadership in education that one would like to associate with the efforts of the national government.

In the long run the nation will settle the Indian problem or not by its willingness to take hold of the issue in a responsible and business-like way. It is business-like to apply to the task in hand the best methods that can be found. At the time the Indian work began there were no accepted principles of education and social work that could be used, but in the past forty or fifty years a body of experience in both education and social work has developed that can and should be applied in order to speed up the solution of the Indian problem. Persons are being trained all over the United States for handling situations very similar to the Indian situation. The major problems of the Indian, health, social and economic development, as well as education in the more restricted sense of schooling, are all in need of the kind of handling that comes from people who are qualified by special training. It takes more money to get qualified people than is at present paid in the Indian Service, but on the other hand the work of qualified people brings assurance that the task will be effectively done. The nation has a right to expect that Indian education as a special governmental function will eliminate itself in a comparatively few years; this can come about if funds for an adequate program are provided.

CHAPTER X

GENERAL ECONOMIC CONDITIONS

Any study of the general economic conditions of the Indians must inevitably lead to the conclusion that, as reflected in scale of living, they are far below what the per capita wealth of the Indians would seem to justify. Upon almost every reservation may be seen families living in poverty and yet possessed of potential resources, tribal, individual, or both, that if well utilized should yield a reasonable degree of comfort.

One of the chief reasons for this state of affairs is that much of the Indian's property consists of land that is often arid, semi-arid, or mountainous, valuable chiefly for grazing, unsalable except in very large tracts, and often capable of little development for other agricultural purposes.

Other reasons are equally significant. The Indians' standards of living are low. They have never in the past been accustomed to those comforts and conveniences demanded by most whites, even among the laboring classes, and so have no strong incentive to work to secure them. They are generally surrounded by Indian neighbors whose condition and manner of life are no better than their own, and so do not have that stimulation to effort common to most whites who see in the advancement of their associates a real reason why they should advance too, in order not to be left behind in the general progress of the community. Discouraging as such a situation may appear at times, it is not without elements of hope, since it implies that group progress is cumulative and that once a considerable number of Indians in any community begin to improve their economic condition others will seek to follow their example.

In addition to their lack of desire for a higher scale of living the Indians must face the real difficulty of their own lack of training and their incompetence in business. Their education is usually slight, their knowledge of English poor, and their experience in business almost entirely wanting. No matter how great their eagerness to improve their economic condition these handicaps make it

difficult for them to succeed in competition with intelligent white men of long experience in business affairs.

As wards of the government the Indians find their economic affairs largely shaped and controlled by governmental policies and the acts of government officers. They look, and rightly so, to the government for advice and aid in the accomplishment of those things which they feel they cannot accomplish unaided. Yet regardless of how competent officers charged with the administration of Indian affairs may be, or how great the effort they put forth for the good of the people under their charge, they cannot hope to escape criticism. To administer the affairs of a people so varied in character and so widely scattered as are the Indians is no easy task, especially since funds allowed for that purpose are generally inadequate.

Many Indians, and not a few whites who are deeply interested in Indian welfare, have ascribed bad economic conditions very largely to the faulty administration of the government. Many government officers are inclined to ascribe them, entirely or largely, to the incompetence and low standards of the Indians.

Neither view is entirely correct. The Indians' low standards of life and incompetence in business affairs are in large measure natural conditions, due to the fact that the Indians are in a transitional stage. They have lost much of the old Indian culture and manners of life without having fully taken over those of the whites. Their old sources of food, clothing, and shelter have been largely destroyed by the encroachment of white civilization. Bewildered by the crumbling of their old world they are not able to adapt themselves to the new. In many cases they have quite as much business ability and as high standards of life as could reasonably be expected. Imperfections in governmental administration are due not only to the real difficulties involved, but also to the failure of the general public to understand the needs of the Indian Service and to insist upon sufficient appropriations by Congress for its support. The average citizen feels keenly that the Indians have suffered grave wrongs at the hands of white men, and that the government is under great obligation to provide for the advancement of these people. He does not lack the will or the energy to urge that the government do its duty with respect to the Indians so much as he lacks detailed knowledge as to what should be done and

how he may help to bring it about. Without any considerable knowledge either of needs or of governmental procedure, he feels himself helpless.

The Indian Office, handicapped as it is by lack of funds, has nevertheless been able to secure many persons of marked ability for its field service, particularly among the superintendents of schools and reservations. Officers charged with the administration of the economic affairs of the Indian are as a rule more efficient employees than the public has a right to expect for the salaries paid. Some of them are remarkably efficient if allowance be made for the limited funds at their disposal.

The government's administration of the affairs of its wards has, however, on the whole lacked certain elements of strength that are of utmost importance. The most fundamental defect has been a lack of vision and of definite objectives, a failure to see that the economic advancement of the Indians requires a definite program. Much good work has been done in a more or less haphazard way, but without an adequate conception of the fact that the economic affairs of the Indians and their administration and direction constitute a business enterprise of many branches that requires the services of the best of technical experts for their development and administration.

Little attempt has been made to formulate a broad constructive program for the service as a whole, extending over a long term of years, and having for its goal the general improvement of economic conditions and standards of living by a more complete utilization of resources, and by education to increase economic efficiency. Such programs do exist to a greater or less degree with respect to health and education, but in the matter of economic advancement, which is fundamental and in a sense underlies all progress, such program for the service as a whole has been almost entirely lacking. Even on the separate reservations few definite plans for the future were made prior to recent initiation of the Five-Year Program. This plan has already shown excellent results. What is needed, however, is not only a local program for separate reservations, but a general program for the service as a whole, that will seek to utilize the economic resources of the Indians to the fullest extent, and develop the Indian himself by providing education in earning, conserving, and spending money that will create in him both the desire

and the means for maintaining a scale of living somewhat commensurate with that of his white neighbors. In its failure to formulate such a program and to urge it upon Congress and the public the Indian Office has shown its most conspicuous weakness in providing for the future welfare of its wards.

The Indian Service at present cannot go beyond the Bureau of the Budget in seeking appropriations, but during all the years before such rigid limitations existed, no large constructive program was formulated. Public officers and private persons interested in Indian welfare may find it their duty to emphasize the fact that the great power of the Bureau of the Budget carries with it an equally great responsibility which can be met only by using every effort to secure information to enable that Bureau to work constructively instead of as a merely restraining agency. Real economy in dealing with Indian affairs will be achieved by giving generous financial support to a constructive program which promises in a great measure to complete the task of adjusting the Indians to their environment within a generation or two, rather than by continuing the present policy of giving support so inadequate as to postpone indefinitely any final solution of their problems.

Since the economic future of the Indians must eventually depend upon the Indians themselves, any general plan for administering their business affairs must involve a systematic plan of education. This plan should include not only children but also adults and should look toward raising standards of living and increasing economic efficiency. Economic progress and educational progress cannot be divorced, for each is largely dependent upon the other. Education ordinarily creates new wants and fosters a willingness to work in order to obtain the means for satisfying them. On the other hand it is not possible for any people to advance very far culturally unless their economic condition is advancing too. Yet when wealth comes suddenly to an ignorant people, it is often dissipated in the purchase of useless and foolish things, with results that are frequently disastrous. The outstanding example of this among the Indians is that of the Osages of Oklahoma, whose great wealth has brought in its train quite as much of evil as of good.

The general economic condition of the Indians and their progress toward economic independence are not satisfactory. Too many of them are poor and are living below any reasonable standard of

health and decency. They are depending too largely on unearned income from the use or sale of their property, managed for them as a rule by the national government, and not enough on earned income derived from their own efforts.

To overcome this undesirable economic situation a marked change must be made in the emphasis placed on the different functions performed by the government in behalf of the Indians. Although the efforts to conserve and protect the property of the Indians must be continued and in some cases strengthened and much greater efforts made to increase the productivity of Indian property, both individual and tribal, the major emphasis must be placed on the education of the Indians, both minors and adults, for greater economic efficiency and independence.

Education is here used in its broadest sense. It does not apply solely or even primarily to formal schooling, although marked advancement in the economic condition of the Indians can be achieved by a radical reform in the economic and industrial training given in the schools. Important as this change in the formal schooling is, it is believed that even greater and quicker results can be achieved by supplementing the work of the schools by activities in other directions.

The first point to be clearly recognized is that the Indian boy or girl leaving school is under a tremendous handicap as compared with the typical white boy or girl, in that he or she is not a member of a family already fairly well adjusted to the existing economic civilization. These young Indians leaving school cannot look to the older generation for advice, guidance, and assistance in getting established on a sound economic basis. Often they cannot make their homes with their parents in the first few trying years after leaving school, as can many a white boy who shifts about from job to job in the effort to get a suitable place in the industrial world. Their earnings in such a period are frequently low, especially in jobs which offer possibilities for the gradual acquisition of skill and ultimately the larger earnings that come to skilled workers. Having no homes where they may stay without cost or with such payment as they can afford to make from their earnings, they are obliged to shift for themselves and direct themselves, although they are not as well equipped as white children with knowledge of the industrial life of the communities where work is to be found.

The government must recognize that it is *in loco parentis* to these Indian youths, and that at no period in their lives is the intelligent and understanding exercise of its functions as personal guardian more needed than in those years when they are finding their place as productive members of society. The evidence seems to warrant the statement that despite the importance of this period in the lives of Indian youth no other period has been more neglected. Something has been done in finding a relatively small number of them minor positions in the government service, often through the questionable device of lowering the standards for those positions in order to permit Indians to occupy them before they have had the training and experience which would qualify them for similar positions outside the Indian Service. The great majority of Indian youths are not receiving the advice, aid, and assistance from their guardian at the time when it can be of greatest aid to them economically and socially.

The first constructive step, therefore, in aiding the Indians to be self supporting, should be definite improvement in their educational equipment and the devising of a suitable system for placing Indian youths in the industrial world in positions that afford them a reasonable opportunity to achieve economic independence.

Increased efforts, however, must not be confined to the schools and the placement of the youths just leaving school. Far more must be done than in the past for the economic advancement of adult Indians on the reservations. The persons engaged in this work should be recognized primarily as teachers and their duties as primarily educational. Every activity must be planned with major consideration of its educational result. Control and conservation of Indian property that does not educate the Indians in the use and management of their own property, merely postpones the ultimate solution of the Indian problem. The task of employees of the Indian Service is the humanitarian task of the teacher, as rapidly as possible to train the pupils so that they will cease to require the service of the teacher. The standards for employment in the Indian Service and the standards of work must be at least on a par with that of other agencies doing like work, so that fairly satisfactory progress can be made in teaching and stimulating the Indian to be self-supporting and to maintain a reasonable standard of living.

These results cannot be achieved without a marked advance in the qualifications required for positions in the Indian Service that are concerned directly or indirectly with the economic education of the Indians. The qualifications cannot be raised without a compensating increase in salaries and improvement in the related conditions of employment. A continuation of the existing combination of low qualifications and low salaries will prolong indefinitely the existing economic maladjustment of the Indians if it does not result in a still further widening of the gap between whites and Indians as the whites rapidly increase their own productive efficiency.

The first requisite for meeting the existing situation is to establish in connection with the central office at Washington the proposed Division of Planning and Development, which will include in its membership competent specialists in those fields which affect the economic advancement of the Indian. The functions of this division, its organization, and the positions which it should contain are summarized in another chapter of this report[1] and need not again be presented in summary here, although the need for such positions and the kind of service required of them are repeatedly mentioned in the course of the present discussion of the economic conditions of the Indians. Little progress can be expected until well considered constructive programs for the economic advancement of the Indians have been worked out by specialists well equipped through technical training and experience to determine the economic conditions and possibilities of each of the jurisdictions. These programs cannot be effectively carried out by general administrative officers at the schools and agencies unless they can have the advice and coöperation of these specialists, because the number of fields covered is too great for any general administrative man to be an expert in them all.

The second requisite for advancing the economic condition of the Indians is to make a drastic change in the type of employees, especially those subordinate employees in immediate contact with the Indians who are responsible for their economic education. The survey staff was unable to find much evidence of the success of the great policy of individual allotments of land, yet lack of success is not necessarily evidence of the unsoundness of the policy itself

[1] Pages 113 to 128.

because of the abundant evidence of faulty application of the policy. To make it a success, real education in the economic use of the land should have gone hand in hand with individual possession of the land. Of the two, education in the use of land was infinitely the more important, yet this task as entrusted to employees designated "farmers." The employment of this type of employees for positions so vital to the success of a great fundamental policy of government is in itself an explanation of the lack of marked success from that policy. Similarly the lack of success from tribal herds was often due to the same general cause. Teachers to train adults of a retarded race in agriculture and other industry cannot be secured for wages which are little if anything above those paid the least skilled laborers in those fields. The Indian Service requires, if anything, better teachers than are needed for the white race because they are confronted by a far more difficult task. The Indians, children and adults, must be educated to economic advancement, and this task will require teachers possessed not only of the requisite scientific and technical knowledge but also of a sympathy for and understanding of Indians and a personality which will inspire confidence and give leadership. The government cannot reasonably expect accelerated economic progress unless it supplies to the Indians, employees at least as well qualified as are being supplied to the whites to accelerate their economic progress.

The Statistics of Indian Property and Income. The wealth of the Osage Indians in the oil fields of Oklahoma and of certain individual Indians of other tribes has received wide publicity. As a result some people who have made no detailed study of the subject have an impression that the Indians as a race are fairly rich. This impression is erroneous. Despite the wealth of the less than three thousand Osages and the considerable properties owned individually or tribally by other Indians, the race as a whole is poor. Several tribes, embracing in the aggregate a high proportion of the total number of Indians under government supervision may even be said to be extremely poor. This conclusion is supported by all available evidence, whether it be statistical data purporting to show the value of property owned by the Indians and the amount of their incomes or the qualitative material secured by visiting Indian reservations and Indian homes.

Many Indians are Poor. The actual poverty of the Indians is, as a matter of fact, much greater than figures regarding the value of their property would seem to indicate, because the property is often not effectively used for the production of income. Income, earned and unearned, is after all much the better index of the present prosperity of a people. It represents what is available for use in maintaining a standard of living. Persons with a fair income, by renting and by instalment purchasing, may have the use and advantage of far more property than they actually own, and thus maintain a relatively high standard of living, a common situation among the working population of the United States. In studying the immediate economic condition of the Indians, their income is far more indicative of the present situaton than is the value of their property.

The skill with which income is used is also a highly important factor. Some peoples have an exceptional faculty for making what they have go a long way, but generally the reverse is true of the Indians. They ordinarily do not know how to use their income effectively for advancing their standard of living.

No attempt will be made at this point to analyze the vicious circle of poverty as it exists among the Indians, a vicious circle which in many ways closely resembles that among other people. This entire report relates in fact to the forces which operate to produce the final results. The purpose at the moment is to give evidence of the poverty, not to explain it.

Limitations of the Statistical Data. For statistical data regarding the property and income of the Indians, the survey staff is almost entirely dependent on figures collected and compiled by the Indian Service. As is repeatedly said in this report, these figures are not as accurate and reliable as are most statistics prepared and published by the United States Government. In other parts of this report explanations of this fact are offered, covering such matters as the extreme difficulty of gathering reliable basic data, the lack of adequate appropriations resulting in an insufficient personnel and in many cases a personnel not properly qualified for the work, and more specifically the lack of a trained experienced statistician and an adequate corps of statistical clerks equipped with modern labor saving devices. These matters need not be gone into in detail here. The fact should only be noted that the accuracy of the figures is so doubtful that several members of the survey staff have questioned the advisability of presenting them in this report. Against the strong arguments that have been advanced for their omission, the only answer is that they are the only general data purporting to cover the entire situation that are available, and although they do not accurately measure, they do reveal general conditions. More accurate detailed figures would permit of far better planning, direction, and control, but it is extremely doubtful if they would materially alter the general picture, although they might do so in the case of particular jurisdictions. The figures therefore will be presented not for the purpose of detailed analysis and discussion, for it is not believed they will stand up under it, but in order to give a broad general view of the whole economic situation which can be secured in no other way.[8]

Only Per Capita Analysis Possible. For the jurisdictions studied by the survey the Indian Service shows for the year 1926 a total population of 188,363.[9] For each of these jurisdictions the Indian

[8] The survey compiled for each jurisdiction visited the more important statistical data from the records in the Indian Office at Washington. The staff then took these tabulations into the field, and one of the members discussed with various officers in the local jurisdictions the reliability of the different figures. These discussions frequently revealed that many of the figures were estimates arrived at without actual enumerations or recording of details. In many instances the local officers gave new figures which they regarded as more accurate or more recent than those which had previously been reported to the Washington Office. When late in 1927 it was finally decided to present the tables which follow regarding population, property, and income, the question naturally arose as to whether to use the latest available official figures as reported to the Indian Office at Washington or the figures as revised in interviews with local officers. If either set of figures were based on really accurate enumerations or records the answer would have been simple, but both sets of figures contained many items which are at best estimates. The survey staff did not feel justified in taking the responsibility involved in assuming that estimates submitted to its representatives were superior to the latest figures submitted to the Washington office. The following tables are therefore based on the latest figures available at the Indian Office, namely, those for the fiscal year 1926. For some jurisdictions the figures are materially different from those secured by the survey staff from local officers, but the general pictures given by the two sets of figures taken as a whole are in their broad aspects very similar. The figures, as has been said, are chiefly valuable as roughly outlining these broad aspects.

[9] This is approximately three-fifths of the Indian population of the United States. Members of the survey staff also visited the Five Civilized Tribes in Oklahoma, but data of the sort included in this section are not available for them.

Service gives the estimated value of Indian property both tribal and individual. By dividing the total value of Indian property at a jurisdiction by the number of Indians reported at that jurisdiction a per capita value of property is obtained. The statistically minded person will immediately point out that a per capita figure is an average subject to all the defects of an average, and that what is really needed to show the general economic conditions of the Indians is a classification of the individual Indians according to their property holdings and their income. That contention must be admitted, but such figures are not available. The existing data permit only of the use of per capita statements.

The use of per capitas necessitates classifying all the Indians accredited to any jurisdiction on the basis of the per capita for that jurisdiction, although some may be materially better off than the average and others materially worse off. This use of averages based on data regarding population and values that are in themselves questionable is defensible only on the ground that it does give a rough outline of conditions that is more informative than misleading.

The figures showing the 188,363 Indians classified according to the per capita value of the total property, both tribal and individual, are summarized in the following tabular statement:

Indians classified by annual per capita value of Indian property

Per capita value of Indian property both individual and tribal	Number of Indians accredited to jurisdictions reporting per capita value of property of amounts specified		
	Total	Per cent distribution	Cumulative percentage
All classes	188,363	100.0	
Less than $500	25,914	13.8	13.8
$500 but less than $1000	52,937	28.1	41.9
$1000 but less than $2000	47,231	25.1	67.0
$2000 but less than $3000	22,171	11.7	78.7
$3000 but less than $4000	17,751	9.4	88.1
$4000 but less than $5000	6,515	3.5	91.6
$5000 and over	15,844	8.4	

According to these figures 25,914 Indians, or 13.8 per cent of the total number, were accredited to jurisdictions where the per capita value of all property was less than $500. The last column of the table gives the cumulative percentages showing that 41.9 per cent of the Indians were accredited to jurisdictions with a per capita value of all property of less than $1000; 67.0 per cent with a per capita of less than $2000; and 78.7 per cent, or more than three out of four, with a per capita of less than $3000. This value of property includes practically everything the Indians own, their tribal property, their individually owned land, their houses and furnishings, their outbuildings, their agricultural implements, their livestock, and their funds. In a subsequent table[1] are given the figures showing the distribution of this value of property under the different items.

The fact that more than three-quarters of the Indians are accredited to jurisdictions where the per capita value of all property is reported as less than $3000 demonstrates clearly that the Indians as a race are not rich. That many of them are really extremely poor will be more apparent from subsequent tables relating to income.[2]

The specific figures for the several jurisdictions in each of the property classes, as shown in the preceding tabular statement, are presented in the following table, in which the jurisdictions are arranged in the ascending order according to the per capita value of all property, both tribal and individual.

[1] Pages 457 to 459 and 544 to 546.
[2] Pages 447 to 457.

Annual per capita value of Indian property by jurisdictions

Jurisdictions studied by survey staff arranged in ascending order according to per capita value of tribal and individual property	Number of Indians reported	Value of individual and tribal property reported	
		Amount	Per capita
Per capita value of less than $500			
Western Navajo	6,900	$331,070	$48
Siletz	1,112	186,782	168
Bishop	1,492	287,439	193
Walker River	1,465	286,984	195
Hopi	5,074	1,016,800	200
Pueblo Bonito (Navajo)	3,000	989,905	330
Havasupai	181	61,100	337
Northern Pueblos	3,335	1,255,686	377
Carson	3,355	1,395,329	416
$500 but less than $1000			
Southern Pueblos	6,012	3,220,611	536
Fort Bidwell	597	327,820	549
Sells	4,942	3,359,060	680
Sacramento	11,326	7,782,796	687
Shawnee	3,771	2,713,504	720
Yankton	3,636	2,666,990	733
Consolidated Chippewas	12,586	9,449,334	751
Leupp (Navajo)	1,183	960,150	812
San Juan (Navajo)	7,000	5,893,959	842
Zuni	1,884	1,809,077	960
$1000 but less than $2000			
Seger	761	1,522,334	1,000
Pima	5,567	5,878,481	1,056
Tulalip	2,581	3,380,792	1,310
Blackfeet	3,278	4,641,326	1,416
Hoopa Valley	1,916	2,774,901	1,448
San Carlos	2,511	3,669,666	1,473
Mission	2,723	4,664,882	1,713
Fort Totten	957	1,656,617	1,731
Neah Bay	660	1,166,028	1,767
Pine Ridge	7,820	14,250,147	1,822
Potawatomi	1,527	2,839,040	1,859
Navajo	12,360	24,047,965	1,945
Red Lake	1,721	3,351,003	1,947
Pawnee	1,266	2,465,550	1,947
Fort Yuma	859	1,682,288	1,958
Cantonment	724	1,429,969	1,975
$2000 but less than $3000			
Cheyenne River	3,026	6,287,122	2,078
Shoshone	1,899	3,981,769	2,097
Sisseton	2,477	5,371,651	2,169

Annual per capita value of Indian property by jurisdictions—Continued

Jurisdictions studied by survey staff arranged in ascending order according to per capita value of tribal and individual property	Number of Indians reported	Value of individual and tribal property reported	
		Amount	Per capita
Colville	3,529	$8,130,729	$2,304
Flathead	2,726	6,326,413	2,321
Omaha	1,543	3,685,823	2,389
Jicarilla	635	1,578,021	2,485
Ponca	1,431	3,623,767	2,532
Cheyenne and Arapaho	1,181	3,055,884	2,588
Fort Apache	2,628	6,903,592	2,627
Winnebago	1,096	3,205,428	2,925
$3000 but less than $4000			
Yakima	3,042	9,281,122	3,050
Umatilla	1,113	3,723,048	3,345
Kiowa	5,135	19,182,788	3,736
Uintah and Ouray	1,178	4,523,725	3,840
Fort Lapwai	1,393	5,408,142	3,882
Rosebud	5,890	23,241,568	3,946
$4000 but less than $5000			
Consolidated Ute	790	3,167,146	4,009
Fort Berthold	1,334	5,449,062	4,122
Fort Hall	1,767	7,313,815	4,139
Taholah	2,624	2,178,167	4,641
$5000 and over			
Fort Belknap	1,202	231,833	5,184
Standing Rock	3,626	20,478,277	5,647
Crow	1,803	10,394,313	5,765
Keshena	1,911	11,266,022	5,895
Tongue River	1,440	9,405,999	6,532
Cœur d'Alene	799	6,206,653	7,768
Warm Springs	988	7,802,962	7,897
Osage	2,826	31,968,116	11,312
Klamath	1,249	35,765,109	28,634

Individually Owned Property. The figures which have just been presented include both tribal and individual property. The following tables, which have been similarly constructed, relate only to individually owned property. This property includes the Indians' homes and their furnishings, their individually owned livestock, their agricultural implements, their funds, and, where land has been individually allotted, the land itself and its timber.

Indians classified by annual per capita value of individually owned Indian property

Per capita value of individually owned Indian property	Number of Indians accredited to jurisdictions reporting per capita value of individually owned property of amounts specified		
	Total	Per cent distribution	Cumulative percentage
All classes	188,363	100.0	
Less than $500	86,667	46.0	46.0
$500 but less than $1000	32,103	17.0	63.0
$1000 but less than $2000	31,016	16.5	79.5
$2000 but less than $3000	14,792	7.9	87.4
$3000 but less than $4000	14,721	7.8	95.2
$4000 but less than $5000	None	....	....
$5000 and over	9,054	4.8	....

Only one Indian out of every five is accredited to a jurisdiction where the per capita value of individually owned property is listed at $2000 or more. Three out of five are from jurisdictions with a per capita of less than $1000. Not quite one-half (46.0 per cent) are accredited to jurisdictions where this per capita is less than $500. That the figure is much lower than $500 in some jurisdictions, appears from the following table, which presents the data in ascending order for the several jurisdictions studied:

Annual per capita value of individually owned Indian property by jurisdictions

Jurisdictions studied by survey staff arranged in ascending order according to per capita value of individually owned property	Number of Indians reported	Value of individually owned property reported	
		Amount	Per capita
Per capita value of less than $500			
Western Navajo	6,900	$330,400	$47
Havasupai	181	11,100	61
San Carlos	2,511	177,335	70
Siletz	1,112	108,797	98
Sells	4,942	637,970	129
Northern Pueblos	3,335	485,240	146
Fort Belknap	1,202	213,209	177
Walker River	1,465	264,284	180
Navajo	12,360	2,291,200	185
Bishop	1,492	287,439	193
Southern Pueblos	6,012	1,163,021	193
Hopi	5,074	1,016,800	200
San Juan (Navajo)	7,000	1,398,000	200
Red Lake	1,721	366,549	213
Carson	3,355	718,500	214
Tongue River	1,440	338,105	235
Zuni	1,884	490,780	264
Consolidated Chippewas	12,586	3,673,139	292
Pueblo Bonito (Navajo)	3,000	989,005	330
Fort Apache	2,628	918,202	349
Leupp (Navajo)	1,183	452,650	383
Keshena	1,911	775,957	406
Mission	2,723	1,205,756	443
Neah Bay	660	314,175	476
$500 but less than $1000			
Fort Bidwell	597	327,820	549
Sacramento	11,326	6,740,384	596
Shoshone	1,899	1,251,156	659
Colville	3,529	2,434,821	690
Shawnee	3,771	2,654,305	704
Yankton	3,636	2,650,417	729
Pima	5,567	5,108,231	918
Consolidated Ute	700	754,457	955
Warm Springs	988	7,802,962	964
$1000 but less than $2000			
Seger	761	1,522,334	1,000
Hoopa Valley	1,916	1,990,884	1,023
Yakima	3,042	3,281,213	1,079
Jicarilla	635	702,943	1,107

Annual per capita value of individually owned Indian property by jurisdictions—Continued

Jurisdictions studied by survey staff arranged in ascending order according to per capita value of individually owned property	Number of Indians reported	Value of individually owned property reported	
		Amount	Per capita
Cheyenne River	3,026	$3,398,612	$1,123
Blackfeet	3,278	3,928,730	1,199
Tulalip	2,581	3,193,130	1,237
Taholah	2,624	3,333,917	1,271
Pine Ridge	7,820	13,124,682	1,678
Fort Yuma	859	1,476,773	1,719
Fort Totten	957	1,656,617	1,731
Potawatomi	1,527	2,723,138	1,783
Pawnee	1,266	2,463,858	1,946
Cantonment	724	1,429,969	1,975
$2000 but less than $3000			
Sisseton	2,477	5,367,143	2,167
Flathead	2,726	10,025,504	2,263
Omaha	1,543	3,582,559	2,322
Fort Lapwai	1,393	3,412,942	2,450
Fort Hall	1,767	4,397,000	2,489
Ponca	1,431	3,565,283	2,491
Cheyenne and Arapaho	1,181	2,959,111	2,506
Winnebago	1,096	3,139,460	2,865
Uintah and Ouray	1,178	3,434,333	2,915
$3000 but less than $4000			
Klamath	1,249	4,026,488	3,223
Umatilla	1,113	3,643,038	3,273
Kiowa	5,135	18,627,925	3,628
Rosebud	5,890	22,727,048	3,859
Fort Berthold	1,334	5,243,767	3,931
$4000 but less than $5000	None	.....	.....
$5000 and over			
Standing Rock	3,626	20,132,663	5,552
Crow	1,803	10,025,504	5,560
Cœur d'Alene	799	6,144,252	7,690
Osage	2,826	27,251,211	9,643

Indian Incomes. A more significant picture can be given by a similar presentation of the existing data regarding incomes, both earned and unearned. It should be said, however, that the data regarding incomes, especially earned incomes, are probably materially less reliable than are those concerning the value of property owned. Again it should be repeated that the figures are presented only to give a very general view of the situation and by no means as an accurate measure of it.

Indians classified by annual per capita Indian income, tribal and individual

Annual per capita income, tribal and individual	Number of Indians accredited to jurisdictions reporting per capita incomes of amounts specified		
	Total	Per cent distribution	Cumulative percentage
All classes	188,363	100.0	.....
Less than $100	46,343	24.6	24.6
$100 but less than $200	88,201	46.8	71.4
$200 but less than $300	33,535	17.8	89.2
$300 but less than $500	16,209	8.6	97.8
$500 and over	4,075	2.2	.....

For several jurisdictions the figures for income are reported so low as to be almost unbelievable. In some instances undoubtedly the value of some wild products used by the Indians as food or for other household purposes have not been included. For example, in Nevada the Indians when hard pressed kill and eat the desert jack rabbits and then dry the skins and weave them into a heavy quilt. In the Mission country they gather live oak acorns and make them into a paste. Among the Apaches and Pimas the mesquite bean and cactus are extensively used. The Chippewas gather wild rice, make maple sugar, and gather and dry berries. When really hungry during the winter of 1926-27, the Pine Ridge Sioux ate horse meat. Among many Indians remote from markets, fish is an important item of food though not easily salable and therefore negligible as a direct source of income. These native or emergency products often have little or no commercial value, and thus their

inclusion in the figures would make little difference in the money value of income.

Most Indians live where they can gather firewood. In many cases this is not salable, even though a great amount of work is required to gather and cut it.

The figures regarding income as given in this table are indicative of the real poverty of the Indians. Of the total number accredited to the jurisdictions studied by the survey 46,343, or almost one-fourth, were from jurisdictions where the reported per capita income was less than $100 a year, and 71.4 per cent, or seven of every ten, were from jurisdictions reporting per capita incomes of less than $200. Only 4075 Indians, or 2.2 per cent, are listed from jurisdictions reporting an average income of $500 or more per Indian; in other words, according to these figures any widespread or general conditions of opulence do not involve more than 2.2 per cent of the total number of Indians accredited to the jurisdictions studied. These are the 1249 Klamath Indians, reported as having a per capita income of $1523, and the 2826 Osage Indians with $19,119.

The figures for individual jurisdictions are presented in the table opposite.

Value of Agricultural Products. The value of agricultural products raised by the Indians for family consumption is supposedly included in the income figures. The smallness of the income might suggest that in many instances this value has been omitted, but the fact is that in many jurisdictions the agricultural operations of the Indians are extremely limited. Many a suburban dweller who puts in his spare time gardening raises as much in a year as does an Indian farmer. It takes a good deal of gardening to produce crops worth over one or two hundred dollars.

These figures will raise in the mind of the reader the question which was frequently asked of Indian Service field employees by members of the survey staff: "How can these people eke out an existence?" Several replied that it was hardly to be called an existence. Others said that they did not know the answer; that they had never been able to figure it out. The standard of living is often almost unbelievably low. Almost nothing is spent for shelter and firewood, and very little for clothing and food. Many homes were visited where there was almost no food on hand. The homes where

Annual per capita Indian income, both tribal and individual, by jurisdictions

Jurisdictions studied by survey staff arranged in ascending order according to per capita income, tribal and individual	Number of Indians reported	Annual income, tribal and individual	
		Amount	Per capita
Less than $100			
Carson	3,355	$48,866	$15
Havasupai	181	3,249	18
Siletz	1,112	30,196	27
Bishop	1,492	46,728	31
Northern Pueblos	3,335	102,430	31
Leupp (Navajo)	1,183	40,606	34
Western Navajo	6,900	266,878	39
Warm Springs	988	47,145	48
Walker River	1,465	98,342	67
Zuni	1,884	137,528	73
Tulalip	2,581	211,609	82
Pine Ridge	7,820	670,004	86
Fort Belknap	1,202	111,506	93
Sacramento	11,326	1,078,138	95
Neah Bay	660	63,226	96
Fort Yuma	859	83,311	97
$100 but less than $200			
Mission	2,723	292,654	107
Taholah	2,624	292,281	111
Southern Pueblos	6,012	697,639	116
Tongue River	1,440	172,885	120
Cheyenne River	3,026	377,598	125
San Juan (Navajo)	7,000	891,525	127
Hoopa Valley	1,916	254,389	133
Navajo	12,360	1,671,021	135
Sells	4,942	703,000	142
Pueblo Bonito (Navajo)	3,000	435,718	145
Blackfeet	3,278	490,884	150
Yankton	3,636	548,850	151
Shawnee	3,771	573,501	152
Shoshone	1,899	296,173	156
Uintah and Ouray	1,178	192,480	163
Umatilla	1,113	183,080	164
Fort Bidwell	597	98,762	165
Fort Berthold	1,334	220,174	165
Fort Totten	957	158,177	165
Pima	5,567	925,384	166
Fort Apache	2,628	439,266	167
Hopi	5,074	880,725	174
Standing Rock	3,626	687,758	190
Consolidated Ute	790	153,965	195
Winnebago	1,096	212,437	195

Annual per capita Indian income, both tribal and individual, by jurisdictions—Continued

Jurisdictions studied by survey staff arranged in ascending order according to per capita income, tribal and individual	Number of Indians reported	Annual income, tribal and individual	
		Amount	Per capita
Cantonment	724	$142,876	$197
Rosebud	5,890	1,157,794	197
$200 but less than $300			
Red Lake	1,721	350,285	204
Cheyenne and Arapaho	1,181	259,355	220
Consolidated Chippewas	12,586	2,936,943	233
Jicarilla	635	149,631	236
Pawnee	1,266	303,601	240
Sisseton	2,477	611,233	247
San Carlos	2,511	619,103	247
Fort Lapwai	1,393	355,962	256
Flathead	2,726	697,895	256
Ponca	1,431	391,812	274
Cœur d'Alene	799	220,901	276
Yakima	3,042	857,071	282
Fort Hall	1,767	500,778	284
$300 but less than $500			
Seger	761	243,983	321
Keshena	1,911	648,380	339
Crow	1,803	635,573	352
Omaha	1,543	545,833	354
Potawatomi	1,527	547,346	358
Kiowa	5,135	2,067,366	402
Colville	3,529	1,476,302	418
$500 and over			
Klamath	1,249	1,902,684	1,523
Osage	2,826	54,031,621	19,119

a reserve of food had been accumulated were the exception. Many Indians are just above the famine level, and if anything goes wrong they must go without or fall back upon government rations. These matters will be discussed more at length in subsequent pages. They are mentioned here to explain why the survey staff regards such low income figures as roughly indicative of general conditions.

Individual Income. The tables just given relate to total income, both tribal and individual. The following tables which are similar in construction present the figures for individual income:

Indians classified by annual per capita individual Indian income

Annual per capita individual income	Number of Indians accredited to jurisdictions reporting per capita individual incomes of amounts specified		
	Total	Per cent distribution	Cumulative percentage
All classes	188,363	100.0	.....
Less than $100	54,221	28.8	28.8
$100 but less than $200	103,806	55.1	83.9
$200 but less than $300	11,963	6.3	90.2
$300 but less than $500	14,298	7.6	97.8
$500 and over	4,075	2.2	.....

Of the total number of Indians accredited to jurisdictions studied by the survey staff 54,221, or 28.8 per cent, are reported from jurisdictions with a per capita individual income of less than $100 a year, and of this group of Indians about one-third are from jurisdictions reporting per capitas under $50 a year. As in the showing for individual and tribal income, so here where individual income alone is considered, the 1249 Klamath Indians, with a per capita individual income of $622, and the 2826 Osages, with a per capita individual income of $11,265, are reported as the only tribes that could be considered well-to-do. The overwhelming majority of Indians, 83.9 per cent of the total, are reported from reservations where the individual income per capita is less than $200.

The figures for the individual Indian income in the several jurisdictions studied by the survey staff are given in the following table:

Annual per capita individual Indian income, by jurisdictions

Jurisdictions studied by survey staff arranged in ascending order according to per capita individual income	Number of Indians reported	Annual individual income	
		Amount	Per capita
Per capita income of less than $100			
Carson	3,355	$43,804	$13
Leupp (Navajo)	1,183	20,000	17
Havasupai	181	3,24[illegible]	18
Siletz	1,112	30,190	27
Bishop	1,492	46,728	31
Northern Pueblos	3,335	101,930	31
Western Navajo	6,900	220,200	32
Warm Springs	988	45,459	46
Pine Ridge	7,822	387,494	50
Walker River	1,465	98,342	67
Zuni	1,884	137,398	73
Tongue River	1,440	110,439	77
Tulalip	2,581	208,861	81
Fort Belknap	1,202	111,500	93
Shoshone	1,899	176,675	93
Sacramento	11,326	1,076,614	95
Neah Bay	660	62,452	95
Fort Yuma	859	81,255	95
Fort Apache	2,628	253,445	96
Keshena	1,911	188,815	99
$100 but less than $200			
Mission	2,723	292,292	107
San Juan (Navajo)	7,000	781,890	111
Cheyenne River	3,026	335,823	111
Taholah	2,624	290,139	111
Consolidated Ute	790	89,053	113
Southern Pueblos	6,012	697,000	116
Uintah and Ouray	1,178	142,538	121
Hoopa Valley	1,916	254,389	133
Navajo	12,360	1,671,021	135
Pueblo Bonito (Navajo)	3,000	426,948	142
Sells	4,942	703,000	142
Blackfeet	3,278	485,192	148
Yankton	3,636	543,333	149
Shawnee	3,771	566,320	150
Consolidated Chippewas	12,586	1,933,719	153
Red Lake	1,721	265,220	154
Umatilla	1,113	179,117	161
Rosebud	5,890	953,686	162
Fort Berthold	1,334	216,563	162
Fort Bidwell	597	98,762	165
Fort Totten	957	158,177	165
Pima	5,567	924,326	166

Annual per capita individual Indian income, by jurisdictions—Continued

Jurisdictions studied by survey staff arranged in ascending order according to per capita individual income	Number of Indians reported	Annual individual income	
		Amount	Per capita
Standing Rock	3,626	$603,708	$167
Hopi	5,074	879,525	173
Fort Lapwai	1,393	247,408	178
Flathead	2,726	486,665	179
Jicarilla	635	120,740	190
Winnebago	1,096	211,118	194
San Carlos	2,511	486,425	194
Cantonment	724	142,876	197
$200 but less than $300			
Cheyenne and Arapaho	1,181	255,890	217
Pawnee	1,266	285,438	226
Sisseton	2,477	611,026	247
Fort Hall	1,767	456,889	259
Yakima	3,042	804,066	265
Ponca	1,431	383,069	268
Cœur d'Alene	799	216,120	270
$300 but less than $500			
Seger	761	243,983	321
Crow	1,803	607,885	337
Omaha	1,543	542,807	352
Potawatomi	1,527	543,607	356
Kiowa	5,135	2,045,414	398
Colville	3,529	1,410,462	400
$500 and over			
Klamath	1,249	777,610	622
Osage	2,826	31,835,641	11,265

The individual Indian income is made up in part of what the Indians produce by their own efforts and in part of what they get from the leasing or sale of their property or from inheritance. In other words, some of it is earned and some unearned. The distinction is highly important from the economic and social standpoint. If the restricted Indians should be turned loose from government supervision and control, the great majority of them would in all probability soon lose their property and become dependent on earned income. Earned income is, too, perhaps the best index of economic competency. The existing data do not permit of a complete division between earned and unearned income, because in some jurisdictions certain items of income cannot be thus divided. The figures which follow, therefore, somewhat understate the amount of earned income, but the amount of understatement is not enough to impair the value of the figures as presenting a general picture of the situation:

Indians classified by annual per capita earned Indian income

Annual per capita earned income	Number of Indians accredited to jurisdictions reporting per capita earned income of amounts specified		
	Total	Per cent distribution	Cumulative percentage
All classes	188,363	100.0	.....
Less than $100	124,808	66.3	66.3
$100 but less than $200	56,732	29.1	96.4
$200 and over	6,823	3.6	.....

The Earned Income is Low. The figures suggest that the earned income of the great majority of the Indians is less than $100 a year per capita. Two-thirds of the total number were accredited to jurisdictions where the per capita earned income was less than $100, and more than nineteen out of twenty were accredited to jurisdictions where that income was less than $200.

The figures for the several jurisdictions are given in the following table:

Annual per capita earned Indian income, by jurisdictions

Jurisdictions studied by survey staff, arranged in ascending order according to per capita earned income	Number of Indians reported	Annual earned income	
		Amount	Per capita
Less than $100			
Siletz	1,112	$9,300	$8
Havasupai	181	2,134	12
Carson	3,355	38,700	12
Leupp (Navajo)	1,183	20,000	17
Bishop	1,492	32,540	22
Pine Ridge	7,820	174,250	22
Seger	761	17,500	23
Taholah	2,624	73,376	28
Keshena	1,911	54,283	28
Northern Pueblos	3,335	100,430	30
Western Navajo	6,900	215,000	31
Shawnee	3,771	129,190	34
Pawnee	1,266	45,000	36
Ponca	1,431	54,500	38
Omaha	1,543	59,200	38
Klamath	1,249	48,177	39
Cœur d'Alene	799	32,100	40
Cheyenne River	3,026	120,630	40
Umatilla	1,113	46,000	41
Warm Springs	988	43,000	44
Rosebud	5,890	257,800	44
Fort Lapwai	1,393	66,000	48
Uintah and Ouray	1,178	58,206	49
Shoshone	1,899	96,916	51
Standing Rock	3,626	200,000	55
Winnebago	1,096	61,000	56
Fort Belknap	1,202	69,000	57
Fort Berthold	1,334	77,500	58
Tulalip	2,581	151,240	59
Flathead	2,726	175,000	64
Consolidated Ute	790	51,452	65
Fort Yuma	859	57,000	66
Walker River	1,465	96,978	66
Cheyenne and Arapaho	1,181	81,014	69
Fort Apache	2,628	188,000	71
Crow	1,803	127,515	71
Tongue River	1,440	104,864	73
Zuni	1,884	137,398	73
Red Lake	1,721	127,728	74
Yakima	3,042	225,000	74
Yankton	3,636	282,500	77
Sacramento	11,326	926,200	82

Annual per capita earned Indian income, by jurisdictions—Continued

Jurisdictions studied by survey staff, arranged in ascending order according to per capita earned income	Number of Indians reported	Annual earned income	
		Amount	Per capita
Cantonment	724	$60,237	$83
Consolidated Chippewas	12,586	1,050,064	84
San Juan (Navajo)	7,000	591,890	85
Neah Bay	660	62,000	94
Blackfeet	3,278	311,000	95
$100 but less than $200			
Fort Totten	957	96,250	101
Kiowa	5,135	522,800	102
Mission	2,723	283,542	104
Osage	2,826	300,000	106
Southern Pueblos	6,012	692,000	115
Hoopa Valley	1,916	234,800	123
Navajo	12,360	1,670,021	135
Fort Bidwell	597	82,000	137
Sells	4,942	703,000	142
Pueblo Bonito (Navajo)	3,000	425,000	142
Pima	5,567	904,900	163
Hopi	5,074	878,325	173
Jicarilla	635	114,443	180
San Carlos	2,511	476,358	190
Sisseton	2,477	469,540	190
$200 and over			
Fort Hall	1,767	395,037	224
Potawatomi	1,527	403,000	264
Colville	3,529	1,237,500	351

To give a general view of the items which constitute the property of the Indians, the following table is included as an exhibit. It shows for the total number of Indians accredited to the jurisdictions studied by the survey and for the Indians of the several jurisdictions, classified according to per capita value of total property, the value of each item of property, the per capita value of each item, and the per cent distribution of the total by items. A table showing the value of each item of property for the individual jurisdictions is given in the appendix of this chapter.

Indian property itemized[1]

Items of property value, both tribal and individual	Value of property, both tribal and individual		
	Amount	Per cent distribution	Per capita
	All jurisdictions studied (188,363 Indians)		
All items	$408,638,848	100.0	$2,169
Tribal property—Total	169,075,859	41.4	898
Lands	55,459,150	13.6	294
Timber and stock	91,746,333	22.5	487
Funds	21,870,383	5.4	116
Individual property—Total	239,562,989	58.6	1,272
Lands	157,242,609	38.5	835
Timber	13,842,037	3.4	73
Funds	28,342,642	6.9	150
Homes	17,286,888	4.2	92
Wagons, etc.	6,653,344	1.6	35
Stock and poultry	17,288,504	4.2	92
	Jurisdictions with a per capita value of less than $500 (25,914 Indians)		
All items	$5,811,096	100.0	$224
Tribal property—Total	1,598,031	27.5	62
Lands	1,305,410	22.5	50
Timber and stock	289,325	5.0	11
Funds	3,896	0.1	....
Individual property—Total	4,212,465	72.5	163
Lands	912,553	15.7	35
Timber	255,000	4.4	10
Funds	177,312	3.1	7
Homes	547,975	9.4	21
Wagons, etc.	161,830	2.8	6
Stock and poultry	1,812,793	31.2	70

[1] The figures in this table are derived from Table 4 in the 1926 Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs. Table 4 is not entirely correct, there being many instances in which the detailed figures do not add to the total. Inasmuch as there has been no means of determining which figures are correct, they have been copied exactly. As a consequence the totals given in this table are not always the sum of the items given in detail. Similarly the per cent distributions are out of line. It is believed, however, that the discrepancies are not sufficiently great to alter the general conclusion.

Indian property itemized—Continued

Items of property value, both tribal and individual	Value of property, both tribal and individual		
	Amount	Per cent distribution	Per capita
	Jurisdictions with a per capita value of $500 but less than $1000 (52,937 Indians)		
All items	$38,189,301	100.0	$721
Tribal property—Total	17,985,725	47.1	340
Lands	11,383,079	29.8	215
Timber and stock	533,300	1.4	10
Funds	6,069,346	15.9	115
Individual property—Total	20,203,576	52.9	382
Lands	10,416,323	27.3	197
Timber	2,208,000	5.8	42
Funds	1,482,027	3.9	28
Homes	1,967,050	5.2	37
Wagons, etc.	695,273	1.8	13
Stock and poultry	3,434,824	9.0	65
	Jurisdictions with a per capita value of $1000 but less than $2000 (47,231 Indians)		
All items	$79,450,389	100.0	$1,682
Tribal property—Total	36,507,030	45.9	773
Lands	15,461,900	19.5	327
Timber and stock	19,732,693	24.8	418
Funds	1,312,437	1.7	28
Individual property—Total	42,943,359	54.1	909
Lands	31,853,503	40.1	674
Timber	2,552,459	3.2	54
Funds	1,976,324	2.5	42
Homes	2,605,670	3.3	55
Wagons, etc.	838,495	1.1	18
Stock and poultry	3,693,367	4.6	78
	Jurisdictions with a per capita value of $2000 but less than $3000 (22,171 Indians)		
All items	$52,150,193	100.0	$2,352
Tribal property	18,662,954	35.8	842
Lands	6,578,271	12.6	297
Timber and stock	9,243,061	17.7	417
Funds	2,841,629	5.4	128
Individual property—Total	33,487,239	64.2	1,510
Lands	23,623,722	45.3	1,066
Timber	2,203,776	4.2	99
Funds	1,593,386	3.1	72
Homes	2,064,818	4.0	93
Wagons, etc.	1,175,035	2.3	53
Stock and poultry	3,726,143	7.1	168

Indian property itemized—Continued

Items of property value, both tribal and individual	Value of property, both tribal and individual		
	Amount	Per cent distribution	Per capita
	Jurisdictions with a per capita value of $3000 but less than $4000 (17,751 Indians)		
All items	$65,360,395	100.0	$3,682
Tribal property—Total	10,233,896	15.7	577
Lands	3,220,472	4.9	181
Timber and stock	5,395,670	8.3	304
Funds	1,617,754	2.5	91
Individual property—Total	55,126,499	84.3	3,106
Lands	41,749,620	63.9	2,352
Timber	981,120	1.5	55
Funds	4,014,056	6.1	226
Homes	5,091,306	7.8	287
Wagons, etc.	1,247,000	1.9	70
Stock and poultry	2,005,413	3.1	113
	Jurisdictions with a per capita value of $4000 but less than $5000 (6,515 Indians)		
All items	$28,158,189	100.0	$4,322
Tribal property—Total	14,429,048	51.2	2,215
Lands	4,051,574	14.4	622
Timber and stock	8,820,475	31.3	1,354
Funds	1,557,002	5.5	239
Individual property—Total	13,729,141	48.8	2,107
Lands	8,319,578	29.5	1,277
Timber	2,735,200	9.7	420
Funds	1,049,233	3.7	161
Homes	502,650	1.8	77
Wagons, etc.	297,540	1.1	46
Stock and poultry	824,940	2.9	127
	Jurisdictions with a per capita value of $5000 and over (15,844 Indians)		
All items	$139,510,285	100.0	$8,806
Tribal property—Total	69,658,575	49.9	4,396
Lands	13,458,147	9.6	849
Timber and stock	47,731,809	34.2	3,013
Funds	8,468,319	6.1	534
Individual property—Total	69,860,710	50.1	4,409
Lands	40,367,310	28.9	2,548
Timber	2,906,482	2.1	183
Funds	18,050,304	12.9	1,139
Homes	4,507,419	3.2	284
Wagons, etc.	2,238,171	1.6	141
Stock and poultry	1,791,024	1.3	113

In leaving these tables it must again be said that they are not accurate, and that for some of the individual jurisdictions they may be very inaccurate, but they do give a picture of the general situation which seems to the members of the survey staff a fair reflection of the conditions which they observed, taken as a whole. Figures such as these, together with the qualitative observations of the staff members, seem to warrant the statement that the great majority of the Indians are poor, even extremely poor, and that no evidence warrants a belief current among some people that the Indians as a race are well-to-do. In dealing with the Indians the government in the main is handling a problem of great poverty.

Indian Property: Tribal. Much of the Indians' property as previously indicated consists of land, a great deal of which is rough or arid and of comparatively low value per acre. Large areas are still held tribally, though the steady trend for many years has been in the direction of breaking up tribal land into individual holdings. The original motives underlying this policy were good. It was believed that the Indian receiving a tract of land would feel a sense of responsibility for improving it, building a home, and accumulating more property. It was hoped that pride of possession would be created that would go far toward developing greater initiative and self-respect.

The Allotting of Lands. Admirable as were the objects of individual allotment the results have often been disappointing. Too much reliance was placed on the sheer effect of individual land ownership and not enough was done to educate the Indians in the use of land. The strength of the ancient Indian custom of communal ownership was not realized. It is still difficult for the Indians to understand and feel the white man's pride in the individual ownership of land. As time went on the shift of property from tribal to individual ownership was sometimes brought about not because sound educational and business principles demanded it, but rather because of pressure brought to bear by the Indian and his white neighbors, both of whom saw in the creation of individual holdings the first step toward giving the Indian complete control of his property, including the power to alienate it. Added to this tendency has been a certain amount of pressure brought by the public at large, due to widespread feeling that the Indians should

be removed from governmental control and take their place as ordinary citizens of the state and nation.

The fact that a few large tribal units are more easily conserved and administered than many individual holdings may at times have delayed this movement, but in most cases it has doubtless proceeded too fast. The result has been to put many Indians in possession of allotments of land and of other property before they had advanced sufficiently to feel any real responsibility for the conservation and development of such property. They have often displayed a childlike disregard of the future, and commonly have a lack of standards in maintaining a home, and in too many cases an eager desire to have restrictions removed in order that the property might be sold and the money squandered for immediate pleasure.

The rapid change from tribal to individual ownership has also increased the labor as well as the complexities and difficulties of administration by the government.[1] To deal with people in large groups and with property in a few great units is far simpler than to deal with people as individuals and with property in thousands of small units. The public, not appreciating this fact, has tended

[1] An outstanding example of increase in costs of administration arising from individual ownership is that resulting from inheritance of individual property. Before lands were allotted, the death of a member of the tribe did not directly involve property rights and titles. As soon as individual ownership was established all this simplicity passed. The estate of the Indian who died had to be administered. Heirs had to be determined. The estate had to be partitioned among the heirs or sold so that the proceeds might be partitioned. If it was not sold or partitioned but was leased as an estate, the lease money had to be divided among the heirs. In some cases the heirs are numerous and the records of relationship poor, so that the work of determining them is long and difficult. Division of lease money among them may require many small entries on the books, some of them so small as to be of little monetary consequence. With inheritance came all the problems of wills and will making, a difficult and expensive matter. With inheritance has come, too, the problem of whether to permit the land of a deceased Indian to pass into the hands of whites through sale. If sale to whites, the simplest and cheapest administrative device, is resorted to, the Indians in a few generations will be landless and often will have dissipated their share of the cash proceeds from the sale of inherited lands. The policy of allotment was not only expensive in initial application; it is highly expensive in its after effects. Its success has been materially impaired by the failure to provide adequately for the increased costs resulting from its adoption and more particularly from failure to provide the educational machinery for adults which was an essential element in the original plan.

to demand a reduction of appropriations for Indian affairs on the ground that the Indian problem is vanishing and that this work of the government should be reduced.

The allotment of tribal holdings will continue in the future, but it should always proceed as part of a definite program looking toward the advancement of the Indians and never as the result of pressure brought to bear by Indians who seek an early use of the proceeds from the sale of such lands, or by whites who hope eventually to reap a profit. The increased cost of administration should always be recognized, and provisions for the allotment of the lands of any reservation should be accompanied by more liberal appropriation of funds for administration.

Corporate Property. Thorough mature consideration should be given to the possibilities of using the corporate form of organization for tribal property that consists of great natural resources which cannot be economically administered or developed in small allotments. The outstanding opportunities for careful experiments in applying this modern form of business organization in the administration of Indian affairs appeared to the survey staff to be at the Klamath reservation in Oregon and at the Menominee reservation in Wisconsin. The possibilities appear sufficiently great to warrant a fairly detailed discussion.

At both Klamath and Menominee the natural resources at present being utilized are virgin timber, although each of them has potential resources in water power. At each of them selective logging is being practiced so that the land will be indefinitely required for the purposes of forestry. Apparently the land is mainly valuable for such purposes, and at Menominee, where land has been completely cut over, some reforestration is being practiced. From the standpoint of sound national economy it seems desirable to preserve these forests through the practice of selective logging and the continuous use of the land for growing timber. To make this wise economic use of the land it must be preserved intact in large areas, not allotted to private ownership in tracts too small for effective utilization.

The question then becomes how to preserve the property as a whole as a great national timber resource and at the same time to utilize the property for the advancement of its present Indian owners. The existing system is to put the proceeds of the sale

of timber into the tribal funds and to appropriate from these funds for the use of the Indians, sometimes in the form of per capita payments. These Indians thus have great capital resources, but they are not available for the use of individuals except as they become available in small amounts through appropriations from tribal funds.

The intelligent progressive Indians, especially at Klamath, are anxious to have some plan devised whereby their interest in this great tribal resource may be individualized, so that they may work with their own capital in advancing themselves. They say that they cannot work with the forests and that the amount available from per capita payments is too small to work with; that it is only enough to be an inducement to idleness, a contention that has much soundness. The solution they offered, at the beginning of the council with the survey staff, was for the immediate sale of all the timber and distribution of the proceeds, thereby permitting competent Indians to have immediate possession of their capital assets. Such a solution seemed to the staff objectionable on many grounds. So large a timber area could not be sold to advantage quickly. Sale in relatively small blocks would destroy the possibilities of selective lumbering and the effective use of the land as a national resource. Some Indians believed competent would prove not so and would promptly dissipate their capital. The funds of incompetent Indians would have to be invested and disbursed, with all that would mean in the way of work and friction.

The sounder plan appears to be to individualize the property through the corporate form of organization so that the property itself would be maintained intact and the interest of the individual Indian in it would be represented by shares of stock in the corporation.

Indians who have already thoroughly demonstrated their business capacity could be given their shares to do with as they will. Others who are believed to be competent but who have not yet demonstrated their capacity, could be given limited experimental use of their shares, being permitted either to sell a part of them outright or to deposit them as collateral for loans for productive purposes that seem sound and promising to the government officers responsible for their guidance and development. Young men desiring higher education might be permitted to sell enough of their

shares to get the necessary funds. The shares of the old and feeble might be sold to provide them with necessities. The shares would be far more liquid assets than any allotment of land. They could be more minutely divided and could be sold or pledged without the formalities incident to transactions involving real property.

Although the Indian owners of the property should elect representatives to the board of directors of the corporation, the majority of the board, at least for a good many years after the inception of the experiment, should be composed of representatives of the government, operating under acts of Congress and regulations made in accordance therewith by the Secretary of the Interior and the Commissioner of Indian Affairs. White purchasers of shares from Indians would naturally secure the voting rights of the shares. Gradually the government might withdraw if development of the Indians warranted such a course. Such an arrangement would give the Indians training and experience in the management of property which they much need under conditions that would prevent them from going far astray and would permit selected especially competent ones to have the opportunity to try using their interest in the tribal wealth for their own economic advancement. It would give them a voice in the management of their property.

This suggestion that the corporate form of organization be given mature consideration results in part from the study made by several members of the survey staff at the Quinaielt Reservation in Washington, where under a court decision the unfortunate practice was followed of allotting timber lands to individual Indians. The Indian Office resisted the allotments of these timber lands, and it was only after a decision by the United States Supreme Court compelling such allotments that the present practice was pursued.*

* Section 331 of Title 25 of the Code of Laws of the United States provides for allotments of Indian lands when the president is of the opinion that a "reservation or any part, may be advantageously utilized for agricultural purposes."

In the suit of a member of the Quileute tribe of Indians, the United States Supreme Court in United States v. Payne, 264 U. S. 446 (1924), held, however, that the terms of the original treaty between the United States and the Quinaielt, Quileute, and affiliated tribes entitled the members of those tribes to allotments even of lands chiefly valuable for timber, and that the general allotment act should not be construed as preventing allotments of such lands.

The objections to this practice of allotting timber land, as seen at Quinaielt, may be summarized briefly as follows:

1. It is practically impossible to make a fair and equitable distribution of timber land among the Indians on an acreage basis. At Quinaielt the Indians first allotted were given land classified as agricultural, which had little or no timber value. Later allottees got land classified as timber land, but the value of the timber varied from a few dollars to many thousands of dollars. If timber land is to be allotted the basis must be the quantity and value of the timber, not the surface area of the land.

2. The salability of the timber on the Indian's allotment depends on the location of the allotment. That timber which is in the immediate path of the logging company's operations must be sold at once and brings a fair price as established by open competitive bids. That which is remote from present logging operations will bring a mere fraction of its prospective value because it may be years before it is reached in logging and it is divided into units too small for its immediate use by anyone. The Indian himself can hardly log it because of the difficulty, if not the impossibility, of getting his logs to a market. The only recourse of the old Indian who needs funds for his immediate support or of the young Indian who wants money for his education or for getting established in business, is to let his allotment go for the little it will bring. Indians declared competent have sold timber allotments for a mere fraction of what the government a little later secured for comparable abutting allotments sold in economically workable units under competitive bids.

3. The fact that the timber in an economically workable unit covers many different allotments vastly complicates the supervision of logging operations and the accounting. When the timber lying along allotment lines is cut it must be branded to show from which allotment it came and it must be credited to the proper allotment in the scale book and carried through the accounts so that eventually its value is included in the account of the proper Indian in the individual Indian money ledger. To appreciate what this means one must scramble after the brander at the corner where four allotments meet and then follow the entries through from the allottee's scale book to the individual Indian money ledger.

4. The cut-over land in the Quinaielt Reservation has little if any economic value at present. From the standpoint of national economy the best use to which it can be now put is to permit it to go back to forest. In order to let it go back to forest fire must be kept out of it. The individual Indian owner of a small allotment has no funds to do this and no interest in doing it, for he will scarcely live to see it again covered with even the smallest size merchantable timber. He does not live on the cut-over land; nobody does. For miles and miles it is a wilderness of old stumps, and unfortunately fires often sweep through, killing all new growth. It would be far better if it were owned in great areas either nationally or privately, so that someone would have an economic interest in keeping fire out of it and protecting the new growth.

5. The net effect at Quinaielt is that the Indians come into possession of timber money in the order in which their allotments are reached by the logging companies, unless they sacrifice their holdings at a fraction of their value. After the timber is gone their allotments have little value. They are poor for a while, then momentarily rich, and often finally poor again. Such an arrangement does not solve the human problem.

Quinaielt is an extreme example of an erroneous application of the principle of allotment. It is an excellent illustration of the general dangers. In many places the principle has been followed where it leaves the Indian with land which he cannot utilize because its area is too small to be economically workable. The only course open to him is to rent it to somebody, usually a white man, who has resources to rent many allotments combining them to make a sufficient territory to be of some economic use. The corporate form of ownership, it is believed, affords the possibility of overcoming some of these difficulties. If experiments with it should prove successful at places like Klamath and Menominee, further experiments might be tried in getting Indians to exchange their grazing allotments, which they never personally use, for shares in a corporation that would consolidate these small allotments into large economic units capable of being used or rented or sold without all the present difficulties incident to the past division of land into areas too small to be usable.

Need of More Lands. For many years the government has pursued a policy of purchasing and opening to white settlement the so-called "surplus lands" of Indian reservations. This practice has proceeded so far that at present few tribes have more lands than they require. In the future unallotted lands should generally be reserved to the Indians themselves. The needs of most tribes must slowly but surely increase if they are to maintain themselves in the presence of white civilization, and if any case exists where there is not immediate necessity for all the lands now reserved to a group such need is likely to exist in the near future.

Several reservations are not at present large enough to support the population owning them. These should be enlarged if possible. Especially should some plan be formulated at once to solve the land problem of the Navajos. These Indians are now utilizing their range almost if not quite to the limit of its capacity for the sheep and other livestock which constitute their chief economic resource. Several thousand of them are living as trespassers on the public domain or on small allotments inadequate for their support. Their reservations should be enlarged right away so that the economic development of these industrious people may go on.

Railroad Land Grants. Certain reservations in the Southwest include within their boundaries large areas of railroad lands given as construction grants, in alternate sections. This checker-board arrangement creates an impossible situation so far as working out permanent future policies is concerned. In the past the railroads have allowed the Indians to use these lands for grazing, but with the insistence of some of the states that taxes must be paid upon this property, such use clearly will not be permitted indefinitely. Prompt action should be taken to remedy the situation, since neither the Indians nor the railroads can derive any considerable benefit from it without the consent and coöperation of the other owner. The Indians fear that railroad ownership of alternate sections may be converted to ownership of half the land in a solid block, thereby leaving to them a reservation only half as large as the area they are using, or that if the railroad land is purchased for them the cost may be made reimbursable against the tribe.

The Indians are clearly right in objecting to either of these solutions of this problem. The railroad land included within the boundaries should either be purchased outright by the government and given to the Indians, or the railroads should be given in ex-

change an equal area of similar lands from the public domain. In no case should the reservation be reduced, nor should costs of the land purchased from the railroads, or the value of that set aside for them from the public domain, be charged against the tribe unless such a charge be made contingent upon the discovery and use of mineral resources sufficient to pay the cost. These Indians need at once all the land contained within the limits of their present reservation boundaries, but they are too poor to pay a large reimbursable debt unless they are enriched through mineral resources. A possible course would be for the government in making new gifts of land not now owned by the Indians to reserve for itself the mineral rights and give to the Indians only the surface rights.

Tribal Claims. Many tribes have large tribal claims against the government of the United States. Some of these are probably valid, others very doubtful, and still others clearly worthless. Regardless of validity the existence of such unsettled claims has a bad psychological effect upon the Indians. They often refuse to work, improve their farms, or make definite plans for the future because they have been told, sometimes by unscrupulous attorneys, that they are rich and can hope eventually to receive enough money through the settlement of tribal claims to enable them to live in comfort without effort on their part.

The government should seek the earliest possible settlement of all such claims. Congress should be asked to provide for an increase in the staff of the Indian Office preparing such cases for consideration and to create a special staff to consider the merits of claims the presentation of which to the court of claims has not yet been authorized. If a claim is good it should be declared so at once in order that the money due may be available for the advancement of the Indian, while if it is bad it is equally important that the Indians should know it, so that they may put aside their dreams of wealth and go to work to improve their economic status by their own efforts.

Utilization of Tribal Resources. Tribal resources should be utilized for the economic advancement of the individual. At present some Indians with considerable tribal property are living in poverty, with poor school facilities for their children and equally poor medical and hospital facilities for the sick. Although efforts to conserve tribal property are to be commended, as also are precautions taken to prevent its dissipation, yet at times conservation has been at the expense of productive utilization. Unnecessary delays in utilizing timber or other resources of a tribe are unjustifiable if many of the people are living in poverty.

Indian Property: Individual. The work of the government in dealing with the property of individual Indians has three aspects: (1) Conservation and protection, (2) production of income, and (3) education of the Indian in the use and management of the property.

In the past emphasis has been placed primarily on the first of these duties, the conservation and protection of the Indian property. Its effective utilization for the production of income has been a secondary consideration. Except in a comparatively small number of jurisdictions under able and energetic superintendents, the third function, that of educating the Indians in the use and management of their own property, has been largely neglected. Since the real task of the Indian Service is to fit the Indians to make a living in the presence of the prevailing civilization, this emphasis has been almost the exact reverse of what it should have been. The primary duty is to educate the Indians in the use and management of their own property. The duties of protection and utilization are secondary and should be performed only insofar as they are necessary to permit of effective work in economic education.

In justice to the Indian Service the fact should be definitely noted that both the number and the qualifications of the field employees have been too low to permit of effective work in all three branches. Conservation and protection have received emphasis because they are the simplest and can be done after a fashion as a routine by a comparatively small number of employees familiar with the laws and regulations without much contact with the Indians, without much effort at education, and without much exercise of the power of leadership. To make the individual properties productive of income, calls for more ability and initiative and a larger number of workers, and in several jurisdictions employees competent for this type of work are lacking. To educate the Indians in the use and management of their own property, is obviously the most difficult task of all and requires employees with

specialized training combined with the qualities of a teacher and a leader. A few superintendents and other field employees possess these qualifications and have demonstrated what can be accomplished with the Indians, but they are the striking exceptions, and they are handicapped by the lack of competent trained assistants. Nowhere is the number of such employees sufficient for the task in hand.

The absence of competent industrial or economic teachers and leaders explains in no small measure the comparative failure of several of the large policies of the past, notably, the whole plan of individual allotment of land, the issuance of fee patents, the removal of restrictions, and the declaration of competency which legally removes the Indian from guardianship and declares him ready to take his place as an independent member of the community.

The Allotment of Land. The original allotments of land to the Indians were generally made more or less mechanically. Some Indians exercised their privilege of making their own selections; others failing to exercise this right were assigned land. Often the Indians who exercised their privilege made selections on the basis of the utility of the land as a means of continuing their primitive mode of existence. Nearness to the customary domestic water supply, availability of firewood, or the presence of some native wild food were common motives. Few were sufficiently far sighted to select land on the basis of its productivity when used as the white man uses it. The Indians were not sufficiently advanced generally to make their selections on this basis, and the allotting work was done too fast and on too wholesale a basis for the representatives of the government to advise and lead them to sound selections. As a consequence many of the individual allotments consisted of land of relatively little productive value, and even if the Indians had been vigorous and persistent workers they would have had difficulty in making from it a really good living. Some Indians were assigned land which they had never seen. In some instances this assigned land was not potentially productive. The object apparently was to get the allotment work done rather than to give each Indian a piece of property which if effectively used would furnish the basis of support according to sound standards.

Many Indians did of course get good land, land that white men wanted. The Indians generally did not know the value of this land. They did not know how to use it, and the government as a rule did not send to them persons competent to teach them its use. These Indians quickly were subjected to the influences of whites who sought to get the good land away from them. Too often these whites were without scruples as to the methods to which they resorted.

The allotment acts opened several ways through which the whites could obtain possession of the Indian lands. The surplus land remaining after allotments had been made was sold and the proceeds paid into the tribal funds. When an allotted Indian was declared competent, he received a fee patent to his land and could thereafter sell it without governmental supervision. When a restricted Indian died, the simplest method of dividing his estate among the heirs was to sell it and distribute the proceeds. In each of these ways large areas of valuable Indian lands passed permanently into the hands of the whites. A means of securing the use of the land, although not the fee title to it, was to lease it from its Indian owner, ordinarily through the government office. In many parts of the Indian country where land has been allotted, it is common to see the productive land that formerly belonged to the Indians owned or leased by whites and to find the Indians withdrawn to the remoter sections which afford comparatively little opportunity for effective development.

The function of protecting the Indians and their property was vested in the government of the United States, and unquestionably it has made many mistakes. In a few instances its representatives have been false to their trust and have deliberately conspired for their own advantage to get the good lands away from the Indians. More frequently the mistakes have been errors in judgment or methods rather than of intent. In some instances acts of Congress have resulted in the wholesale exploitation of the Indians, as was the case among the Five Civilized Tribes in Oklahoma and among the Chippewas in Minnesota. In other cases administrative policies have had the same result, notably in the instance of the competency commission which operated under a previous administration and forced fee patents on many Indians who did not want them and

who proved incompetent to manage their own affairs. The result of these mistakes is that a relatively small proportion of the Indians who have been declared competent to manage their own affairs have retained possession of their property. Possibly as significant as the number of fee patent Indians who have lost their lands, is the growing number of younger Indians, born after allotments were made, who are now without land because that in which they had an inherited interest was sold to whites to permit of a distribution of the assets.

The fact must be squarely faced that through governmental action, many really incompetent Indians have been permitted to lose possession of their individually owned property before they were ready to maintain themselves in the presence of the civilization which confronts them. The important question is how to stop further inroads on Indian property until the Indians are adjusted to the prevailing economic system.

In those jurisdictions where individual allotments have already been made, three things must be properly safeguarded: (1) The removal of restrictions and the issue of fee patents, (2) the sale of inherited lands, and (3) the leasing of Indian lands to white tenants.

The Policy of the Present Administration in Granting Fee Patents. The present administration, having had a recent demonstration of the damage wrought by wholesale competency commissions, has wisely adopted an extremely conservative policy in granting fee patents. The present policy is obviously correct. Improvement is to be sought in the methods to be followed in giving it effect.

Fundamental Steps in the Advancement of the Economic Condition of the Indians. The most fundamental step that can be taken is to work out for each jurisdiction a definite educational program to advance the economic and social condition of the Indians, with due regard to the economic resources of that jurisdiction and to supply each jurisdiction with a sufficient number of properly trained workers to make that program effective. These industrial and social teachers will work with the Indians in the effort to teach them the use of their property and of the income produced from it. Being trained and experienced, they will maintain accurate records of the accomplishments of the Indians in those activities which are

indicative of competency. Their recommendations and decisions regarding competency will be based not so much on their offhand impression of the Indian as on this record of things he has actually done, over a series of years. They will definitely serve notice on the Indians that if the Indians want fee patents they must first demonstrate their capacity to make a living by their own efforts.

Definite recognition will be given the fact that competency does not come in a day, but gradually as the individual grows in wisdom and experience, and that accordingly restrictions must be gradually withdrawn. Under existing law and the practice in some jurisdictions, an Indian is totally incompetent on one day and totally competent on the next. With a more numerous and better qualified field personnel, it will be possible for a well trained, friendly white adviser to work with the Indian and gradually to release to him an increasing control over his property until the accumulated record of achievements warrants the complete withdrawal of all governmental supervision.

A suggestion worthy of mature consideration is that an Indian desiring a fee patent for his land be required to furnish positive evidence that he has by his own efforts earned enough for his own support and that of his dependents and that if he cannot furnish such evidence, he be required to wait for his patent until he can furnish such evidence covering a reasonable number of years.

Revolving Fund Recommended for Purchase of Indian Lands. To prevent the present evils resulting from the sale of inherited lands and the distribution of the proceeds among the heirs to be dissipated or to be used in supporting the Indians in a life of idleness, it is recommended that the government establish a revolving fund to be used in purchasing the land of deceased Indians with heirs where a division of the land itself is impracticable. The proceeds of this sale would then be held in trust by the government for the restricted incompetent heirs, to be expended only for productive purposes and not for ordinary living expenses. If the Indian heir needs land, it could be purchased for him from the inherited land thus bought up by the government. His inherited funds could be used for this purpose, and any balance due could be made a reimbursable loan secured by the property.

This revolving fund could also be used to meet the problem arising when a young Indian family has several pieces of land in dif-

ferent parts of the jurisdiction or even in different jurisdictions. Not infrequently a young Indian would explain to members of the survey staff that he was living on his wife's allotment or on his mother's allotment and that he himself either had an allotment of his own somewhere or an inherited interest in other allotments. Since these scattered pieces of land are not within reach for work, they are rented and the rent money becomes a temptation to idleness. Some superintendents have displayed no little ingenuity in working out the puzzle of how to dispose of these scattered holdings in such a way that the family will consolidate its property in one unit that may be effectively utilized. By this action the petty income from rent is cut off and the Indian is at once presented with the necessity to work and the opportunity to work on a really possible economic unit. The existence of such a fund would materially simplify this problem.

This fund could also be used to aid in the relocation of allotments. At Pima, for example, a considerable number of Indians will not be able to obtain water from the Coolidge Reservoir for use on their present allotment. The government needs some such device whereby it can secure for these Indians land already allotted which lies within the area to be irrigated. On the Blackfeet Reservation a similar problem of relocation of homesteads has come up, and it might be materially simplified by the utilization of such a revolving fund.

The use of such a revolving fund would help meet another difficulty. When Indian land has been sold to whites it becomes subject to state taxation. If it is subsequently repurchased with Indian trust money which was secured by inheritance or the sale of restricted property, the courts in some jurisdictions have held that it remains subject to state taxation. Such a ruling materially hampers the Indian Service in meeting the problems arising from inheritance and in relocating Indians on more promising allotments. This difficulty would be overcome if the property never passed into possession of whites and thus did not become subject to state taxation until the Indian owner was ready to assume the full burdens of taxation.

The problem of raising funds for the care of the aged and infirm would also be simplified if a revolving fund existed through which the government could advance money on their individually owned land. In a considerable number of cases Indians too old and infirm to work have no resources except their land and are living very close to actual want. One way of meeting this situation at present in use is to sell their lands, ordinarily to whites, and to use as much of the proceeds of the sale as necessary for the care of the old people. On their death the balance remaining is distributed among the heirs. At times difficulty is experienced in finding purchasers prepared to pay a reasonable price, and considerable time necessarily elapses between the first recognition of the pressing need of the old people and the receipt of the purchase price of the land. Sometimes the aged people die fairly soon after the sale. Then the land is gone and the heirs get money to use for living expenses rather than land which they could use for the production of income. A material improvement would be effected if a government fund were available from which the Indian service could make small advances as needed immediately upon the official recognition of the necessity without the sale of the land to whites and without the inevitable delay incident to such sales. Upon the death of the owners the land would pass to the heirs, subject to the lien for the money advanced for making the old people reasonably comfortable in their last days.

The difficulty of the young Indian boys or girls who have land and want money for higher education or for other sound productive expenditures might be similarly met by the use of this fund. The land would not be sold but would be available for their use upon their return, subject to the mortgage for the funds advanced. If they decided later that they did not wish to return to the reservation and if they were getting ahead in other pursuits, the land could then be sold.

Such a fund might in time become loaded up with land for which the Indians would have no need. In that event sale of the land to whites would be entirely justified and the proceeds of the sale would revert to the revolving fund, to be used again for carrying out the objects of the fund. Such an arrangement would permit of intelligent planning and development of the Indian resources and give a flexibility or adjustability that is at present almost entirely lacking.

The Problem of Leasing Individually Owned Land. The practice of leasing Indian lands results in part from this lack of flexi-

bility or adjustability which has just been mentioned. The members of an Indian family may own land in several different places, some of it through original allotments and some through inheritance. Because it is scattered and sometimes far removed from the place where the family wishes to dwell, they cannot use it. The present remedies are to sell the parts not used or to lease them. A few superintendents are sufficiently vigorous and active partially to overcome these difficulties and to prevent the worst of the evils resulting from lease money, but they are handicapped by the intricacy of the problem and the rigidity of real property. The Indian Service has in principle recognized that it is highly undesirable for an able-bodied Indian to have lease money available for living expenses, but it has lacked a flexible workable device for overcoming the present difficulties.

Some evidence has been presented to the survey staff which suggests the possibility that a few superintendents have found in leasing to whites the easiest way out of a difficult task. Obviously it is far simpler administratively to lease a good piece of land to a white tenant and to dole the proceeds out to the Indian owner than it is to educate the Indian to work his own land. Many Indians much prefer a little lease money to the far greater return that they could get by working the land themselves, although occasionally Indians have complained that large leases have been made, including their allotments among many others, and that they meet with opposition when they try to get their land for their own use. This complaint generally relates to grazing land; and it may be questioned whether the individual allotment is as a matter of fact big enough to be a really usable economic unit, whether the return from its use would be sufficient to justify the expense of fencing it for individual use. Here again, the superintendent is hampered by the rigidity of real property. If he could shift ownership around more easily he might be able to give the individual Indian his chance without unduly restricting the use of the property as a whole.

The elimination of the leasing of individually owned property is an outstanding problem in developing an educational program for the Indians. The recommended Division of Planning and Development will have to give it serious consideration in every jurisdiction studied and will have to outline policies to control it. To give effect

to these policies the Service will require a far higher class of agricultural demonstration workers and other field employees concerned with the education of the Indian than it at present possesses.

The Question of Taxation. The statistics of Indian property previously given in this chapter demonstrate the fact, so obvious to persons who visit the Indian country, that the value of the Indian lands is relatively high as compared with the Indians' income from the use of that land. The general property tax, although based on the value of land, must be paid from income unless it is to result in the forfeiture of the land itself. Bad as is the general property tax from many points of view, it is peculiarly bad when applied to Indians suddenly removed from the status of a tax exempt incompetent and subjected to the full weight of state and local taxation. So far as the Indians are concerned, the tax violates the accepted canon of taxation that a tax shall be related to the capacity to pay. The levying of these taxes has without doubt been an important factor in causing the loss of Indian lands by so large a proportion of those Indians who have been declared competent.

The policies involved in making individual allotments and issuing fee patents brought into the economic problems of the Indian Service the difficult subject of taxation. Under the allotment act the incompetent Indian holding a trust patent is generally exempt from taxation. On the day he is declared competent and is given his fee patent, he straightway becomes subject to the full burden of state and local taxation. The more common form of taxation is the general property tax, the basis of which is the value of the property owned and the burden of which falls heavily on land, because it cannot slip out from under in the way other forms of property frequently do.

Many wise, conservative Indians, with a keen power to observe the experience of others, have no desire to progress to the point where they will be declared competent and be obliged to pay taxes. They know that the taxes will consume a large proportion of their total income and that taxes are inescapable. To them to achieve the status of competency means in all probability the ultimate loss of their lands. From their point of view the reward for success is the imposition of an annual fine.

The attitude of the whites who have settled in the Indian country is naturally that the Indians ought to pay taxes. In sparsely

settled districts where a considerable proportion of the land is held by tax exempt Indians, the whites often find it difficult to support adequate governmental services. They want the Indian property taxed so that funds will be available for schools and public health work. Much of the prejudice that exists against the Indians has its origin in the fact that they pay no taxes.

Many persons interested in the advancement of the Indians take the position that they should be taxed. Payment of taxes, it is pointed out, will remove one of the major grounds for racial antagonism. Then, too, the friend of the Indians wants them at the earliest possible moment to take their place as full fledged citizens, and the full fledged citizen pays taxes.

In the chapter dealing with general policies in Indian administration this subject of taxation of Indian lands was gone into at some length as it affects the relationships between the Indians and the whites and those between the national government and the state governments.* What was said there need not be repeated except insofar as it has a direct economic bearing.

The view of the survey staff is that the Indians must be educated to pay taxes just as they must be educated to do other things. The taxes imposed upon them must always be properly related to their capacity to pay. For them an income tax would be infinitely better than a general property tax because of its direct relationship to their capacity to pay. The returns from such a tax would obviously be extremely small at the outset, but they would increase with the increasing producivity of the Indians; and such a tax would not result in the loss of Indian lands and destruction of what productive capacity they have achieved.

For first lessons in taxpaying it is highly desirable that a definite relationship exist between the payment of taxes and the securing of the benefits that arise from taxation. Betterment taxes, levied with due regard to the capacity to pay, would be excellent especially if the Indians could have some voice in the decisions as to the betterments to be achieved. The Navajos are apparently prepared to spend possible revenues from oil for betterments rather than to distribute them for individual use; and many Indians in council advocate the use of tribal funds for specific projects for the general welfare.

* Pages 94 to 97.

The difficulty, it is believed will be found to lie not so much with the Indians themselves as with their white neighbors. A few white people doubtless want the Indian taxed because that will give them a chance to get the Indian lands. Many more with no ulterior motive fail to see any reason why they should pay taxes on their lands while the Indians go tax free. They often fail to recognize that the Indians pay indirect taxes by purchasing goods from white men who have naturally added a portion of their taxes to the cost of the goods sold to the Indians. They naturally want the Indians to pay taxes just as they do.

The recommendation made is that the Indian Service, through the proposed Division of Planning and Development, take this matter of taxation up with state and local officers fully and frankly. In several states the officers of the state and local governments are awake to the fact that their Indian citizens are as much of a problem to them as they are to the national government, that what is going on is a transition from national control to state control, and that they will gain nothing if the Indians are shifted to them under a system that results shortly in the loss to the Indians of their lands and leaves them without economic resources. Many state and local officers will undoubtedly welcome the opportunity to coöperate with experts from the national government in working out a constructive educational plan that will advance the Indians and increase their economic productivity. They will quickly see the problem, and once the problem is analyzed, practical solutions can be worked out to meet local conditions.

The Duty of the Government to Protect and Conserve Indian Property. Although the chief need of the Indians is more aid in training them to work with their own property to make it economically productive, the national government must continue and strengthen its work for the protection and conservation of the Indians' property. This subject is discussed in more detail in the chapter that deals with the legal aspects of the Indian problem and need not be gone into here. It is mentioned to prevent any possible inference that since the emphasis in this discussion has been on training the Indians in the use of their property, the primary duty of protection and conservation is not still of great importance.

Indian Income. The Indians derive their income, as was shown in the statistics previously given, mainly from three sources,

namely, (1) Tribal funds, (2) the sale or rental of their individually owned property, and (3) their own work.

Tribal Funds. In considering the tribal funds, a sharp distinction must be made on the basis of the original sources of the funds. The major proportion of the funds was secured from the conversion of capital assets into cash through the sale of the surplus lands remaining after allotments, the settlement of claims involving land, or the sale of natural resources of the land, such as timber or oil. A much smaller proportion came from the use of the Indian property and was really income. Leases of tribal lands for grazing or other agricultural purposes that do not seriously affect the value of the property are probably the outstanding illustration of true income. In some instances the use of the tribal grazing lands for a tribal herd has resulted in true income. The interest paid on tribal money in the national treasury also belongs in the category of true income.

In corporation finance this distinction between funds resulting from the conversion of capital assets into cash and funds resulting from the real earnings of the company is fundamental. The payment of dividends from capital is generally regarded as thoroughly bad practice because it eats away the capital of the company, and leads the shareholders to live on their capital rather than on their income. In dealing with Indian affairs a similar distinction should be drawn, or else the capital of the nation's wards will be dissipated by its utilization for current expenses. As has been repeatedly pointed out the distribution of unearned income to the Indians for current expenses is particularly bad, because it permits them to continue their natural inclination to exist in comparative idleness according to a dangerously low standard of living instead of forcing them to face the necessity of working. With a reasonable amount of work under competent guidance and direction, they could generally produce a far greater income and have the means of overcoming many of the forces that now result in poverty, ill health, and suffering.

Tribal funds and the income arising from them should generally be considered available only for productive use. Except in the case of the old and helpless the question should be, will this use of tribal income advance the Indians toward the goal of self support? If that question cannot be answered fairly definitely in the affirmative, the chances are that the proposed use of tribal funds will in the long run do the Indians far more harm than good. It may result in the dissipation of the capital that is available for the primary task of adjusting them to the prevailing civilization without achieving any forward step in that direction. Per capita payments in money to be used for ordinary living expenses should nearly always be avoided.

If the Indian Service can develop for each jurisdiction a sound economic and social program and can have in each jurisdiction a well trained, efficient group of persons to carry out that program, plenty of ways will be found for the effective utilization of tribal income. Many Indians are in need of productive property such as good land, water for irrigation, livestock, poultry, farm implements, and seed for planting. In view of the extremely low standards of living and the ill health resulting from it, the use of income from tribal funds for fairly permanent improvements in houses, outbuildings, or even important articles of household furniture, would be justified. The object of the well trained, experienced field workers will naturally be to arouse in the Indian the desire for such investments of their share of tribal funds, and they will measure their success by their ability to make the Indians see their true needs. The use of force and coercion should be negative rather than positive, not compelling the Indians to invest in things they do not want but denying to them the chance to use their share of tribal income for ordinary living expenses. The use of such authority by a guardian is thoroughly justifiable, because guardians are appointed for the purpose of preventing wards from dissipating their property.

The use of tribal funds as a source of credit for enterprising members of the tribe who can give security deserves careful consideration. In the past, due to the lack of a definite program and well trained employees, the experience with reimbursable funds has not been very satisfactory, but it is believed the fault was not in the plan but in its execution. If a new and determined effort is made, properly supported, tribal funds might well be used as loan funds for productive purposes.

Elimination of Leasing. No small part of the tribal income in many jurisdictions is derived from leasing grazing lands to whites. As the economic program for these jurisdictions develops, the In-

dians will have an increasing need for this land, either for tribal herds or for individually owned livestock. The object should be to curtail leasing just as rapidly as the Indians can be developed to utilize their own grazing lands.

Use of Tribal Funds for Administrative Purposes. A tendency seems to be growing to use tribal funds derived from leases or timber to pay for the administration of various reservations. In some instances the government incurs a direct expense in connection with the use or sale of tribal property. Much of the cost of operating the agency among the Osages results from leasing the oil lands and controlling the oil operations and the incidental accounting. At Klamath and Menominee the direction and control of the timber operations are direct costs of operation. At San Carlos the maintenance of the tribal herd is a direct expense. That it is fair to the Indians to deduct these expenses of operation from the gross returns before crediting the tribal funds with earnings, seems obvious.

The use of tribal funds to pay the purely governmental costs of general administration, on the other hand, seems to be open to serious question, especially if the Indians are poor and have never given consent to this use of their funds. Payment from tribal funds of the salaries of general administrative officers and clerks, in the choice of whom the Indians have had no voice, results in criticism from the Indians that is difficult to answer and maintain a position consistent with the principles underlying the foundation and operation of the United States government. The situation is particularly unfortunate where an officer or clerk paid from tribal funds is distinctly unpopular with a considerable body of the Indians. They watch his every move and ask if it is right that they be required to pay for certain of his activities. Friction develops which makes it difficult for the employee to work effectively with the Indians.

The mere existence of tribal funds rather than the need of the Indians has apparently been the factor that led to their use for general expenses. In some jurisdictions where the Indians are very poor and are greatly in need of tribal funds to increase production, the tribal revenue goes largely for general administration. In other jurisdictions where the Indians are much better off individually, the expenses of general administration are met from gratuity

appropriations, for the simple reason that the lands have been allotted and the Indians have little tribal income. Doubtless it has been easier to secure appropriations from tribal funds than gratuity appropriations, but the criterion for determining appropriations should be need and use rather than the source of the money.

If the United States in the immediate future is to raise the Indian Service to a new plane of efficiency, material increases in appropriations will be required. In making these appropriations a wise policy would be to provide for all general expenses of administration for gratuity appropriations, except in the few cases where the Indians are so well off that they may reasonably be taxed for at least a part of the expenses of the administrative costs, and in such cases they should have some voice in the matter. Where the Indians are poor, appropriations from tribal funds should be restricted to objects that are so clearly and obviously for the direct benefit of the Indians that the majority of them can see that benefit. If the Indian Service recognizes its problem as educational, its local representatives will confer and advise with the Indians regarding the benefits to be secured by the wise use of tribal funds.

Unearned Income. The sound principle that capital assets should not be used for ordinary living expenses should likewise govern the guardian government in controlling the actions of its Indian wards in respect to individual income. It should be made clear to the Indians that they can do as they please with what they themselves earn by their own efforts, but that the government as guardian has a distinct responsibility over what comes to them through the property the government has secured them. They have not earned by their own efforts the proceeds from land sales and land leases. Such proceeds are for productive objects, and they should be spent productively by the Indians with the advice and guidance of trained industrial and social instructors.

Children's Money. The policy of individual ownership has given rise to the problem of children's money. Sometimes children too young to do any work themselves are owners of allotments. More frequently perhaps they are land owners by inheritance. The lands in which they have an interest are often leased and the proceeds deposited to the account of the child. The Indian Service has wisely been strict in its regulations regarding the expenditure of children's money, endeavoring to have it used for the benefit of the child

himself. Many Indian parents who have never really assumed the responsibility of supporting themselves and their families by persistent labor are bitterly opposed to this policy. They believe that they should be allowed to use the children's money with their own for ordinary living expenses of the family without any restrictions, although in some instances such a course would mean that the child would have nothing with which to work on reaching maturity. This problem cannot be satisfactorily solved by the existing field personnel, because it is so distinctly an educational problem. Indians who have hungry children can hardly be expected to be reasonable. To them the obvious solution is to get hold of the child's money and buy food, letting the future take care of itself. They need able and intelligent teachers who will help them in arriving at the more permanent solution of producing enough to care for their children. While this educational process is going on it will be necessary from time to time to permit the use of some of the children's money for the benefit of the child, especially where health is endangered; but to handle this work well the Indian Service needs more and better field employees specially qualified for such a task.

The principles just discussed relate to the great body of Indians, whose chief need is to learn to be more productive and to achieve a higher standard of living. The Indian Service has two other classes with which to deal: (1) The well-to-do, with surplus income, and (2) the extremely poor and helpless. Each of these groups requires special consideration.

Investment of Surplus Funds. The government has consistently pursued the policy of allowing the restricted Indians with a large income a fairly liberal sum for living expenses and of investing the remainder in order to make provision for their old age or for the education and future welfare of their children. This policy is obviously correct. Its execution calls for men of high ability and unquestionable integrity. The present "guardian system" in operation among the Five Civilized Tribes has caused much well founded complaint. The rights of the wards should be more carefully safeguarded than at present, and if this cannot be done an effort should be made to abolish the guardian system and place the administration of Indian property and income in the hands of thoroughly

competent national government officers.[*] In the case of the Osage Indians the Indian Service has demonstrated what it can accomplish in straightening out such a bad situation if it is given proper authority by Congress.

Where a large surplus income is to be conserved it has not always been easy to find safe, long-term investments that would yield reasonable returns. This difficulty will doubtless increase for the next few years owing to the maturing of some of the Liberty Loans. The question of the purchase of annuities, deferred annuities, or in some cases ordinary life insurance with the surplus funds of wealthy non-competent Indians, is worthy of consideration. Such investments are permanent, safe, and seem to make the best possible provision for the future of individuals so lacking in business ability as to make it advisable to invest their funds in a manner to secure the maximum degree of safety even at some sacrifice of income.

The suggestion has been made that the surplus funds of some of these Indians be turned over to private trust companies for investment under government supervision. This plan does not particularly commend itself to the survey staff unless extraordinary precautions are taken to protect the safety of the principal. When an Indian's funds are used for the purchase of a life insurance policy or an annuity policy, he becomes a policy holder of the company and has an interest in common with all other policy holders in all assets of the company, and the companies are subject as a whole to thorough state supervision and control. None of the investments of the company is earmarked as the particular property of an individual policy holder. When an Indian's funds are put into a trust company, they are invested by the trustees for the Indian in particular properties. The safety of the Indian's property depends on the wisdom and integrity with which the funds are invested. His interest is a whole interest in the particular investment made with his funds, and not, as in insurance, a part interest in all the assets of the company. A general examination of an insurance company protects all policy holders, whereas a general examination of a trust company does not protect all persons whose money is being invested by the company as trustees.

[*] This subject is discussed more at length in the chapter on Legal Aspects of the Indian Problem, pages 779 to 798.

It is entirely possible for a perfectly solvent trust company to make unwise or even almost dishonest investments of an Indian's property. To protect the Indian against such abuses of trust will necessitate either close national government inspection of every investment made, rigid rules and regulations limiting strictly the particular securities which may be purchased with Indian funds, or contracts with investment insurance companies which will adequately safeguard the Indian's principal. It would seem far simpler and far safer for the national government itself to act as trustee to invest the surplus funds of its wards, unless their needs will be better met by an annuity contract or some form of life insurance. The government could very properly charge these wealthy Indians a reasonable fee on a percentage basis for its work in investing these funds as is now done in connection with some other matters of administration.

Companies selling life insurance and annuity contracts can render a valuable service in educating the Indians in the wise use of income if they can induce them to put some of that which they are permitted to spend into paid up insurance or annuity contracts. The government should inspect these contracts to see that the Indian is adequately protected against forfeitures and to prevent him from entering into long-term contracts which he may not be in a position to fulfill because of decreases in income.

Material Relief. At the other end of the economic scale a second group of Indians constitutes a grave problem in the matter of unearned income. They are the old, the sick, and the grossly incompetent, who are dependent partially or wholly upon the government for means to live.

Problems of material relief are always difficult, but they are especially acute among the Indians, because relief has never been effectively administered. The present "ration system" is carried over from the old army plan of feeding in wholesale fashion Indians concentrated upon reservations, largely as a military measure to prevent hostile outbreaks by a people whose natural food supply had been destroyed by the slaughter of the buffalo and other game. The system is antiquated and unsound in principle and has long outlived whatever usefulness it once may have had. It is merely palliative in character, with no other object than the relief of immediate suffering. A fixed dole of certain articles is given out

periodically, without regard to the special needs of the individual or family. On some reservations horse meat has been issued as a ration in spite of the protests of the Indians, who regard it with distaste. Old, crippled, almost helpless Indians are required to come to the agency office in all sorts of weather to get their supplies. On several reservations the survey staff saw poorly clad, old people, with feet soaked by long walks through snow and slush, huddled in the agency office waiting for the arrival of the superintendent or other officer who could give them an order for rations to keep them from actual starvation. Such a system of relief merely encourages mendicancy, for it fails to reach and to deal with the causes of poverty.

Relief should be made a means to an independent income rather than a source of income. Some relief of immediate suffering merely as a palliative measure cannot of course be avoided, especially in emergencies. The agency office, however, is seldom the place for such service, for it can be more effectively performed by visits to the homes of the people in connection with educational work. All relief on the reservation should be administered by trained workers as a part of the educational program, with the object of removing, so far as possible, the necessity of relief.

Relief agencies in the general population have found various means of helping indigent families in substantial ways so as permanently to increase their incomes. Some illustrations may be given:

1. The physical efficiency of the wage earner is increased by supplying spectacles, crutches, and other mechanical aids necessitated by physical defects; by providing dental and other clinical service; by financing operations and making sanatorium treatment available; and by giving individuals and families special foods to remedy dietary deficiencies.

2. Training for profitable occupations is financed. Re-education for earning is given the crippled, blind, and other handicapped.

3. Work opportunities specially suited to the abilities or limitations of individuals are sought, and tools or other equipment for work supplied, and the support of families assumed temporarily if such a course is necessary to give the family a start.

These are only a few of the possibilities. Some of these things are done in the Indian Service, but they are largely ineffective because they are not a part of a careful plan to develop the income

producing power of the family. Many persons now dependent entirely upon rations and supplies for a living could eventually be made at least partially self-supporting by the working out of a constructive plan looking toward that end. It would be comparatively easy to assist many not entirely helpless old people to engage in poultry raising, gardening, the manufacture and sale of bead work or baskets, and other forms of light but productive labor that would yield sufficient return to support them either wholly or in part. Such work would furnish useful employment for hours that are now spent in idleness, would give renewed interest in life, and would go far toward making poor old people self-respecting and happy.

The many indigent of the Five Civilized Tribes of Oklahoma constitute a special case. Some are landless as the result of having been declared competent prematurely or because they were left otherwise unprotected from unscrupulous whites. Others are crowded back into the hills on land that they do not know how to use. They are in a forlorn condition, neglected both by the national government and by the state. Relief should be provided for these people as a part of an educational program in which both the nation and the state should have a part.

Agriculture. The chief economic possibility for the great majority of Indians lies in some form of agriculture. Their principal economic resource is their land. They have considerable natural aptitude for agricultural pursuits, as is evidenced by their history and by the capacity some have shown to profit from the teaching and leadership in farming supplied by some of the more able government officers. They are, moreover, primarily outdoor people, and although many may move to towns and cities, the majority will, and probably should, remain on their lands. At present the overwhelming majority are engaged in some agricultural occupation.

The importance of agricultural pursuits is clearly demonstrated by material secured by the survey staff from pupils in the Indian schools. At most of the schools visited cards were filled out by the pupils with the aid of the teachers and returned to the member of the staff assigned to the study of education. Of the 16,720 cards thus collected 12,353 recorded the occupation of the students' fathers.[a] The occupations thus reported, with the numbers in each, are listed as follows:

Occupation of fathers	Number	Percentage distribution
All occupations	12,353	100.0
Farmer	8,056	65.2
Rancher	1,955	15.8
Laborer	856	6.9
Carpenter	151	1.2
Railroad employee	142	1.1
Lumberman	139	1.1
Policeman	91	.7
Miner	85	.7
Clerk	78	.6
Mechanic	73	.6
Minister or missionary	60	.5
Merchant or trader	49	.4
Engineer	47	.4
Blacksmith	46	.4
Fisherman	43	.3
Silversmith	38	.3
Miller	33	.3
Mailman	32	.3
Oil Worker	21	.2
Interpreter	20	.2
Dairyman	19	.2
All others[b]	319	2.6

Almost two-thirds of the fathers of the 12,353 children were reported as farmers. Farmers and ranchers together aggregate 81 per cent of the total. Laborers not otherwise specified are the next most numerous, but they constitute less than 7 per cent of

[a] It is obvious that fathers with more than one child in school are counted more than once. The concentration is so striking, however, that counting each father but once could not change the general character of the occupational distribution.

[b] These are distributed as follows: Government employees, not otherwise reported, 21; barbers, 16; painters and plumbers, 14 each; shoemakers, disciplinarians, and medicine men, 13 each; sailors, masons, and drivers, 11 each; trappers and hunters, and actors, 10 each; cooks and night watchmen, 9 each; janitors, tailors, and teachers, 8 each; contractors and musicians, 7 each; butchers, 6; realtors, sheriffs, forest rangers, and salesmen, 5 each; deliverymen, herdsmen, electricians, general utility men, and judges, 4 each; chiefs or head men, millworkers, manufacturers, printers, filers, and gardeners, 3 each; surgeons, smelterers, firemen, bankers, cannery men, longshoremen, weavers, ice men, porters, piano tuners, lawyers, agents and soldiers, 2 each; laundryman, foreman, jeweler, school employee, bookkeeper, dishwasher, broker, Indian checker, city officer, ironworker, baker, guide, restauranteur, artist, stone quarry man, and irrigation man, one each.

the total and the probabilities are that some of these are on farms. The remainder are scattered over a wide range of occupations, eighty-three in all, but no one of these other occupations includes much over 1 per cent of the total number.

These figures are believed to be fairly representative. They do not include either the very young men or the very old, for of course the fathers of school children are as a group men in the prime of life with their earning capacity at its best. The figures, too, relate primarily to men with a relatively high proportion of Indian blood. More than two-thirds of the pupils reported themselves as full bloods, while fewer than 10 per cent reported their degree of blood as less than half.

That approximately nine out of ten of these Indian fathers have not specialized outside of agriculture, is the really significant fact. Of the scattering occupations, several represent employment with the Indian Office or with mission stations on the reservations, and in many cases do not imply the specialization that would be required in cities for employments similarly designated. Railroad employees are the largest group clearly making an adjustment to modern industrial life, and this occupation is mentioned only 142 times. The great occupational problem of the men whose children are in the Indian schools is obviously the problem of making a living out in the country. If the fact is recalled that much of this country is in the desert, remote from markets, the difficulties faced by the government in the attempt to develop these men and their sons to the point of economic competence becomes apparent.

Emphasis on Subsistence Agriculture. The obvious course is to place the emphasis on subsistence farming for the support of the Indian families. The advancement of the Indians in farming should be along the natural lines indicated by the general history of agriculture. They cannot be expected to succeed at first in the highly specialized forms of commercial farming or, broadly speaking, even in the ordinary forms of commercial farming. Commercial farming, especially one crop farming, implies an ability to buy and sell and transact business that most Indians do not at present possess. Their need is aid, advice, and encouragement in the production of an abundance of grains and feeds, garden vegetables, fruit, milk, butter, poultry and eggs, and hogs for domestic use, with some small surplus of these and other farm products to sell. As

they develop they may be brought to specialize in certain crops for which their lands are particularly adapted, but for a considerable time emphasis will have to be placed on subsistence farming.

Although a few Indians were visited who could really be called farmers in the ordinary sense of that word, they were distinctly exceptional. The agricultural activities of a great majority of them are very limited, and are considerably below any satisfactory standard for subsistence farming. Frequently, as has been said, their crops did not greatly exceed those raised by suburban white gardeners who give to these operations only their spare time. Cows, poultry, and hogs were the exception rather than the rule, largely because the care of animals requires that some member of the family or a neighbor always remain at home to feed and water the stock. The Indian tendency is to lock up the house and take the whole family on any errand, journey, or excursion undertaken, and the neighbors, if there are any, often go too. Under these conditions it is impossible for them to keep domestic animals that require regular care.

That this care-free, camp life existence has its distinctly attractive features must of course be admitted, and anyone who proposes to change it is open to the charge of trying to make the Indians over into white men. The fact is, however, that the economic basis upon which this type of existence was predicated has largely gone and that the Indians must either be adjusted to a new economic basis or go through the slow, painful process of vanishing. The position taken by the survey staff is, as has been set forth at length in the chapter on general policies, that the government must continue and strengthen its activities to help the Indians in making this economic transition successfully. The main reliance for accomplishing this purpose must be placed on an adaptation, for use among the Indians, of those activities which have proved successful in advancing the condition of other agricultural or rural people.

Need for a Program for Each Jurisdiction. The first requisite for success in this endeavor is to supply the Indian Service with a group of specialists connected with the Washington office, who are thoroughly familiar with those methods which have proved successful in the advancement of a rural agricultural people. These persons would be connected with the recommended Division of Planning and Development, which is discussed at length in an

earlier chapter of this report.[11] No attempt will here be made to summarize what was there said regarding the organization and procedure of that division, but it is desirable to mention again certain aspects of the recommendations that are particularly applicable to the agricultural development of the Indians.

The Indian Service greatly needs on its staff at least one agricultural economist of high professional attainments and a wide acquaintanceship among the men and women in agricultural departments, agricultural colleges, and experiment stations in the several states. His duties would be, under the general direction of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, to organize committees to study the several jurisdictions to determine what the agricultural possibilities of those jurisdictions are for a well-rounded program of subsistence farming. For these committees he would secure representatives of state and local agricultural educational institutions so that each jurisdiction could be studied by a group of specialists thoroughly familiar with conditions in that part of the country. This committee would work with the Indian Service employees in the local jurisdiction so that the program as developed would be sound both agriculturally and practically.

Since the application of this program is an educational enterprise designed to enlist the interest of the Indians and train them, the Indian Service should also have on its central staff a person who is similarly equipped by training and experience to secure the cooperation of persons who can develop effective educational methods to apply the program. In many instances methods which have proved successful with other rural people will prove successful with the Indians, but some new problems will be presented. To be successful the methods must be devised with due consideration to Indian interests and Indian points of view.

In several jurisdictions the land of the Indians is of value chiefly for grazing. The proposed division should therefore have on its staff a specialist on cattle raising and another on sheep raising, so that the program as developed may give full consideration to these possibilities.

The primary function of all these specialists will be to develop a sound program and to aid and advise the local officers in carrying it out.

[11] Pages 113 to 128.

Need for Local Agricultural Leaders. The second requisite is a local staff at each jurisdiction adequate in number and in training and experience really to educate the Indians in subsistence farming. The Indian Service has long had positions which have been designated by the title "farmer." An examination of the personnel cards of 143 of these farmers selected at random shows that of this number fifty-nine, or over 41 per cent, had an eighth grade education or less; forty-five, or less than 32 per cent, had some high school work in addition, but of these only fourteen had completed a four-year high school course; fifteen reported some business school training and eight some normal school training. Only sixteen had done any college or university work, and of this number only six had finished college and only three of these had done graduate work. Forty-five of the 143 reported that they had had special courses of one kind or another. The total number of such special courses taken by the forty-five was sixty-three, but only twenty-six of these special courses show any direct relation to agriculture or stockraising.

Since 41 per cent of the total number were entirely without high school training, and 89 per cent were without college training, obviously most Indian Service farmers have an educational equipment wholly inadequate for teachers or demonstrators of agriculture. Their lack of the necessary technical training accounts, in part, for the slow progress made by the Indians in farming.

In justice to these farmers it should be said that they have been far too few in number to give adequate attention to all the Indians in their districts, and they have been loaded up with numerous other duties in no way concerned with teaching the Indians farming. The questionnaires filled out by the 143 farmers mentioned above showed twenty-six different duties, not counting "numerous other things." Among these duties were included office work, law enforcement, issuing rations, looking after school attendance, keeping up ditches, and road work. In the administration of the affairs of a widely scattered people it is of course necessary for employees to perform many miscellaneous duties, but in the case of many of the farmers miscellaneous duties constitute the main job. They are field messengers or field clerks rather than agricultural demonstrators.

A few of the present farmers, because of their personality, good sense, and understanding of Indians, are making progress in stimulating the Indians and teaching them agriculture despite their lack of technical training for their work. Obviously such men should be continued as agricultural demonstrators. Those who are not successful as agricultural leaders should be assigned to other duties with a suitable designation. Unfortunately the Indians are often fully aware of the fact that an employee designated a farmer is not a real agriculturist, and they make fun of him among themselves whereas he would be entitled to their respect if he had a title more descriptive of his real duties.

New entrance requirements for these positions should be established comparable with those of agricultural demonstration agents in the national or state governments. The entrance positions should be classified at least in the junior professional grade, which would make the minimum entrance salary $1860. Rigid tests for entrance should be given by the United States Civil Service Commission. The practice of requiring the applicant to be certified as competent by the dean or president of the agricultural college in the state in which he wishes to serve or in some adjoining state would then be no longer necessary, because it would not compare in effectiveness with thorough tests given by the agricultural examiners of the Civil Service Commission.

The task which will confront these agricultural demonstrators will be difficult, far more difficult than that of an agricultural demonstrator in a white community. The Indians are not accustomed to the regular and systematic work which they will have to do to achieve their economic salvation. Their old habits stand in their way. Some of them, particularly the older ones, have been pauperized by former government policies and will take the attitude that the government owes them a living because it took their land. Others will be ready enough to try, but will be handicapped by their lack of resources and by the low standards under which they have lived. Often they will not be in physical condition for really hard work. These difficulties are cited to bring home the fact that if the government of the United States is really going to do this job of adjusting the Indians to the existing economic situation, it must send first-class men to give them leadership and education in agriculture. Both time and money will be wasted if the attempt is made to do a hard job with poor tools.

Reimbursable Loans for Agricultural Promotion. The Indians' lack of both cash and credit will be a serious handicap, because it often means that they cannot get the necessary implements, livestock, and tools for a start. The government has in the past often supplied implements and stock either as a gratuity or through reimbursable loans. The results have generally been disappointing because the furnishing of implements and tools was not the primary need. The primary need was intelligent competent leaders present in sufficient numbers so that when the Indians made up their minds to try they would be rewarded by reasonable success. Implements and stock without leadership and education could not solve the problem. Reimbursable loans for equipment could not be repaid unless the results of the labor were successful.

Some able superintendents are at present opposed to reimbursable loans because of their experience with them. These superintendents are inclined to let the Indians work with what they have, despite the fact that this course means a relatively small return for much labor. Possibly this position is sound if the Indians who are willing to work cannot be given closer supervision and direction so that they can make enough to repay their loans and have an added return for themselves. On the other hand, if the government is to make a real effort to encourage and teach the Indians to be successful subsistence farmers and supplies an adequate number of well equipped agricultural teachers, it would be a serious mistake to withhold credit facilities. The work of the agricultural teachers and demonstrators would be rendered far more difficult, and it would take much longer to get the Indians up to a reasonably satisfactory standard.

The recommendation is therefore made that if really competent agricultural teachers are sent to the Indians, provision be made for reasonable reimbursable loans for productive purposes. Under adequate supervision the loans could be safeguarded as are any other loans by choosing with care the Indians to whom they are given, by close supervision of the property purchased, and by insistence upon prompt payment when due. In the past it has been impossible to establish these safeguards because the number of competent employees has been too small and the Indians have often not been sufficiently successful to make the equipment or stock purchased pay for itself.

The amount required for reimbursable loans should be determined from year to year according to the progress with the program at a given jurisdiction.

The use of reimbursable funds should be educational, like almost every other activity on the reservation. They should be given only after the Indians have expressed a real desire for them and have shown some realization of the obligation to repay promptly. They should be given for a definite productive purpose, such as the purchase of livestock, farming implements, or seed, after the Indian has been instructed as to the use and care of the property to be purchased. They should be made in amounts sufficient to be worth while. Too much may be beyond the Indian's power to administer properly, but on the other hand too little is equally bad, since it does not furnish the proper incentive to effort. For example, if cattle or sheep are bought for Indians with reimbursable funds they should as a rule be given out in numbers sufficient to permit a real pride of ownership and to furnish employment for at least a fair share of the owners' time. Three or four sheep sold to each of a dozen men would not awaken any particular pride or cause the owner to make adequate provision for their care. Twenty or thirty, or if possible, forty or fifty to one man, would be enough to make it worth his while to care for them and they would make it worth while for the agricultural demonstrator to give the time needed for proper supervision.

The local officers should see that the Indian receives full value for the money charged against him. In some cases Indians feel that in the past they did not get their money's worth. The resulting dissatisfaction is demoralizing to industry and tends to discredit all reimbursable loans among the Indians.

Authority should be secured to cancel loans made carelessly in the past if the property has been wiped out and the chance for repayment is remote. Heavy debts that can never be repaid have a bad psychological effect. The Indian who owes such debts feels discouraged, fears that if he accumulates property it may be taken from him, and so refuses to take an interest in business or put forth any effort to improve his condition.

Each Indian receiving reimbursable funds should be given a book similar to a building and loan pass book or a bank book. In this should be entered the date and amount of each advance, the property purchased, the price paid and the date and amount of each repayment to the government. This book should contain the terms of the agreement and rules and regulations respecting such loans printed in English and, if the tribe has a written language, in the tribal tongue as well. This procedure would prevent many misunderstandings and much dissatisfaction, and the Indians would in most cases preserve the book, since they are usually careful with papers and prize them highly.

In the purchase of materials with reimbursable funds as in other purchases, the local officers of the Service, especially in the remoter sections of the country, are seriously embarrassed by the laws and regulations governing purchases. This subject has been discussed in the chapter of the report relating to organization and management [11] and need not be gone into again in detail. Emphasis should, however, be placed on the desirability of purchasing farm machinery of a type handled by local dealers so that repair parts may be secured without destructive delay. For the same reason it is wise to concentrate on a few good makes, rather than to let the make depend almost entirely on the lowest bid at the time a particular contract is let.

The problem of controlling the purchase of livestock, particularly breeding stock, demands careful consideration. Here expert judgment and actual examination of the stock offered are of major importance. Such purchasing cannot be done efficiently through written specifications and open competitive bids submitted to the Washington office for decision, because the Washington officers cannot inspect the stock. The solution lies in the direction of placing greater authority and responsibility on the shoulders of the local agricultural specialists. Possibly the purchases of stock could be further safeguarded by having the purchases involving any considerable sum made by a local committee including in its membership competent livestock men from the national or state department of agriculture or from the state agricultural college.

The Five-Year Agricultural Program. The program for the agricultural advancement of reservation Indians if it is to succeed must deal with families and communities as a whole rather than only with the men. Successful subsistence farming is a family

[11] Pages 149 to 151.

enterprise in which all members participate. This fundamental fact has been grasped by the able superintendents who have been making real progress with the Five-Year Agricultural Program. The Indians are organized on a community basis, into farm chapters with women's auxiliaries. The chapter meetings offer a substitute for less productive and more harmful gatherings. They bring the Indians together where the superintendent and his assistants can meet with them, discuss common problems, and arouse the enthusiasm of accomplishment. The Indians themselves participate in the discussions, and thus the seed is sown for the development of real Indian leadership. In a way the meetings remind the observer of a religious experience meeting except that the conversions represent the awakening of the spirit to achieve economic self-support and a higher standard of living.

The originators of the program have apparently developed the right line of attack because they have understood Indians and have appreciated the importance of community activities. The success of these efforts is, however, retarded by the present limitations of the Service which have already been discussed, namely, (1) The lack of an adequate expert body to aid in determining the best possible program from an agricultural standpoint, (2) the lack of a sufficient number of trained agricultural demonstrators, and (3) the lack of credit facilities.

In developing community work, careful consideration should be given the question of supplying a community house well adapted to the needs of the educational program. The Indians generally have some kind of a meeting house, a long house, a council house, or a dance lodge, but these houses are often extremely primitive and have no facilities for education. They could well be replaced gradually, as the Indians are ready, by well built structures that would not only furnish an attractive meeting place but would meet other community needs. The community house should be equipped with a kitchen suitable for demonstrations in cooking, canning, and preserving, and with a good work room for sewing. It might well be so equipped that the doctor and the nurses can use it for the medical clinic. It might well contain a storage room in which seed could be kept for the next year's planting, protected from the weather and from rodents, as well as from sale by an improvident owner. As the community progressed a motion picture machine might be added so that the Indians could have the advantage of the educational films on agriculture, health, and child welfare that may be secured from the national and state governments. The house should not precede the workers necessary to make it a success, but it should come as soon as the Indians are ready for it. Successful workers will be able to get some Indian labor for its construction, but the government should be prepared to give material aid either as a gratuity or from tribal funds.

Agricultural Education of Women. Another serious defect is the general absence of a suitable field force to work with the women in the homes. This subject is considered in detail in the chapter of the report dealing with family and community life and the activities of women, and therefore it is unnecessary to go into it at length here. It should be pointed out, however, that women play an exceedingly important part in successful subsistence farming. Much directly productive work falls to them, such as making a garden, keeping poultry, canning and preserving fruits and vegetables, sewing, and adding to the family income by the sale of home made products. Their skill in utilizing the products of the farm and in spending the family income are vitally important factors, and naturally the women are the ones primarily responsible for maintaining the health of the family.

In some homes visited by the survey staff it was apparent that the development of the men had outstripped that of the women. The men were doing reasonably well in the heavier productive tasks which are their share of the enterprise, but the women did not know how to utilize the products and the income efficiently. One Indian dairy farmer showed with great pride his small herd of really good cows and his modern dairy barn. Everything was so well kept and in such good condition that it was almost a shock to go into his house and to find no corresponding development there. Work with women was obviously much needed in that jurisdiction, but the agency had no woman field employee.

Need of Special Provision for Returned Students. The youths who return to their reservation homes from boarding schools are another group who need special attention in the general agricultural program. They often return with the feeling that they are ready to accomplish something. Their main need at this critical period is intelligent advice, direction, and coöperation, but usually

the staff at the reservation is too small to permit anyone to devote much time to them. They do not find laid before them a definite plan and a clear challenge. During their absence at school they have lost touch with things. On reservations where land has never been allotted and where range rights and water rights are granted by tribal custom, they may find it difficult to get a location. They may have no livestock in a country where livestock is essential to a living. That in many instances they slip back and eke out an existence by living with relatives or friends is not surprising. The field personnel should give them special attention.

The idea of a colony for returned students, tried a few years ago at Shiprock, New Mexico, is deserving of careful consideration. With an adequate force of experienced workers, it might prove possible to make such a colony a real demonstration and to preserve some of the enthusiasm and spirit which are awakened in the large non-reservation schools.

Agricultural Education of Indian Children. The importance of agricultural education for Indian children has always been recognized in the Indian boarding schools, and in recent years there has been an encouraging development of agricultural club work among reservation Indian children. Some Indian boys have displayed great interest in it and have taken prizes in competition with whites. Although some of this agricultural work has been excellent, it is believed that material improvement can be made in several ways.

At the boarding schools the agricultural work serves the dual purpose of educating the children and raising products for the school, food for the children, feed for the livestock, and, if possible, a surplus for sale, because the money from the sale of the products becomes available for the use of the school. Unfortunately, the two objects often conflict. Emphasis on education may reduce production. Emphasis on production may be carried so far as almost to eliminate education and to reduce the children practically to the position of child laborers in agriculture. The superintendents of the schools are obliged to attempt to steer a middle course, because the appropriations for the schools, arrived at on a per capita basis, have never been sufficient to maintain the schools unless they are materially supplemented by products from the school farm. It is extremely doubtful if a single superintendent of an Indian boarding school is in a position to say, "This school is an educational institution, and I am going to run our farm primarily to give these boys and girls first-class training in agriculture." He would, doubtless, soon find himself without means for feeding the children according to even the low standard at present in use at the poorer schools. All the school superintendents have to give serious thought to production.

Agricultural education naturally suffers in several ways. The decisions as to the crops to be raised and the other agricultural activities must be based on the needs of the school and the demands of its market. At some of the non-reservation boarding schools are boys and girls from reservations where they could not possibly raise the crops grown at the school, or practice agriculture in the way it is there done. If the superintendent should attempt to fit them for the kind of agriculture they will have to follow if they return to their own people, he would have largely to sacrifice production for education. Fortunately the superintendents of reservation boarding schools are not so greatly hampered by this difficulty, because their soil, climate, and methods of farming are like those the boys have on their own lands. Possibly this fact explains in part an impression gained by the members of the survey staff that the most successful Indian farmers they encountered had secured what education they had from reservation schools.

The demands of production determine methods. Possibly this fact can best be illustrated by contrasting the ordinary Indian school poultry department with that of a privately supported school which was devoted to training boys of another race for subsistence farming. At this other school each boy constructed a model chicken house which he could reproduce at his own home at very small expense. In this house he had a small flock of chickens of a standard general purpose breed. He had the entire care of this flock and entire responsibility for it, under the general direction of able teachers of poultry management. Near the center of the enterprise were several houses and runs, each containing a flock of a different breed. The boys kept track of the records of these different breeds and compared their merits with those of the general purpose chickens of which they were in charge.

At a typical Indian school the poultry house is a fairly large affair, containing several hundred chickens.[11] No boy could by himself build such a house, nor could he ordinarily raise the money to have it built. The chickens generally kept are White Leghorns, an egg producing breed, more or less unsatisfactory for a subsistence farmer because they are too small bodied to supply much meat and because the hens are poor sitters. The schools do not set hens; they run incubators or buy day-old chicks. The responsibility for the big flock in the Indian school rests with a government employee, the poultry man. The boys do the work as they are told to do it. It is not hard work; it is not educational work. The plants are not organized to give education which comes from being responsible for the management. Chilocco was the only school visited where a number of different breeds of chickens had been purchased so that the boys could have experience with different kinds, but even here the duties had not been individualized.

This illustration of poultry raising is fairly applicable to most of the agricultural activities. The boys are not trained by managing a subsistence farm under general direction. They do specific tasks on a large farm under immediate supervision. The practical work does not teach them planning or management or give them lessons to develop initiative and a sense of responsibility. They are not paid for their work nor do they generally have any share in the crops. It is apparently fair to say that insofar as the work is educational it is training for agricultural labor on a big farm rather than training for subsistence farming on the boy's own land.

[11] At several jurisdictions the opportunities for success with poultry are good. At Fallon, Nevada, the local farmer has been successful in stimulating the Indians to work with turkeys, Rhode Island Red chickens, and a few milk cows. The cream and the ordinary hens' eggs are sold for regular income. The skimmed milk is fed to the turkeys. Both the turkey hens and the Rhode Island Red hens are used to hatch the turkey eggs. At the Catholic mission school in Wyoming promising work is also being done with turkeys. On the Tulalip Reservation in Washington several Indians are following the example of their white neighbors in developing flocks of White Leghorns for egg production. The country there is peculiarly adapted to the industry, yet at the Tulalip school the school flock is operated more for production than for education. Poultry raising is peculiarly adapted for use educationally because the stock matures quickly, its cost is relatively small, boys can easily learn to build the houses that are required for a small flock, and the care is relatively simple. The small flock plays an important part in subsistence farming and in some cases can be developed into a specialty.

Two outstanding exceptions should be noted. At the Bloomfield school for girls in eastern Oklahoma the dominant thought is to train the girls for the life which most of them will probably lead as wives living on small farms. They get practical training and experience in the various kinds of agricultural work which fall to a woman on such a farm. No little ingenuity has been displayed in overcoming institutional difficulties and in individualizing education.

At Chilocco, Oklahoma, each of a small number of the older, more advanced boys is given full responsibility for the farming of a considerable area, and he gets for himself one-fourth of the proceeds of the crops. Started on a small scale a few years ago the plan has grown. At the time of the visit of the survey staff thirty boys were thus engaged, each farming a tract of sixty-six acres. One boy made in two years a total of approximately $400.

The recommendations regarding agricultural education in the schools must be fairly obvious from the discussion of the existing situation, and so they may be very briefly summarized.

1. The agricultural work of the schools should be primarily educational. Production should be subordinate to education and should be an incidental object rather than the main one.

2. The agricultural instructors should be selected primarily for their capacity as educators rather than for their ability to make the farm pay.

3. The training should be designed to fit the student for the type of work he will have to do on his own land.

4. Special emphasis should be placed on giving him experience in planning and management. The effort should be to develop initiative and a sense of responsibility.

5. A system of payment for work done, in the form either of wages, or a share in the crop, should be devised to give experience in the use of money. Under such a system the pupil could well be required to buy clothes for himself out of this money, instead of having them given him by the government.

6. At schools where the farm lands are at present insufficient to permit of operation on an educational basis, more lands should, if possible, be secured.

7. Special effort should be made to enlist the interest and cooperation of the state agricultural colleges in the agricultural work of the Indian schools. They would doubtless send lecturers and

demonstrators who would stimulate the interest of both the students and the government teachers. In some instances these representatives of the state college would become interested in promising Indian students and would aid in perfecting arrangements whereby they could continue their education.

Grazing and Stock Farming. Ample evidence demonstrates that stock raising is the most promising form of agriculture and, in fact, the most promising of all pursuits for a large number of Indians. Not only does the average Indian show considerable aptitude for this work, but enormous areas of Indian land, tribal and individual, are of little value except for grazing. By far the largest body of self-supporting Indians in the United States, the Navajo, are dependent almost entirely upon their flocks for a living. If it is possible for the Navajo to wring a living from their barren deserts by sheep raising, it would seem that any tribe with a considerable area of grazing land should be able to succeed with livestock, if only they could be induced to put into the business a fraction of the energy, skill, and perseverance exhibited by those desert dwellers of the Southwest.

A vast acreage of Indian land in the United States, either tribal or individual, is at present leased to white ranchmen or in some cases used very little, if at all, by anyone either Indian or white. Through the recommended Division of Planning and Development, the Indian Service should work out at once a long-time program looking toward the eventual utilization of all these grazing resources by individually owned livestock of the Indians. Such a program will include among other features provision for instruction by competent livestock men, considerable water development, the use of reimbursable funds, and the tribal flock or herd.

The Tribal Flock or Herd. Tribal herds or flocks are justified where large areas of tribal lands are leased to whites or are lying idle, or in some cases, where allotments are large and many contiguous ones are leased to white ranchmen.

During the past few years the tribal herd seems to have fallen into disrepute; largely for two reasons. First is the post-war depression in the livestock industry, particularly the cattle business. This depression was nation-wide, if not world-wide. For several years following the war, cattle on the range were not profitable and

distress was great among all operators, so it is not surprising that the tribal herds operated by government officers were equally unprofitable.

The second reason is that the livestock men placed in charge of tribal herds often lacked the necessary technical knowledge. The range cattle business and sheep business are both highly technical and require for success a man of good business judgment and long experience in range operations. Such a man usually has little difficulty in securing a position with commercial enterprises, and unless the government can pay salaries comparable with those offered by private persons or firms it can hardly hope to retain permanently the services of a first-class man. Examples of tribal herds in charge of men that would never be given equal responsibility by a private firm have been too frequent. If the tribal herd is to succeed it must in every case be placed in charge of a competent stock man of long range experience and proved ability. He should receive a salary not materially below that paid by private enterprises for similar work, should be given ample authority, and should be allowed to work out a long-time program.

The tribal herd or flock must always be considered as part of a general program. It is a temporary expedient, even though it may be maintained for a long term of years, a means to an end and not an end in itself. The objectives sought are utilizing the grazing resources of the reservation to the greatest advantage and making it possible for individual Indians to engage in livestock raising. The last is accomplished by using the tribal herd or flock as a credit agency to supply animals to those Indians who will care for them properly, allowing ample time for payment.

The fact that a tribal herd is regarded as temporary does not mean that those in charge of it should be left in doubt as to its continuance. It should never be broken up because of temporary losses or depressed market conditions, but only when it has achieved its object and has made it possible for the entire pasturage of the reservation to be consumed by livestock owned by individual Indians. This may require years, but a definite program should be planned looking toward that end. Since the lands of white ranchmen who lease Indian lands show a reasonable profit after paying taxes and grazing fees, statements that a tribal herd will not

succeed are a confession of inefficiency on the part of governmental officers.

As soon as the tribal herd or flock has been built up to a suitable number, part of the increase should be used each year to maintain that number and the remainder sold to Indians with liberal terms of payment and in units sufficiently large to be worth while. If reimbursable funds are available, animals may be bought from other sources in order to provide a greater number of individuals with livestock each year. By help and instruction from the livestock men in charge and through the organization of the agricultural program to provide definite objectives and insure a sense of solidarity and coöperation by means of its chapter meetings, it may be possible to build up the livestock industry very rapidly upon some reservations. In such cases, leases to white men can and should be reduced year by year until at last the entire grazing resources of the reservation are utilized by Indian owned livestock.

Care should be taken to see that white lessees are given ample notice of an intention to reduce their leases in order that they may make other provision for their herds and so not suffer financial loss, but they should on no account be permitted to retain reservation land that is needed by Indian owned stock. The government should in such cases refuse to be influenced by the appeals of wealthy or other ranchmen to be permitted to continue to lease land that the Indians need. Such appeals are often difficult to withstand, since some of these men have come to regard a privilege long exercised almost as a vested right and doubtless in some cases would not only seek to discredit any enterprise in behalf of the Indians which would deprive them of their leases but would use political influence in order to retain their leases.

Individually Owned Livestock. As the flocks and herds of individual Indians increase it is sometimes necessary to set a limit to the number of animals an individual may pasture on tribal lands free of charge. This is now done in some cases and the policy should be continued, though considerable liberality should be exercised toward the industrious Indian who is advancing and increasing his herds. When the size of an individual's herd interferes with the rights of others he should be required to pay grazing fees on the excess over a certain number.

In determining the kind and breeds of livestock to be placed upon a particular reservation, due regard should be given to the range, water, and climatic conditions, as well as to markets and the needs and wishes of the Indians themselves.

Cattle vs. Sheep. The question of encouraging the Indians to raise sheep rather than cattle demands expert consideration. From 1919 till comparatively recently, cattle on the range were unprofitable. The cattle business is always somewhat speculative and often highly so, though sometimes very profitable, especially when the winter range is ample or when hay lands are available from which may be cut a supply of winter feed. Sheep require more care and attention than cattle, and for that very reason give the Indian a training that he often needs. Nearly half the wool used in the United States is imported, and the markets would readily absorb more mutton than is at present available. The sheep industry seems assured of a satisfactory status for a long time, since the number of sheep in the country could be nearly doubled without seriously overdoing the business. It seems certain that sheep should as a rule be given preference over cattle on most reservations. Each Indian family, however, should be assured a supply of milk. Every effort should be made to foster the keeping of milk cows, though in some cases milk goats may be as good or even better.

Worthless Horses. Many reservations are now overrun with worthless horses. These consume much grass that could be utilized by cattle and sheep. Yet the Indians love horses and are often reluctant to get rid of them. A persistent campaign of education as to the relative profit to be derived from horses and other forms of livestock will often help. In some instances the Indians may be encouraged to use horse meat for food and so reduce the number considerably. In some jurisdictions mule raising may be undertaken with profit. The government should employ a specialist to study the situation with respect to horses on the various reservations and try to find a profitable market for them.

Poultry, Bees, and Dairy Cattle. On most reservations not enough attention is given to poultry. Chickens and eggs are not only valuable additions to the food supply of the family, but the care of poultry will prove a factor in keeping Indians at home, while a market can usually be found for the surplus at good prices and so the family income may often be increased very considerably.

Turkeys and guinea fowls offer good possibilities, since they are able to forage for themselves, require but little care, and in the case of guinea fowls are excellent egg producers. The initial cost of a fair stock of poultry, together with the necessary buildings, is small and reimbursable funds should be made available for this purpose.

Many reservations in the Southwest in particular are well adapted to keeping bees. The desert plants, notably mesquite and cat claw, yield an excellent quality of honey, as does the alfalfa of the little farms along the streams. Bees require but little attention in a mild climate, and not only do they supply a food product that would otherwise be wasted but they add to the Indian diet a food that is much liked and needed.

Commercial dairying is a highly technical industry and only a relatively small number of Indians are sufficiently advanced to pursue it successfully on a large scale. Every help and encouragement should be given them, however, in securing milk cows for their own use and in many cases some surplus of milk and cream may be produced for sale. Milk cows, like sheep and poultry, are a valuable factor in keeping the Indian at home and teaching him to be regular and methodical in his habits of life.

Irrigation of Indian Lands. The task of the Indian Service in teaching the Indians to be successful subsistence farmers would be difficult enough if all the Indians were located on land where crops could be raised successfully without resort to irrigation. Many Indians, however, are located in the semi-arid and arid sections where relatively little can be raised if dependence is placed on natural rainfall. Resort must be had to irrigation.

Success in irrigation farming ordinarily requires the intensive cultivation of a relatively small area. The cost of constructing and operating an extensive irrigation system usually results in a relatively high land cost. If these high costs are to be met, the land must be utilized with a high degree of efficiency. To win success from a small area of high cost irrigated land requires far better farming than is necessary on a similar area of low cost land watered by natural rainfall. In many cases, therefore, the Indian Service has to educate the Indians for successful farming under the most difficult conditions.

The Irrigation Problem. In the irrigation of large tracts of Indian lands problems of two types are confronted: (1) Those that have to do primarily with engineering, and (2) those that are distinctly human and have to do with the Indians and their utilization of the lands for production.

The problems that have to do with training the Indians to make effective utilization of large areas of land irrigated by the white man's irrigation methods are obviously the more difficult and the more important from the standpoint of the economic education of the race. That the Indians in the arid and semi-arid sections of the country have long practiced some sort of irrigation is of course true. In some cases they had developed fairly extensive, though primitive, systems of irrigation, but these systems did not involve the items of cost of construction and cost of operation. These items arise when large modern irrigation systems are built by the government and when white settlers are purchasing or leasing irrigated Indian land or are using land that is irrigated under the same project that supplies water for the Indians.

The present survey did not have time to make the detailed study necessary for a thorough understanding of each large irrigation project in the Indian Service, nor did it include on its staff an expert irrigation engineer. Its work in respect to irrigation did not extend beyond the attempt to understand the broad fundamental economic and social problems involved in the construction and operation of irrigation projects on Indian lands. The more detailed problems of construction, maintenance, and operation require for their solution a detailed study by a competent committee of specialists in this particular subject, including specialists in each of the following fields: irrigation engineering, irrigation agriculture, and irrigation law. A competent business man who has had long experience with Indians and understands thoroughly their nature and psychology would be a valuable addition. The Secretary of the Interior has appointed a committee of well qualified specialists for this study, and they are at present at work. The appointment of this committee, containing representatives of several different government organizations, is a remarkable step in advance and presents an application of the principle which the survey staff believes should be generally followed in solving the many difficult technical and scientific problems which confront the Indian Service.

It should perhaps be said that the action of the Secretary was taken without any suggestion whatever from the present survey. It is purely accidental that his course has been almost precisely that which the survey would have recommended.

Since the survey did not make the detailed study necessary for a report on each individual project, its findings and recommendations must necessarily be disappointing to those who would like a definite statement of findings and recommendations regarding specific projects. The best course apparently is to present the results of the work in this field in part at least as questions demanding answers rather than as the answers themselves.

Completed Projects and Questions Regarding Them. With respect to completed projects the main question is whether the costs of construction and the costs of operation are fairly charged against the Indians. In some instances the projects were begun under gratuity appropriations, and then by subsequent legislation these original gratuity appropriations were made reimbursable and a charge against the Indian lands. Later appropriations have generally been reimbursable. The fairness of converting an appropriation originally made as a gratuity to a reimbursable debt by subsequent legislation is distinctly questionable. The government should seriously consider cancelling such debts where the money was originally given and subsequently was made a debt.

The second question with respect to large completed projects is whether they were economically sound. Considerable evidence suggests that some projects were undertaken because they were feasible from an engineering standpoint without due consideration of the question whether the land when irrigated could produce enough to pay the construction and operating costs and yield the farmer a fair return for his labor. It may be possible that this factor of return was considered, but that the calculations were based on high prices for agricultural products and not on the relatively low prices that have prevailed in recent years. In some jurisdictions visited by the survey, it seemed doubtful if even a highly skilled experienced white farmer could utilize the land in such a way as to pay the costs and have a reasonable return. If these projects are judged on the basis of present agricultural conditions, they appear economically unsound. If detailed investigation substantiates these impressions, as seems probable, the construction charges obviously should be written off. The Indians were not themselves responsible for the undertaking, although they may have desired it.

In other jurisdictions superficial examination suggests that the projects were economically sound in that an able white farmer could operate under them successfully, and that the value of the land has actually been increased to the full extent of the construction costs. When the land passes from Indian ownership to white ownership, it is entirely reasonable that the white owner should pay a price which will include the construction costs. The question here is whether the Indian owner should receive the added value or whether it should go toward reimbursing the government for its expenditures. If the appropriation when originally made was reimbursable, the right of the government to be reimbursed from the enhanced value seems clear, provided the value of the land has been increased to the full amount of the construction costs. If the appropriation was originally a gratuity to the Indians, they apparently have a claim to the enhanced price even if subsequent legislation declared the money reimbursable. If the value of the land has not been increased by the full amount of the construction costs, the prior right of the Indians should be respected and the government should take only such part of the proceeds as represents the increment in value resulting from irrigation.

Duty of the Government with Regard to Irrigation. On these economically sound projects, however, the chief concern of the government should be to educate the Indians to make effective use of the land and its water rights. As guardian of the Indians, the government must protect them against two great dangers. The first is the familiar evil of sale and leasing. The demand of whites for good irrigated land is great enough so that the land may be sold or leased readily, at a fairly high figure, and the Indian owner can live for a while on the money from the sale or eke out an existence on the lease money without work, and of course it is easier for the local officers to permit sale or leasing than to teach the Indians to be farmers. The second danger is that the Indians will not use the water to which they are entitled and that some white man will use it for land belonging to him. Although the Indians may or may not thereby lose their legal right to the water, they may lose the water itself and be left with a legal cause of action. Under these circumstances both the protection of the Indians' property and the devel-

opment of the Indians themselves require that they be led to make full use of their land and water.

New Projects. In considering new large projects or the extension of existing ones, the question of whether the land when irrigated will meet the construction and operating costs should be given most careful consideration, especially in determining whether appropriations shall be reimbursable. To make appropriations reimbursable, when the land because of climatic conditions cannot produce enough to meet the costs, is unfair both to the Indians and to the general public. Such an expenditure will in the long run be in part at least a gratuity paid from the general treasury, however much it may be labelled reimbursable at the time the appropriation is made. This fact should be clearly faced at the outset, and the appropriation should either be made as a gratuity or not made at all.

Drilling of Wells and Improvement of Small Sources of Water. The discussion thus far has related to large irrigation projects involving heavy outlays. The Indian irrigation service has engaged in another type of activity in the desert country of the Southwest, the discovery and improvement of small sources of water and the drilling of wells. These small supplies are used for domestic purposes, for watering livestock, and for irrigating very small tracts. They have a value far beyond their cost. The health and comfort of the Pueblos, the Hopis, and the Navajos have been materially benefited by the drilling of wells, the improvement of springs, and the building of cisterns that have brought them a far more adequate supply of domestic water. Wells here and there in the Navajo country have made large areas available for grazing which formerly could scarcely be used at all because of distance from water. Little oases grow up where one of these water developments makes a few acres available for gardening and fruit raising. For the government men who have rendered this service, the Indians have nothing but praise. They name children for them and greet them with the greatest display of friendliness. More important, to make the appropriations go further, some of the Pueblo Indians, and possibly some of the others, have voluntarily given much labor. They have to have something to live on while they work, but that is all they ask. They willingly work for far less than ordinary wages for the sake of helping the government men bring them the precious water. The appropriations for work of this character will always be small in the aggregate and an almost infinitesimal item in the national budget. The amount appropriated for this purpose each year should be as large a sum as can be effectively used.

Coöperation between Engineers and Superintendents. The recommended Division of Planning and Development should give special consideration to the subject of irrigation and particularly to the utilization of irrigated land. Reservation superintendents sometimes complain that irrigation engineers are often concerned solely with the engineering features and lose sight of the human side. The irrigation engineers on the other hand assert that the reservation superintendents know nothing of the technical side of irrigation and so often expect the impossible. Through the Division of Planning and Development the work of these two groups of officers should be coördinated so that all may work on a common program agreed upon after thorough study of all the facts.

Points for Special Consideration. Although the work of the survey in respect to irrigation has been general, the staff wishes to call attention to certain matters which should be given thorough consideration.

1. The problem of the effective utilization of the water to be supplied the Pima Indians under the Coolidge project is one of the most pressing in the Service. It calls for immediate action, since it represents at once the greatest immediate economic opportunity and responsibility of the Indian Service seen on this survey. A competent impartial committee of experts should give special attention to the matter of the diversion dam at Sacaton, which also serves as a highway bridge. The evidence regarding the value and efficiency of this diversion dam as an irrigation engineering project of benefit to the Pima Indians is conflicting. Some persons apparently qualified as irrigation engineers maintain that the diversion dam is not properly designed and constructed for efficient operation; and much local opinion is to the effect that the real object of the dam is to serve as a highway bridge of use mainly to the white population. As the Pima Indians have been charged with the cost of this diversion dam as part of the irrigation system for their reservation, it is highly important that the facts should be fully determined by an impartial board of competent experts and that the charges against the land of the Pima Indians should not

exceed the value which the structure adds to their land. If the diversion dam is in fact an engineering mistake, the Indians who had no part in planning it, should not be asked to bear the expense except insofar as they are directly and clearly benefited by what has actually been done.

2. The Indian Service should take all possible steps to safeguard the rights of the Indians in the irrigation and power projects on the Flathead Reservation. The power development there will be of far greater economic importance than the irrigation project, and the question is: To whom do the power rights belong? The Indians and their friends cite substantial evidence to show that the power rights are the property of the Indians. White settlers on the irrigation project are anxious to secure the returns from the power to pay their irrigation charges and to yield them a profit. This question should be promptly settled in the courts; and until it is settled the Indian Service should regard itself as the guardian and attorney for the Indians, leaving no stone unturned to further and protect to the utmost the right of the Indians. If a decision adverse to the Indians is to be rendered, it should come from the court of last resort and not through any administrative action by officers of the executive branch of the government.

3. The reservoir impounding water for the use of the Zuni Indians has silted up to such a degree that their water supply is threatened. Unless something is done promptly to remedy this condition, the land of these Indians now under cultivation may be left without sufficient water. Many of these Indians are making excellent use of their irrigated lands, and they should not be set back by failure on the part of the government to maintain a proper reservoir. At Zuni consideration should also be given to the more permanent development of smaller projects away from the main village. At the time of the visit of the survey staff an earthen dam had just given way, freeing all the impounded water upon which several Indians were dependent for their year's agriculture. From the social and economic point of view it is apparently highly desirable to develop smaller projects away from the main village.

4. The development of water for livestock and household use by drilling wells, excavating springs, and building reservoirs throughout the Pueblo, Navajo, Hopi, and Papago reservations has been one of the finest and most constructive pieces of work done by the Indian Service in recent years. This work should be continued and larger appropriations made for it. Valuable work remains to be done in the Navajo country, and it is estimated that the Papago Reservation can be made to support nearly twice as many cattle and sheep by increased water development.

5. Attention should be given to the problem of irrigating the Uncompahgre Flats of Uintah and Ouray. The Indians here complain that the government has not kept promises made to them as to watering these lands.

6. In general, new projects should be constructed only after careful consideration of costs and a definite determination that they are economically sound for Indians who can hardly be expected at the present time to make as efficient use of land and water as whites.

7. In some cases adjustments should be made of construction and operation and maintenance charges and authority secured to write them off in cases where it is clear that the Indians can never pay them.

This adjustment should be done with considerable liberality, even to the extent of cancelling large sums which the Indian nominally owes, if the evidence shows that the project was an engineering blunder or that the decline in agriculture has rendered the land incapable of paying such charges. The psychological effect of heavy indebtedness against his land is very bad for the Indian. He becomes discouraged in the matter of improving his farm, since he feels that he may eventually lose it, together with all improvements.

8. The question of water rights should be made the subject of careful investigation, and reservation officers charged with the administration of projects used by both Indians and whites should be given the duty of seeing that the Indians secure their rightful share of water. In Nevada the legal cases to establish the rights of the Indians should be pressed to the utmost until they have been carried to the court of last resort.

Forestry. In the discussion of Indian property, both tribal and individual, considerable space was given to the subject of timber lands.[*] The difficulties resulting from the allotment of timber land at Quinaielt, Washington, were described. The problem of individualizing the holdings of the Klamath and Menominee Indians

[*] See pages 462 to 466.

without allotting the timber lands was outlined and the recommendation was made that an experiment be tried with the corporate form of organization. To go into these matters again is unnecessary, but a few other matters remain for discussion under this general subject.

Few Indians in Forestry Work. The number of Indians engaged in work with timber is surprisingly small. Except at Menominee, Wisconsin, where the Indian Service does the logging and operates the lumber mill, Indians were rarely found either working in the lumber camps or at the mills. The tendency in both logging and milling has been toward the increased use of power and machinery and a decrease in the number of workers. The requirement now is for a relatively small number of highly skilled workers who are regular in attendance and reliable. One mill manager interviewed, who runs an enormous plant operating entirely on timber purchased from the Indian reservation, did not think of a single Indian at present on his pay roll. He said that there was no race prejudice against Indians, but that they were not sufficiently regular in attendance to meet the requirements of a modern high power mill and that their irregularity prevented them from gaining the skill required for the better paying jobs.

Menominee Mills. At the Menominee Reservation Indians are employed both in the camps and in the mill. One got the impression that the Indians there were doing more work and prospering more than was the case on other reservations, and for this situation the policy of employing Indians in the timber and mill operation was apparently largely responsible. Interviews with the white officers on this reservation brought out the opinion that the policy of employing Indians increased the cost of production, that if a private commercial company had charge of the operations they could reduce labor costs by employing a smaller force made up almost entirely of white men. The tendency is to give the Indian who applies for work a job, whether he is actually needed at the moment or not, because the welfare of the Indians is placed ahead of the immediate interests of the balance sheet. At times Indians have occupied some of the more responsible positions requiring skill and experience although it may be doubted whether they could have held these positions in a commercial mill where they would have been in direct competition with the whites. Despite this policy of preferring Indians, the available statistics indicate that the operations are carried on at a profit."

The survey staff has not made a detailed examination of the accounts of the Menominee operations, but it is of the opinion that even if the profits are not what they might be with a white staff, the undertaking is well worth while because of the training and the economic opportunities it affords the Indians. It is not only a commercial enterprise, it is also educational. The superintendent at the time of the survey visit showed a keen appreciation of the social side of his task.

The Establishment of Other Government Mills. The question of establishing other government mills should be given careful consideration. Small sawmills on reservations remote from market and with comparatively small and unimportant forest resources offer considerable promise. Such mills are a valuable aid in providing lumber for better homes and outbuildings for the Indians and in furnishing them opportunity for productive employment. They should not be constructed where they come into competition with larger, more economical, units operated by private enterprises, if the government is to charge the Indians using lumber with its cost. At Klamath the Indians complained that when the little government mill was running, the lumber from it cost more than lumber from private mills. No small mill could possibly compete with the modern highly efficient big private mill operated there with all the economies of large scale production. The question of the establishment of small mills calls for careful investigation and planning by competent technical experts connected with the proposed Division of Planning and Development.

" A curious situation was encountered at Menominee. The superintendent has adopted the policy of having the slash cut up for cord wood. This wood is piled by the tracks in the woods where it is cut, and when it is sold, generally in the larger cities of the section, it is loaded on the cars and sent by freight to its destination. The workers are paid by the cord. They live with their families in shack camps back in the heart of the woods. They are not Indians but mountain whites from Kentucky. The Indians apparently do not care for this type of work. At the time of the visit by the survey staff, all this work was done with hand tools. The question naturally arises whether small power saws operated by portable gas engines would be more efficient. A social investigator, too, is inclined to raise a question as to what school facilities are available for these white children back in the woods, but the survey staff did not take the time to go into this subject.

A Fair Price for Timber and Forest Production. Where Indians own individually forest areas every opportunity should be given them to cut and market their own logs, timber, and firewood. Aid should be extended to them in selling their forest products at a fair price.

In eastern Oklahoma the Indian Service should if possible extend greater protection to the Indians to see that they get a fair price for their timber and to protect them from option contracts that tie up their lands and prevent their development. The question of the fair value of a stand of timber is a technical one, requiring expert determination. The Indians have little or no real knowledge of its actual value, and in many cases they have sold it for a fraction of its worth, just as they have the land itself.

Protection Against Forest Fires. The matter of more adequately protecting Indian forests from fires is now receiving careful consideration from the Indian Service and the Bureau of the Budget apparently is prepared to recommend larger appropriations for this purpose. Some of the states and some private companies have been of the opinion that the Indian forests in the past have not been adequately protected.

The work of forest protection appears to be of a type for which Indians are particularly adapted. The Indian Service, through the recommended Division of Planning and Development, should give special study to the possibility of giving Indian boys from reservations where there is considerable timber land special training for work of this character. This training should fit them either for positions in the Indian Service or for positions with other governmental agencies, national or state, or with private companies. Indian boys who show particular promise in this preliminary training should be encouraged to go on with their education and to fit themselves for the more technical branches of forestry.

Personnel of Indian Forest Service. The survey staff wishes to record its impression that the Indian Service has many excellent men in its forest service. Their decision to practice selective logging on several of the jurisdictions seems specially worthy of commendation, especially because the land is at present of little value except for timber raising. The salaries of these able employees is comparatively low and consequently the turnover is high. Salary standardization is needed here as it is in other branches of the Service.

Labor Problems in the Indian Service. Next to some form of agriculture, unskilled labor is the more important occupation among Indians. This fact, it will be recalled, was brought out by the table on page 489, showing the occupations of Indian fathers as reported by Indian school children. Probably 15 to 18 per cent of the children have fathers in no way engaged in agriculture. Of these a large proportion are unskilled laborers.

In many parts of the Indian country are Indians who were never given land or who have lost their lands through being declared competent prematurely or for other reasons. Many of them have no resources but their labor, and they are rarely trained to do any special kind of work. Some of them cut wood, raise gardens, hunt, fish, gather wild products, serve as guides, and do other miscellaneous things to eke out an existence. Others are almost wholly dependent on wage earning in non-agricultural pursuits. As examples of the wage earners may be cited, the landless Indians of California and Nevada, many Chippewas of Minnesota, and numerous members of the Five Civilized Tribes in Oklahoma. Many Indians of the Southwestern desert reservations also depend for a large part of their living upon wage earning.

The Policy of the Government Regarding Unskilled Labor. The relatively large number of Indians in casual labor or in other jobs essentially unskilled reflects in some measure the attempts of government employees to meet the difficult problem of helping the Indians to make a living on their own lands. In some localities where the conditions of life are very hard and the returns for farming meager and uncertain, the Indians have been encouraged to abandon their little farms and to leave the reservation to become wage earners in various industries and labor projects.

This practice should not be condemned hastily. The employees responsible for the policy see the Indians facing uncertain futures on the reservations. They see that successful farming or grazing operations depend upon an availability of water supply, in many cases not yet realized and perhaps never to be realized by their wards. They know that the market for agricultural products is uncertain at best and that Indian farmers must realize something

from sales of produce, since they need money for implements and seed and for a few indispensable items of family expenditure, such as clothing, medicine, and some kinds of food. They know, moreover, that modern industrial life usually has a place for any people who will accept the less desirable types of labor at low wages, and they believe that even the less desirable industrial work is preferable to a half-starved existence on the reservation. They find, too, in large scale agricultural operations in distant regions, seasonal opportunities for wage earning that afford work for whole families while meeting the Indians' liking for a change of scene.

In some cases the immediate results of the change from the reservation to industrial employment are undoubtedly encouraging. Here and there an Indian boy shows ambition to work up into a really paying occupation. Some of the workers with permanent jobs develop steady habits of work not traditionally attributed to Indians. The more progressive Indians take over white ways of living without great delay. Even the primitive Indians may make slight improvements in their modes of living as a result of contacts with white civilization."

The more remote results of the general policy, however, are open to question. It seemed to members of the survey staff that some employers favor Indian labor partly because the Indians have low standards of living, and therefore will accept poor living quarters and will shift from place to place more easily than do whites. Wherever this is true, neither the government nor the Indians really profit much by the change from the reservation. Even if the policy should be justified as a temporary expedient it should not be regarded as in any sense a permanent solution of the economic problems of these people. When the Indians are taken from the reservations to do seasonal labor in harvesting, cotton picking, or beet thinning, or to engage in temporary construction work on railroads or highways, they are removed from the only considerable property they own, namely, the land of their reservations. They get no training calculated to develop initiative in the matter of securing or holding jobs. Children are sometimes kept out of school for such work, and when they enter late find themselves behind

" For a fuller treatment of this subject, see the chapter on Migrated Indians, pages 667 to 742.

others of the class, and so grow discouraged and seek to leave school at the earliest opportunity. Settled homes are likely to be broken up, since either the husband and father must be separated from his family, or else the family itself must be taken away from the permanent home on the reservation to live in camp under conditions that are often not conducive to either health or morality. In the meantime the permanent home is not kept up. To raise gardens and to keep chickens and milk cows is impossible. The family is likely to become a wandering group, drifting from place to place in order to find employment. Working and camping in groups undoubtedly promotes vice and dissipation. The gambler, bootlegger, and dope peddler frequently seek to prey upon these camps, and the dirty, unsanitary surroundings make the people particularly subject to epidemics.

Industrial Colonies. The establishment of industrial colonies in Nevada and California for the purpose of affording homes to Indians was actuated by humanitarian principles. The Indians had been living about the outskirts of towns and cities in tents or miserable shanties. They shifted frequently from place to place as the neighboring whites protested and complained of their presence. Bad as was their situation, it is a question whether the attempt made in Nevada to give them homes has wrought any real improvement. As a rule housing conditions there are bad and moral conditions even worse. The industrial colonies of Reno-Sparks and Yerrington, Nevada, are examples. They are located upon small tracts of dry, stony land, where little could be produced even if the homesites were larger. Opportunities for wage earning are not plentiful in the nearby white communities, with the exception of domestic service for women and some desultory, temporary jobs for men. Located as these colonies are near a city or town, they furnish a market for narcotics and for liquor in various forms including canned heat, extracts, and proprietary medicines. In many cases, the men, finding employment difficult to secure, give up trying to earn a living, and spend their time in loafing, gambling, drinking, and drug addiction, while the women eke out a scanty existence for the family through washing, house-cleaning, or other forms of domestic service. The damage to character already wrought upon many Indians by the life in these colonies is probably beyond repair.

Homesite Tracts of California. The homesite colonies of California, where Indian families have each been given a small tract of from two to five acres of land with sufficient water for irrigation, have in some cases been fairly successful and present a much more attractive picture than the industrial. It is possible on a tract of this size to raise chickens and to produce fruit and garden vegetables as well as sufficient alfalfa for a milk cow, and in fact to produce much if not most of the subsistence for the family. The husbands usually work at day labor in nearby towns or on neighboring ranches for a part of the year at least. These families, therefore, are as a rule comfortable and have reasonably attractive prospects for the future.

Principles Underlying Sound Labor Policies. The economic resources of the reservation should be developed to the point where they are capable of supporting in comfort as many Indians as practicable before it is assumed that the permanent solution of the economic problem of these people is to remove them from the unmet problems of the reservation to work elsewhere as wage earners. The worst feature of the policy of encouraging the Indians to leave their land lies in the fact that by resorting to this means of mitigating the conditions of life, the real problems of the reservation are obscured and their solution postponed indefinitely.

The objectives sought should be: (1) On reservations that are supporting large numbers of cattle and sheep owned by white lessees, the replacing of white-owned livestock by animals owned by Indians; (2) on reservations that are not fully stocked or that are capable of supporting a much larger number of animals by water development, the complete utilization of all pasturage by additional water development; (3) on reservations that have considerable timber resources not yet fully utilized, the development of the lumber industry on a profitable and permanent basis; (4) on reservations where subsistence farming is a practicable possibility as yet far from realized, a careful adaptation of the type of farming to soil, climate, and other conditions. Only when the Indians are using all grazing, timber, agricultural, and other resources of the reservation themselves, should attention be turned to directing a large part of the population not engaged in production or in fairly profitable employment on the reservation to labor outside the reservation as a permanent occupation.

The transition from the reservation to wage earning elsewhere, when a necessary measure, should be accomplished by careful work with individuals instead of as a wholesale process. These individuals should be the younger men with few if any family responsibilities. They should be placed as learners in skilled trades and occupations and in other positions where opportunity for advancement is good. Enough members of any race will gravitate to the lower occupational levels without artificial stimulation. Those Indians who cannot speak English or are past the age to acquire new skills readily, had better be helped as far as possible to improve their familiar mode of life on the reservation rather than encouraged to migrate.

Any educational policy that looks toward making day laborers of the men and domestic servants of the women is to be deplored, not because these employments are in themselves objectionable but because they represent standards of life too low to be sought as a goal for any race. As a rule the day laborer or domestic is nearly if not quite as far from the position an intelligent Indian should hope to reach as is the boy or girl in the reservation home. Employees who urge these occupations for boys and girls would in most cases regard them merely as a step toward a permanent home and steady well paid employment at work requiring training and skill. There is little evidence, however, that either of these forms of employment is to any great extent educational or of material assistance in taking the next step ahead. The practicable plan would be to bring Indian young people directly from the reservation to the more promising occupations by means of thorough training in school, rather than by way of day labor and domestic service.[*]

If families must leave the reservations to seek industrial or agricultural opportunities elsewhere, or if they are without resources in land, the ideal sought should be a permanent home for every Indian family, supported, in the main, by the earnings of the husband. The balance in the division of labor between men and women has been destroyed in many Indian tribes. The men's work as hunters, trappers, and warriors has disappeared, but the work of women continues much the same as ever. Government officers should use every effort to make the men realize that new tasks

[*] For a discussion of domestic service as an occupation for women, see the chapter on Family and Community Life and the Activities of Women, pages 639-640.

should replace the old, and that every man should assume the same responsibility for the protection and care of his own family as his ancestors did for theirs. Children should not be kept out of school to engage in labor.

The results of establishing industrial colonies do not justify a further extension of the policy. On the contrary the present colonies in Nevada should be broken up and other provisions made for the Indians in locations where each family can have sufficient land to produce a large share of the living and where supplementary employment is available throughout much of the year. Some means might be worked out for providing building and loan funds for honest, energetic Indians to enable them to build comfortable little homes. If these colonies must be maintained in their present locations, they constitute special problems for the best expert advice available from the proposed Division of Planning and Development. They will be expensive to maintain, for untoward conditions will make much administrative work a perpetual necessity.

Children in the Beet Fields. It has been customary in the past to transport a considerable number of boys each summer to Colorado and Kansas for work in the beet fields. The undesirable results of this plan from the educational standpoint have been discussed in the educational chapter of this report. The economic results are equally objectionable. Although the gross amount earned by all the boys, or even a group of them engaged in such work, may seem considerable, the net earnings of the average individual, especially after transportation, food, and other expenses have been deducted, are often very little. Circulars issued indicate that a boy may expect to earn two dollars a day or more at this work, but no available reports show actual earnings of anything like that amount.

Reports for the summer of 1926 from three schools among the Navajos indicate that twenty-nine boys from one school returned after sixty-three days in the beet fields with average net earnings of $5.62, or less than nine cents a day, while their average gross earnings were less than fifty dollars each or less than eighty cents a day. Only one boy in this group had net earnings at the end of the period of more than twenty-five dollars and only two more had more than ten dollars, while the gross earnings of only five were more than fifty dollars.

The report of the second school from this region showed that thirty-six boys after eighty-two days in camp had net average earnings of only $9.56, or less than twelve cents a day, or average gross earnings of less than sixty-two dollars or about seventy-five cents a day. Only one in this group had net earnings of over twenty-five dollars and one-half the remainder had less than ten dollars.

The third school reported on the work of thirty boys who spent eighty-five days in the beet fields. These returned with average net earnings of $38.20, or forty-five cents a day, and an average gross earning of nearly $112, or about $1.35 a day. These boys made purchases of clothing averaging over twenty-eight dollars each, but with the other two groups the clothing purchases averaged only about $3.50 and $6.50 each, respectively.

The work of school boys in the beet fields obviously is far from a success economically. In other ways the showing is equally bad or even worse. It is admitted that the work is "tedious" and that nearly all the labor of thinning beets must be done in a stooping position or on hands and knees. The quarters furnished are far from good, and health and social conditions of the camps far from satisfactory. The pupils can hardly be expected to return improved in weight and health, since the amount spent for food, by the groups mentioned above, in no case averaged as much as thirty-five cents a day each, and in the case of one group was less than twenty cents a day. Since the work started in some cases as early as the fifteenth of May it is inevitable that some boys were forced to lose at least two weeks of school.

It can hardly be urged that these boys received valuable experience in agriculture that would help them later in farming their own lands. The specialized tasks of thinning, topping, and hoeing are not such as to arouse any great interest in the subject of farming. Indeed, if the officers responsible wish to create a prejudice against farming and farm labor they could hardly find a better way than to take these comparatively young boys and place them in such tedious and unremunerative employment as work in the beet fields.

Of the twenty-nine boys in the first group mentioned only two were over 14 years of age and more than half were either 11 or 12. Even had all possible precautions been taken to safeguard their health and welfare, the taking of such young children hundreds of

miles from home to live in camps and engage in field labor cannot be defended. It is to be condemned not only upon humanitarian grounds but on all others as well, since it is nearly certain to fix in the impressionable young minds of these children an intense dislike for farming, if not for all regular routine labor.

Industrial Training in the Schools. Boys used in the beet-field work have been transported directly from the schools, and the practice has been defended on the ground that it is part of a necessary program of education for work.

The weaknesses of the industrial training program in the boarding schools have been described in the chapter of this report dealing with education. From the point of view of economic development it is clear that the schools have not done as much as they might do. Lack of any preliminary occupational survey of the Indian field, entrenchment of an institutional scheme which stresses production rather than genuine vocational training, an almost complete absence of qualified vocational teachers, and a lack of the necessary guidance, placement, and follow-up machinery, make the vocational program of the boarding schools relatively ineffective. Little attempt has been made in the past to relate the work of the school to the industrial needs of the country. "Vanishing industries," such as harness-making or blacksmithing, are frequently given as large a place in the school program and employ as many or more pupils as do such industries as auto mechanics, plumbing, or electrical work that furnish a much greater opportunity for the pupil to secure gainful employment after he leaves school. Pupils are also in some cases taught a vocation that they will have little opportunity of pursuing when they return home to their own reservations, such as baking and tailoring. It is necessary not only to relate the work of the school to the industrial needs of the nation as a whole, but also, as far as possible, to the needs of that particular part of the country in which the pupil may reasonably be expected to reside.

The half-day system, intended nominally to give the child industrial training, operates actually to provide the school with child labor for work that should be done by paid employees using efficient modern labor-saving devices. In busy seasons, or in cases where the school has few large pupils, small children are sometimes given tasks too heavy for them and perhaps unconsciously,

as a measure of self-protection, take a pace that eventually fixes in them the habit of doing everything slowly. On the other hand, when there is a surplus of labor, three or four are assigned to a piece of work that should be done by one and habits of slowness and loitering over tasks are still further developed. As a result the student sometimes has difficulty in holding a job after he leaves school, not because Indians are naturally so slow, as is often asserted, but because he has developed bad work habits in school.

It is sometimes asserted that even though most of the work done in school under the name of industrial training is nothing more than unskilled labor, it nevertheless has a value in teaching the Indian boy or girl to work. Every child should be taught to work and to do at times necessary tasks which may not be altogether agreeable, but week after week spent in the deadly routine of institutional labor in which the pupil has no interest may have an effect exactly the opposite of that intended or desired, and may fix in him a distaste for all routine labor that may remain with him throughout life.

The training given under the present system does not often go far enough to enable the student to become a skilled workman even after a reasonable period of experience. This is one of the gravest faults of the system. Students are generally sent out from school with a training inadequate to enable them to earn a living in competition with white workmen. Large boarding schools should permit graduates to maintain living quarters at the school, and receive evening instruction if it seems desirable, while working at a job nearby that will give the experience and additional knowledge necessary to enable them to qualify as skilled workmen.

Some favorably located schools may find it desirable to maintain a shop for commercial work in auto mechanics. In such cases repair work should be done by students under the supervision of the teacher and careful account kept of costs and hours of labor so that the student may know something of his earning power and how well he can hope to succeed in a shop of his own. Such an enterprise would give the students a chance to work upon all makes of cars, something almost impossible in any school at present, and so make him a much more efficient and valuable mechanic when he leaves school.

Vocational Guidance, Placement and Follow-up. If Indians are to be adjusted successfully to the economic and social conditions of their community and of the nation it will be necessary to study more carefully than has ever been done before the occupational opportunities available. At present efforts in this direction have been confined chiefly to the mass labor placements just described and to the outing system connected with the larger boarding schools.

The underlying principle of the outing system, that youth in training shall have practical work opportunities under real labor conditions, coördinate with school training or supplementary to it, is generally admitted to be sound. It is the basis for some of the most successful modern vocational education programs. As carried out in the Indian Service, however, the outing system has been reduced largely to a plan which looks to outside observers to be in the main an arrangement for providing certain types of male seasonable labor and for providing women for domestic service. It seems to the survey staff extremely doubtful whether the outing plan as at present in operation is helpful to the economic advance of the Indian. The system should be administered by technically trained guidance and employment persons, as part of a complete program that will embrace vocational counseling, try-out courses, and specific vocational training in the schools; practice opportunities in carefully selected and supervised employment outside the school; placement by the school, and follow-up for a considerable period after school leaving. A number of American cities have organized junior employment services embodying the same principles that are involved in the employment problem as it affects Indian schools. In some localities it will be possible to work out coöperative arrangements with existing agencies of this type; but in any case it will be necessary to employ persons whose training and experience have been similar to those of workers in these public agencies. The machinery of the United States Employment Service and the various state labor bureaus could be utilized in the Indian employment problem. A study of labor conditions, both for industrial training and placement, will have to be made. Fortunately the numbers involved are in no case overwhelming, and it will be possible to get help for Indians from existing agencies that could hardly be secured if the group was larger. Professional direction at Washington will be necessary, however, and elsewhere

in this report [*] a qualified staff specialist in employment and guidance work is suggested.

"Follow-up" of youthful workers has been found necessary in all the better employment programs. It is especially necessary for young Indian entrants into industrial life. Students of the larger schools of the full-blood area of the Southwest often leave school with some knowledge of a trade, or other means of earning a living, but not enough to enable them to enter into competition with the whites except after a long period of apprenticeship. They have, however, been unfitted for reservation life by their school experience and so are left in a most discouraging situation, since they are equally unfitted for life among the whites. The government has a responsibility for these young people as individuals that is in a sense even greater than its responsibility toward the reservation Indian because it has taken them from their homes, sometimes against their will, and unfitted them for life among their own people.

The Indians are naturally timid and sensitive when dealing with whites and lack the aggressiveness and self-confidence necessary to secure and hold a job in competition with white workmen. These natural qualities have at times been emphasized rather than counteracted by the close and constant supervision of the school. Accustomed to having their life ordered for them, even in the most minute details, the students leave school to face the task of earning a living bewildered, more or less helpless, and not ready for self-direction.

This situation is made worse by the fact that they cannot hope to receive help from home and relatives. It is difficult enough for the white boys or girls who leave school with inadequate training and preparation, to win success and establish themselves upon a firm and lasting economic footing, even when they are supported, helped, and encouraged by parents and relatives. How much more difficult it must be for the Indian boys or girls when so many of the forces of home and kindred tend to drag them back rather than to push them forward.

If the student returns to the reservation with the idea of putting into practice the things he has learned at school he finds himself in a world scarcely less strange to him than is the industrial world

[*] Pages 124-125.

of the white man, and confronted by conditions that are most discouraging. He has no money; his land, if he has any, is undeveloped; his range rights are possibly gone, and any property he may have once had in the form of livestock has been largely dissipated. He meets, moreover, from those to whom the white boy or girl would look for encouragement and help, only suspicion and hostility, or, what to an Indian is far worse, ridicule.

Stories are related of a girl's returning from school to have the clothing torn from her body by the aged grandmother and the tribal costume tendered her as the only proper dress for an Indian. Again and again superintendents have told of girls who after some years in government schools have returned to the reservation home, and after a few days have come to them with the statement that such a life was impossible and have begged for an opportunity to work at anything that would take them away from it and enable them to live according to the standards they had been taught.

"Mr. Superintendent," said a young man among the Navajo, "when you give out reimbursable funds to buy sheep I wish you would not forget the returned students; you know they are under an awful handicap."

Native Products. Indians of all sections of the country retain in some measure their racial habits of seeking and utilizing the products of wild life. These native products they use in family consumption as in the case of food and skins; or utilize as the raw materials of their household industries, as in the case of stems, roots, and other materials from which baskets and mats are made; or sell without expending much labor upon them, as in the case of medicinal herbs, wild rice, and piñon nuts.

Some of these wild products are to be had by individual members of the family operating from the home as a base and only slightly disturbing the continuity of home life. As a rule, hunting, fishing, and the gathering of various vegetable fibers are pursuits of this character. Quests for vegetable foods, however, such as fruits, nuts, grains and maple sugar, involve women and children fully as much as men. Homes are temporarily abandoned, crops and domestic animals are neglected, children are kept out of school, and whole families are exposed to serious health risks. In many cases the financial return is not at all commensurate with the time and labor expended in such pursuits.

Dependence upon native products as a source of food supply is at best a makeshift. Wild fruit and nut crops are subject to considerable variations, amounting sometimes to complete failure. As white civilization encroaches more and more on the open country where native foods grow, the Indians must journey farther and farther from their homes, thus breaking in upon the routine of life for ever increasing periods. The damage that these habits of wandering do to farm life, is attested by many superintendents and other workers, who believe the two modes of existence incompatible. So far as the reliance upon uncultivated products interferes with a dependable food supply derived from agriculture, it should be discouraged by government workers. The Five-Year Program is a good example of attack on this problem by making home tasks engrossing.

The encroachment of whites upon what many Indians regard as inalienable hunting and fishing rights has in some cases seriously affected food supply and the pursuit of native crafts. Legal restrictions grow increasingly severe. Some industries, such as lumbering and mining, destroy fish in waters on Indian lands, thus causing serious economic loss to people already poor. Hunting, trapping, and fishing constitute important sources of the income of some groups. If encroachments are inevitable the Indians deserve at least that local situations be studied and their interests safeguarded so far as possible. In some regions reservation programs should include the systematic stocking of streams and lakes on Indian lands and teaching the Indians to husband these resources.

Insufficient attention is given at present to the methods of marketing native products that are commercially profitable. Some instruction in packing and marketing fish and in grading, packing, and marketing pecans and piñon nuts might increase very considerably the return for the Indians' labor.

Native Industries. Most tribes of Indians give some attention to native crafts. In a few tribes such work is of considerable economic importance; in many others it is only an avocation, or a means of earning small sums of spending money; in a very few it has almost entirely disappeared.

The articles manufactured are of wide variety, including rugs, pottery, baskets and mats, beadwork, and silver jewelry, as well as

many other things regarded by the Indians as useful or ornamental, but of interest to whites only as curios and therefore of no great importance as a source of Indian income. Among these are pipes, drums, rattles, bows and arrows, feather ornaments, charms, amulets, and necklaces of shell and stone. With the single exception of silver jewelry nearly all the articles of commercial importance are the products of women's labor.

The weaving of rugs and blankets constitutes an important source of income among the Navajos. Almost every Navajo woman washes, cards, spins, and weaves the wool from her sheep in inexhaustible variety of design, either as a necessity or as the practice of an art she loves.

Pueblo, Hopi, and Zuni women produce pottery characteristically Indian and distinctive of the several localities. This in many cases they sell directly to tourists at good prices, thus adding materially to the family income.

Baskets of distinctive character are made by the women of tribes in every section of the United States, but the craft is probably nowhere more profitable than among the Hopis. It is doubtful whether any people in the world make baskets of finer workmanship than do some of the Indians.

Beadwork like basket making is all but universal, but it is seen in its most perfect forms among the more northern tribes, particularly those of the Plains. It is less profitable than the other crafts practiced by women because expensive materials must be purchased, but it constitutes an important resource in poor tribes.

Work in silver and turquoise is a somewhat specialized handicraft practiced by certain men of the Navajos and Pueblos. In some families it is the principal source of income. Like beadwork it involves the use of expensive materials which must be purchased.

Unfortunately native industries have, with some exceptions, received little encouragement from government officers and missionary workers. This neglect in some cases springs from contempt for all that constitutes distinctive Indian life. More generally, however, the failure to foster these arts seems to be due to a lack of understanding of their economic possibilities.

On most reservations Indians are isolated from industrial opportunities in regions unfavorable to agriculture. Even more than among white farmers, therefore, economic prosperity depends upon

family earning power rather than upon the ability of the father alone, and natural resources must be utilized fully by all adult members of the family if life is ever to be more than bare existence. Fortunately the women are able to follow at home traditional arts highly respected by discriminating white customers. Fortunately also, most of the native industries utilize raw materials that are to be obtained at little or no monetary cost, such as reeds, roots, osiers, grasses, corn husks, and other vegetable fibre, clay, the skins of wild animals, and native woods and minerals.[1] Most of these things have little or no market value. The total value is created by the Indians' labor. The time spent in this labor need not be taken from any other useful occupation. The selling price of the article is therefore as a rule clear gain, the return for labor that would not otherwise have been marketable. It is difficult to see how some Indians are ever to achieve a reasonably satisfactory standard of living in their present locations without the fostering and development of these native industries.

Some dangers may be involved in the development of industries pursued chiefly by the women, notably the risk of lessening too much the responsibility of men for the support of the family; but as a rule these dangers are not so serious as to offset the advantages to be secured. They can be avoided in great measure if government officers realize their existence and provide proper safeguards against them.

A marked tendency for the native handicrafts to disappear or to degenerate is to be found among many Indians whose economic needs are great. This tendency has been discussed elsewhere in the report. If these means to self support are to be preserved to the Indians, it seems necessary for the government to take a hand by furnishing sufficient aid to secure the production of marketable products and by developing a steady market for the output.[2]

[1] The rug industry, it is true, utilizes a marketable product, while bead work depends to a very considerable extent upon manufactured products, but these industries can be managed in such a way that a fair wage is received for the labor expended. The work of the Mohonk Lodge, a missionary enterprise at Colony, Oklahoma, constitutes a demonstration that bead work can be produced successfully and marketed at prices that make the work profitable to the Indians of several widely scattered tribes.

[2] For a further discussion of this subject, see chapter on Family and Community Life and the Activities of Women, pages 645 to 652.

Personnel. Most of the plans and policies recommended in the foregoing pages for the improvement of the economic conditions of the Indians are not new. Some of them are now in operation and are meeting with indifferent success. Others have been tried in the past and have failed. Many of these partial or complete failures, however, are to be accounted for on the grounds of faulty execution rather than economic unsoundness. No plan for developing a race to economic competence can be expected to succeed if carried out by untrained workers. This task involves difficult educational problems and requires the services of persons skilled in various specialized fields, such as agriculture, stock raising, and home demonstration. The foregoing recommendations therefore will depend for their effectiveness upon very considerable improvements in personnel.

The Influence of Employees. The purpose of the Indian Service is primarily educational. Every employee on a reservation, no matter what his specialized work, has his part in the general scheme of educating the Indians for economic independence. Even if an employee is not concerned directly with developmental work, he inevitably influences morale. Every employee, therefore, should have three essential qualifications. He should know how to perform his own specialized task, he should have a clear comprehension of the big objectives of the local office and the relation of his job to them, and he should like and respect Indians.

The third of these qualifications is by no means the least important. To lift a people up and look down on them at the same time is not possible, nor can one without respect for a people and faith in their future inspire them to self respect and faith in themselves. The discouraged, pessimistic government employee is one of the greatest barriers to the progress of the Indian race. It is not mere accident that the superintendents and other officers who are accomplishing most are those who have the highest regard and sympathy for the Indians and the greatest confidence in their ultimate success.

Adult Indians on the reservation are comparatively free in their personal movements, but in many ways they are under control so exercised as to impede the development of initiative or self reliance. Some control may be necessary in the case of individuals accustomed to it all their lives, but it should be so administered that it will add to the Indians' confidence, resourcefulness, and self respect. At present the administration of Indian property by government officers has for its chief object the securing of income rather than the education and development of the owners. Their individual money is under the control of officers who often have scant time to talk with them as to its wise use and so merely dole it out in small amounts, thus forcing them to the humiliation of becoming suppliants for their own money.

What is done for the Indians is largely done without consulting them or giving them an opportunity to express an opinion. If they are old and in need, rations are issued consisting of certain definite articles without regard to whether or not the applicants may need something entirely different. Little time is taken to explain to the Indians their own business matters, and they are left in the dark as to why many things are done, even though such steps may vitally concern their welfare and happiness. The courtesy and respect afforded the Indians on some reservations are scanty and are far less than would be extended to white men under similar circumstances. Such an attitude is an effectual barrier to the accomplishment of the purpose for which the Service exists, for it creates in the Indians an antagonistic, unteachable frame of mind. It is therefore unquestionably a serious disqualification for service.

In one sense almost every employee working directly with the Indians has an influence upon their economic condition. The physician and nurse by the cure or prevention of disease enable their charges to engage in productive employment; the field matron through raising standards of living creates new wants that require additional effort for their gratification; the teacher also creates new wants, besides training the mind and hand to a point where earning power may be greatly increased.

The influence of these employees upon economic conditions is, however, more or less indirect. Since their work is discussed at considerable length in other sections of this report, it seems necessary to deal here only with those officers whose duties have a direct bearing upon the economic advancement of the Indians and only with that portion of their work which seeks this particular objective. It seems best also to give only a very brief general statement of the qualifications and efficiency of present officers, together with a few suggestions for improving those qualifications so as to raise the general level of the service as a whole. The officers largely

concerned with the economic advancement of the Indians and the control and administration of their property are superintendents, farmers, livestock men, and in some cases foresters and other timber employees, irrigation engineers, oil experts, labor supervisors, and special or irregular employees.

Superintendents. Reservation superintendents are as a rule efficient, industrious, and able. With a few exceptions, they create a feeling of surprise that the government is able to secure and retain such able men at the salaries paid. Improvement can, however, be made even here partly by removing some of the handicaps under which the superintendents work and partly by raising the general level of education, training, and experience required for the positions.

The average superintendent at present finds himself handicapped by two major difficulties. The problems confronting him are so numerous and so complex that it is not possible for him to have the technical knowledge necessary to cope with them, and yet there is almost no one to whom he can turn for expert advice and aid. This handicap should be removed by the creation of the recommended Division of Planning and Development, consisting of experts in various fields who can give to the superintendent throughout the service that technical advice and help they so often need.

In the second place the superintendent seldom has sufficient help and is kept so busy with a multitude of petty details that he has scant time to carry out broad, constructive policies. This second difficulty should be obviated by simplifying the routine work and by giving the superintendent sufficient field and clerical assistance to leave him free for the large administrative problems of his jurisdiction. With a sufficient staff, both in the office and in the field, some of the most serious defects of present local administrations could be remedied.

1. The practice of forcing Indians to come to the agency to receive checks for individual money, or to transact minor matters of business, could be discontinued. As far as possible each Indian should transact his business with the government officer nearest him. This officer should as a rule receive and deliver checks that for any reason cannot be mailed to individual Indians. The practice of requiring the Indians to make long journeys and stand in line before the agency door grows increasingly bad with the recent tendency of the government to consolidate jurisdictions and so increase the distances that many people have to travel.

2. Government employees could take time to require of Indians the conduct of adults instead of often hastily according them the treatment given small children. Officers should recognize that morale, self confidence, and self respect are not developed by paternalism. Able-bodied Indians should not as a rule be given money or goods for consumption except as an emergency measure, nor should they have anything done for them that they can reasonably be expected or required to do for themselves. Too many Indians have been helped into helplessness.

3. Officers could take time to explain to the Indians the details of the business management of individual and tribal property. The desire of the Indians to secure their money and the wish of the office to conserve it frequently results in a contest which is destructive to the morale of the Indians. If the Indians are ever to be taught how to manage their own funds, then every such difference of opinion should be recognized as an educational opportunity not to be neglected in the rush of business.

The superintendent of an Indian reservation is primarily a general administrator of an important educational enterprise. His duties require him (1) To see clearly the ultimate objective of his work, (2) to analyze correctly immediate problems in the light of this ultimate object, (3) with expert advice and assistance to work out a practicable plan for the entire undertaking, including the development of a local organization for the necessary personal contacts with Indians that is adequate in respect to both the number and the qualifications of the employees, (4) to be a real leader of this organization and a coördinator of its activities, and (5) to be a fitting representative of the United States government in all dealings with the Indians whether these dealings are with individual Indians whose cases are brought before him either by the Indians themselves or by members of his staff or whether they are with gatherings of Indians whom he must instruct or inspire and whose confidence he must win and hold.

Since the objectives of the work are broadly educational and require the solution of economic and social problems, the super-

intendent should have an excellent general education so that he may be equipped by training to master them. Such training is ordinarily represented by graduation from a college or university with specialization in some field that is related to the problems the superintendent must face. Specialization in education, the social sciences, agriculture, or business administration would each represent knowledge in a special field required in the position and would at the same time give the general training that would help in understanding and solving problems in related fields.

Since the duties require ability to plan a program, and to organize and direct a force of workers, the superintendent must possess marked administrative ability. This ability is ordinarily demonstrated by the work a person has done since his formal education was completed. The employment record of persons selected for superintendencies should ordinarily show successful experience in administration, including the direction of trained workers in educational extension work.

Since the superintendent must be to many Indians the personal representative of the government of the United States and their great leader, he must be possessed of personality. No one type of personality is essential. Some successful superintendents succeed by their force and energy, others by their strong character which shows through a quiet, even reserved, exterior but all possess one common trait, a belief in the Indians and a strong faith in their possibilities.

Above all else the superintendent must be of unquestioned integrity. Practically all superintendents have considerable responsibility for Indian property, and in some jurisdictions this responsibility is extremely heavy. If ever the integrity of a superintendent is seriously questioned by any considerable number of Indians in his jurisdiction, his influence is seriously impaired. This fact makes it incumbent on superintendents not only to avoid all evil but also to avoid all appearance of evil.

At some jurisdictions visited by the survey staff the Indians were very critical of superintendents, past or present. In one instance a past superintendent had been dismissed from the Service for violations of the law and the regulations regarding transactions in Indian lands. The present superintendent confronts an almost impossible task in overcoming the deep seated resentment of the

Indians, and it will be several years before this feeling can be eliminated. Some superintendents in perfect innocence and with the very best of motives have tried to help in the solution of difficulties encountered by local financial institutions in recent years, even to the extent of accepting positions on the directing boards. The Indians cannot understand the real situation, and if any issue arises between the bank and an Indian they assume that the superintendent is on the side of the bank. The safe and wise course for superintendents and other employees is to avoid such positions because such connections are so easily misunderstood.

Care should also be exercised in social relationships. In a small community near a reservation opportunities for social contacts are at best slight, and it is not surprising that government employees and their families mingle socially with their white neighbors, even if some of these neighbors are reputed among the Indians to be engaged in gaining possession of Indian property by questionable means. The situation is particularly bad if the neighbor whose integrity is questioned by the Indians is a person of considerable means and entertains elaborately. Apparently the Indians do not miss much, and like a good many other persons they are inclined to put the worst interpretation on such a situation. Although avoidance of any appearance of evil may add to the hardships and the isolation of the life of a superintendent and his family, the efficient performance of his duties as a leader and an educator of Indians dictate that he and his family view such relationships from the Indian point of view and govern themselves accordingly.

This statement of the duties and qualifications of a superintendent shows that the position is at once difficult, responsible, and restrictive. The salaries should be materially raised so that as positions become vacant they may be filled by persons possessed of requisite qualifications and so that the incumbents may be in part compensated for the isolation and the restrictions.

The creation of the recommended Division of Planning and Development and the strengthening of the field force in immediate contact with the Indians should materially increase the group from which the Service may choose in making selections for promotion to superintendencies. The Service has in the past been seriously limited in this respect. In some instances it has been obliged to choose persons whose experience has been mainly in the technical

office work of a reservation. Although some office men may possess the requisite qualifications in education, training and experience, they are the exception rather than the rule for such work rarely furnishes the basis for educational administration of the type required. It is believed that in the future better success will be obtained by recruiting superintendents from well trained workers who have demonstrated their success in dealing with Indians in the field.

Farmers in the Indian Service. Since the Indian Service farmers and their qualifications have been discussed in the section on agriculture, only a brief summary statement will be made here.

Since by far the greatest part of the Indians' property is land and most of them derive their living wholly or in part from agriculture, it seems particularly regrettable that salaries are so low that with a few exceptions it is not possible to find in the Indian Service farmers of even a small part of the ability found among the superintendents. They are, in most cases, honest, conscientious men, but although they are employed theoretically to teach the Indians farming they usually have no knowledge whatever of teaching, and but very little of farming.

To make matters worse, comparatively little time is given most of them for teaching agriculture. They have a multitude of other duties to perform and some of these, as for example law enforcement, often make them feared and distrusted by the Indians and thus greatly lessen the amount of good they might otherwise do. Under such circumstances it is not surprising that many of them accomplish little. Yet they are by no means idle. They issue rations, keep up fences, supervise road work, bring patients to the hospital, seek out children who have run away from school, help at law enforcement, construct buildings, and drive about the reservations with the physicians or other officers. In short, they are likely eventually to become "errand boys" who do everything but farm. No doubt they earn the salary paid them and more, and no doubt there is need for such employees on the reservation, but they should not be called farmers.

The qualifications for farmer should be raised to those required of the county farm agent and a corresponding salary should be paid. This would make it possible to secure men who could assist

in working out a satisfactory agricultural program for each reservation. No doubt some of the present farmers could be retained as assistant farmers, and others could be assigned to duty as administrative assistants to perform virtually the duties to which most of their time is now given. The new farm agents should be allocated among the various reservations in such a way as to derive the largest possible benefit from their special individual training in the various fields of agriculture. They should be advised and helped by the agricultural experts of the Division of Planning and Development in carrying out the programs for their particular reservations.

Livestock Men. What has been said of the Indian Service farmers is largely true of the livestock men, except that the general average of ability among the livestock men seems to be higher. A few are well trained and highly efficient. Like the farmers, however, they are subject to dissipation of their energies by assignment to petty details of administration, while in some cases, as when in charge of a tribal herd, the responsibility placed upon them is great and failure has far-reaching consequences.

Two classes of livestock men should be employed in the Indian Service:

(1) Graduates of agricultural colleges with special training in the various branches of animal husbandry. These should direct the Indians in stock farming and, on reservations where the chief industry is stock raising, they might be the most important, if not the only employees in charge of agricultural operations.

(2) Men charged with the care and development of tribal herds and other range operations. These should be men of business training and ability and long experience on the range. They should be paid salaries somewhat commensurate with those paid by commercial companies for similar service, and should be given large responsibility in working out policies and programs and in carrying them through.

Foresters. The Indian forest service is as a rule effective, but the funds allotted to reservations are in some cases insufficient. The qualifications required for foresters and other timber employees should be as high as those demanded by the United States

Forest Service. Corresponding salaries should be paid, in order to secure and retain the services of competent men.

Irrigation Men. The personnel of the Indian irrigation service is as a rule fairly satisfactory. A few exceptionally good men are to be found in this branch of the Service.

Additional employees are needed for the development of water for livestock and household use, particularly in the Southwest. The qualifications required should correspond to those of the United States Bureau of Reclamation and salaries should be approximately the same for similar service in the two bureaus.

Every effort should be made to correlate and coördinate the work of the irrigation service with that of reservation superintendents and farmers, in order to prevent friction between the two. This would be facilitated by choosing such new employees as may be required for the irrigation service from the ranks of those who know the problems involved in producing a living from irrigated land as well as the technical side of irrigation engineering.

Supervisors and Overseers of Labor. The number of officers charged with the supervision of Indian labor is very small and should be considerably increased. Many jurisdictions have large numbers of Indians depending mainly upon wage earning for a living and these as a rule do not receive the guidance they need. It is everywhere recognized that the Indian farmer should have advice and instruction in crop growing and stock raising in order that he may maintain himself and family. It is not so generally recognized that the Indian laborer is equally entitled to advice concerning his work and to instruction in securing and holding a job in order that he too may fulfill the obligation of family maintenance. With due allowance for the fact that a relatively large proportion of the Indians are engaged in agriculture, the statement may be made that the number of labor supervisors or overseers is small compared with the number of Indian Service farmers. Each jurisdiction with any considerable number of Indians earning a living by wage earning should have at least one labor supervisor.

Not only are many more employees needed, but they should be possessed of higher qualifications than at present required. Each supervisor of labor should have a good general education as well as a technical knowledge of employment problems. It is his function to promote mutually useful and permanent relations between employers and Indians. This involves on the one hand the ability to size up jobs and on the other the ability to size up men as prospective workers.

He should be thoroughly familiar with industrial opportunities in his own territory. He should apply to each prospective position a two-fold test:

(1) Does it offer to the individual a reasonably good opportunity for the development of his capacities as a worker?

(2) Will the conditions of employment, including conditions of living, promote rather than interfere with wholesome family life?

He should regard his work with the Indians as that of an industrial teacher in the broadest sense of the term. It should be a part of his duty to encourage habits of industry, efficiency, and punctuality and other qualities useful in finding and keeping a job; in other words to develop in the workers, so far as possible, fitness for reasonable permanency. His objective should be the establishment of permanent connections between employers and employees with mutual trust and respect.

In the chapter of this report dealing with Migrated Indians comments of employers are cited to the effect that Indians are timid and appear to be contented with the relatively poorer positions with the firms they serve. If this is commonly the case the duties of the supervisor of labor may well include a careful follow-up of substantial Indian workers to encourage them to achievements in their various lines of work.

The placement of young people with specialized training is not necessarily a regional problem. Young people who are footloose should be put in touch with distant vocational opportunities if suitable positions are not to be had nearby. The function of clearance involved in such a policy should be exercised by the expert member of the Division of Planning and Development at Washington.

Indian property itemized for jurisdictions studied by survey staff: 1926

Jurisdictions	Tribal property				Individual property						
	Total	Lands exclusive of timber	Timber and stock	Balance of funds in treasury	Total	Lands exclusive of timber	Timber	Funds in banks and in hands of superintendents	Homes, furniture, barns, etc.	Wagons, implements, etc.	Stock, poultry, and miscellaneous
Arizona											
Fort Apache	$5,085,390	$1,385,800	$4,213,000	$386,590	$918,202	.....	.....	$1,202	$12,000	$5,000	$900,000
Havasupai	50,000	50,000	.....	.....	11,100	.....	.....	.....	3,600	350	7,050
Hopi	.....	.....	.....	.....	1,016,800	.....	.....	85,000	48,000	29,000	854,800
Leupp (Navajo)	507,500	507,500	.....	.....	452,650	.....	.....	.....	3,250	15,700	433,700
Navajo	21,756,765	6,706,765	15,050,000	.....	2,251,400	.....	.....	3,500	38,000	30,000	2,219,700
Pima	770,250	770,250	.....	.....	5,108,241	$4,800,000	.....	10,586	69,215	70,255	158,125
San Carlos	3,521,731	1,949,586	1,465,664	106,481	177,335	.....	.....	5,165	40,000	11,000	121,170
Sells	2,721,090	2,721,090	.....	.....	637,970	17,970	.....	.....	150,000	120,000	350,000
Western Navajo	670	.....	.....	670	330,400	6,000	.....	23,000	1,400	25,000	275,000
California											
Bishop	.....	.....	.....	.....	287,439	214,053	.....	21,503	26,775	8,540	16,568
Fort Bidwell	.....	.....	.....	.....	327,820	152,858	$18,000	53,052	40,000	25,000	38,910
Fort Yuma	205,515	194,113	.....	11,402	1,476,773	1,400,000	.....	9,673	30,000	20,000	16,500
Hoopa Valley	814,017	401,000	408,000	5,017	1,960,884	17,500	1,800,000	30,084	22,500	16,800	74,000
Mission	3,459,126	3,440,180	16,156	2,790	1,205,756	961,079	.....	550	86,375	52,475	104,377
Sacramento	1,033,412	523,090	480,000	30,322	6,749,384	3,309,384	1,600,000	350,000	714,000	275,000	501,000
Colorado											
Consolidated Ute	2,412,689	1,540,565	.....	872,124	754,457	415,020	3,600	170,837	47,000	16,500	101,500
Idaho											
Cœur d'Alene	62,401	.....	.....	62,401	6,144,252	5,500,000	224,620	146,632	161,000	42,000	70,000
Fort Hall	2,916,815	2,250,000	20,000	646,815	4,307,000	3,930,000	5,000	47,000	90,000	40,000	285,000
Fort Lapwai	1,995,201	909,319	875,000	210,882	3,412,942	2,692,580	35,000	217,168	150,756	179,650	99,803
Kansas											
Potawatomi	115,902	11,800	.....	104,102	2,723,138	1,790,498	.....	116,020	355,950	119,480	341,190
Minnesota											
Consolidated Chippewa	5,776,195	.....	.....	5,776,195	3,673,139	2,714,708	590,000	368,431	.....	.....	.....
Red Lake	2,984,456	1,750,000	1,000,000	234,456	366,547	10,000	.....	20,832	225,000	50,000	60,715

Indian property itemized for jurisdictions studied by survey staff: 1926—Continued

Jurisdictions	Tribal property				Individual property						
	Total	Lands exclusive of timber	Timber and stock	Balance of funds in treasury	Total	Lands exclusive of timber	Timber	Funds in banks and in hands of superintendents	Homes, furniture, barns, etc.	Wagons, implements, etc.	Stock, poultry, and miscellaneous
Montana											
Blackfeet	$712,596	.....	$700,000	$12,596	$1,928,730	$1,000,000	$380,000	$21,230	$200,000	$101,500	$226,000
Crow	368,809	$200,000	24,000	144,809	10,025,504	9,253,010	75,000	239,295	153,[illegible]10	64,171	241,009
Flathead	158,404	.....	.....	158,404	6,167,919	4,794,580	388,472	144,867	300,000	150,000	390,000
Fort Belknap	6,018,534	5,812,581	134,579	71,377	213,200	.....	.....	18,309	28,400	20,000	146,500
Tongue River	9,067,804	2,315,000	6,750,000	2,804	338,195	.....	.....	17,195	75,000	40,000	200,000
Nebraska											
Winnebago	65,062	31,603	10,000	24,396	3,130,460	1,946,641	815,304	203,265	110,000	24,000	40,250
Omaha	103,204	100,000	.....	3,264	3,582,559	2,342,144	.....	126,865	830,000	200,000	83,550
Nevada											
Carson	676,829	675,000	.....	1,829	718,500	57,500	5,000	5,000	33,500	24,000	24,000
Walker River	22,701	17,949	3,355	1,397	264,284	204,000	.....	1,062	10,000	5,000	43,820
New Mexico											
Jicarilla	875,048	375,142	265,026	234,880	702,973	318,268	.....	12,705	15,000	30,000	327,000
Northern Pueblos	770,445	542,325	228,121	.....	485,240	.....	.....	.....	401,000	34,140	50,100
Pueblo Bonito (Navajo)	.....	.....	.....	.....	980,905	400,000	.....	19,905	15,000	30,000	525,000
San Juan (Navajo)	4,405,959	4,274,000	30,000	101,959	1,308,000	.....	.....	.....	203,000	35,000	1,100,000
Southern Pueblos	2,093,590	2,062,600	800	188	1,163,021	254,405	.....	22,706	288,800	86,545	510,475
Zuni	1,312,297	1,289,797	22,500	.....	496,780	.....	.....	3,980	175,000	65,000	252,800
North Dakota											
Fort Berthold	255,294	167,536	50,475	37,283	5,243,767	3,731,355	.....	551,022	315,750	220,000	425,640
Fort Totten	.....	.....	.....	.....	1,656,617	1,409,084	12,800	55,309	125,000	17,285	37,648
Standing Rock	345,614	.....	.....	345,614	20,132,663	18,650,000	.....	352,603	500,000	210,000	420,000
Oklahoma											
Cantonment	.....	.....	.....	.....	1,420,660	1,123,427	.....	74,862	90,000	75,000	57,680
Cheyenne and Arapaho	96,773	.....	.....	96,773	2,950,111	2,400,000	.....	344,111	120,000	45,000	50,000
Kiowa	554,863	.....	.....	554,863	18,627,925	13,352,925	.....	1,500,000	3,125,000	250,000	400,000
Osage	4,716,000	127,276	280,275	4,308,355	27,251,211	5,673,300	.....	16,502,911	1,200,000	1,500,000	375,000
Pawnee	1,062	800	.....	262	2,493,868	1,181,657	.....	515,791	701,000	41,000	24,500
Ponca	58,484	44,000	.....	14,484	3,565,283	3,255,000	.....	47,283	136,000	75,000	52,000

Indian property itemized for jurisdictions studied by survey staff: 1926—Continued

Jurisdictions	Tribal property				Individual property						
	Total	Lands exclusive of timber	Timber and stock	Balance of funds in treasury	Total	Lands exclusive of timber	Timber	Funds in banks and in hands of superintendents	Homes, furniture, barns, etc.	Wagons, implements, etc.	Stock, poultry, and miscellaneous
Oklahoma—*Continued*											
Sac and Fox	.....	.....	.....	.....	$1,522,334	$1,207,103	.....	$199,379	.....	.....	$115,852
Shawnee	$59,109	$5,000	.....	$54,109	2,654,395	1,996,205	.....	338,175	$193,000	$43,028	$83,908
Oregon											
Klamath	31,738,621	1,200,000	$30,000,000	538,621	4,026,488	1,041,000	$2,100,000	255,488	200,000	280,000	150,000
Siletz	77,985	20,136	57,849	.....	108,797	31,000	250,000	21,842	8,700	5,800	16,455
Umatilla	80,010	.....	.....	80,010	3,643,038	3,190,507	315,450	78,907	107,000	30,000	200,114
Warm Springs	6,849,821	350,000	6,499,821	.....	953,141	25,000	566,862	11,764	40,000	30,000	114,515
South Dakota											
Cheyenne River	2,888,510	1,478,480	.....	1,410,036	3,338,612	2,662,040	.....	281,447	141,400	65,125	248,600
Pine Ridge	1,125,405	207,556	417,873	500,036	13,124,682	12,240,000	181,700	432,082	165,000	52,000	53,000
Rosebud	514,520	100,000	.....	414,520	22,727,048	19,558,750	.....	1,692,698	740,250	285,350	450,000
Sisseton	4,508	.....	.....	4,508	5,307,143	4,590,025	.....	179,102	121,590	33,769	442,297
Yankton	16,573	.....	.....	16,573	2,650,417	1,970,793	.....	345,593	200,000	30,000	104,031
Utah											
Uintah and Ouray	1,089,392	745,000	34,000	310,392	3,434,333	2,500,000	.....	148,238	168,400	102,000	515,696
Washington											
Colville	5,605,908	1,555,000	4,000,000	140,908	2,434,821	500,000	1,000,000	194,821	250,000	500,000	890,000
Neah Bay	851,853	29,850	675,000	147,003	314,175	23,635	108,459	3,932	209,000	32,100	37,050
Taholah	8,844,250	93,470	8,750,000	780	3,333,917	243,203	2,726,600	280,374	49,900	21,040	12,800
Tulalip	187,662	.....	.....	187,662	3,103,130	2,688,020	69,500	476,459	239,550	149,600	46,460
Yakima	5,909,910	1,466,153	4,486,670	47,087	3,281,213	454,798	909,670	377,045	800,000	400,000	339,700
Wisconsin											
Keshena	10,490,065	3,453,590	4,043,137	2,993,338	775,957	.....	.....	$05,957	150,000	40,000	80,000
Wyoming											
Shoshone	2,730,613	1,608,246	755,035	367,332	1,251,156	815,024	.....	57,718	28,828	47,141	302,446

NOTE.—The detailed figures do not add across to the total figures in the following reservations: Winnebago, Carson, Walker River, Fort Totten, Shawnee, Siletz, Sisseton, Uintah and Ouray, Colville, Neah Bay, Tulalip and Shoshone. All the figures in this table have been copied from Table 4 in the 1926 Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs. As it is impossible to know which figures are correct, no effort has been made to adjust them.

CHAPTER XI

FAMILY AND COMMUNITY LIFE AND THE ACTIVITIES OF WOMEN

A relatively small number of Indians make the transition from primitive to civilized life successfully; the great majority tend to shift from primitive ways to the ways of the poorest and least enterprising of the white population.

The standards of living in nearly all Indian communities are low, among the men as well as among the women. The homes are characterized by poor structure, poor repair, overcrowding, lack of sanitation, and bad housekeeping. The food supply is usually lacking both in quantity and balance. Diseases of a chronic nature are prevalent. Both tuberculosis and trachoma interfere with the ability to make a living and both flourish under bad living conditions. Much extreme poverty exists and the social consequences of poverty are fully as bad in tribes with potential wealth as in tribes that possess nothing.

Though there are some exceptions the women are poor homemakers. Whether due to physical inability, lack of training, discouragement, or general shiftlessness, the idleness of the housewives of many tribes constitutes a barrier to the improvement of home conditions, especially when associated as it often is with improvidence. With the single exception of sewing, the essential household arts are relatively undeveloped even in the more progressive tribes. The proper preparation of food and the care of infants and the sick are in no tribe understood or practiced generally.

The women as a rule are poor spenders of income. Many are like children in spending without a plan and buying what strikes the fancy. The men cannot help them much, for they too spend without an understanding of what is essential to family welfare.

Few women add to the family income by wage earning. As a rule they are remote from industrial centers and few have training

for skilled occupations. Of the small number gainfully employed outside their homes the majority are in domestic service or engage seasonally in the harvesting of fruits and other farm crops. A few are employed in season in fruit, vegetable, and fish canneries.

Many women add to the family income by the sale of the products of the native arts. In some families and probably in one or two tribes as a whole the income from this source constitutes a very considerable amount of the total. Native handicrafts are to be found widely dispersed, varied, and in some localities flourishing. The general tendency, however, is for them to disappear or to degenerate in quality. They are worth encouraging both as a means of adding to otherwise insufficient income and for their social value.

Indian social structure tends to break down instead of adapting itself to the conditions of civilized life. That the family is unstable is not surprising, for it has been subjected to severe strains. Indian families like white families suffer the disintegrating effects of poverty, illness, ignorance, and inability to adjust themselves to an industrial world. Among the Indians these strains are peculiarly great because the race is undergoing a shift from primitive to modern life. They are further intensified by the condition of perpetual childhood in which the Indians have been held, for both the system of education and the type of control exercised by the government over tribal and personal property have tended to loosen family ties. So far no program of the Indian Office has included constructive work with families by workers specially trained to deal with the problems involved in family disintegration. Some work of this kind is necessary to the success of any social program for the Indians.

The fundamental importance of community life, like that of family life, has apparently never been recognized by the government in the treatment of the Indians. Communities have never been organized for the ends the government seeks to attain. Government control has, moreover, operated to break down native forms of organization. The forcible removal of whole tribes to very different physical environments resulting in the disruption of economic life, the detention of large groups as prisoners of war for long periods, the common discouragement of Indian leadership

on the reservations and in the government schools, the disrespect of white employees for native customs and ceremonies, and the assumption on the part of teachers and others in the schools that all Indian ways are bad ways, have tended to break down native social structure. Primitive organization gradually gives way in the face of white civilization and nothing takes its place. As a rule those forms of community activity have persisted that least serve the real interests of the Indians. The habit of wandering, in particular, persists, although it interferes seriously with economic prosperity and the stability of home life.

Efforts to build up the Indians physically and economically can never be highly successful so long as the social life of the people is ignored. The government should develop wholesome community life as an essential part of the process of fitting the Indians for successful life among whites. As an administrative measure community organization would prove much more effective and economical than the present policy of dealing with the Indians as isolated individuals.

The race lacks leadership on the part of the women as well as the men. Native nurses, teachers, and other social workers may hasten the process of development from the primitive state to independent existence in the presence of modern civilization, if only the schools can meet the needs of the most ambitious of the Indian school girls.

In most tribes the efforts of the government have not resulted in materially raising the standard of living, perceptibly reducing the amount of sickness, or increasing very much the Indians' ability to take care of themselves. The Indian women are not to blame for this condition. Their education has been poor. The schools have not been effective. No comprehensive plan of adult education has been tried for any tribe or on any reservation. Government service to homes has for many years been delegated largely to a force of "field matrons." Their number is by no means as large as the number of reservations. In many places, therefore, Indian women are without any help except what is to be had incidentally from the superintendent and other employees, such as clerks and teachers.

With the single exception of a small number of recently appointed field nurses very few employees, either field matrons or

others, have had specialized preparation for their tasks, whereas professional qualifications such as are required by the best white organizations are necessary to this highly difficult type of work. The Indians need specialists in the prevention of poverty as much as specialists in the prevention of disease because the two conditions are associated and each is a contributing cause of the other. In view of the large amount of family and community disintegration, for which government policies must be held in part responsible, the government has a special obligation to seek the help of people skilled in dealing with the problems that involve women in their home relations.

Many Indian girls are in public schools, but the girls of the more primitive tribes are for the most part in the boarding schools of the Service and in the government day schools on reservations. The educational service rendered by these government schools is not satisfactory. In the more advanced years of a few of the boarding schools some good home economics instruction is being given, but relatively a very small proportion of the girls remain in school long enough to get this training. The boarding schools are overcrowded and the education they offer is largely formal in character. As they are now managed their most valuable opportunities for training are overlooked. The schools themselves should represent sound standards of living if they are to inculcate sound standards. Instead of placing out Indian girls at domestic work in the homes of whites where the conditions of living are very different from those on the reservations, the boarding schools should establish a field service to the communities from which the girls come, thus fostering the relation between students and their homes.

For some time to come most of the girls will get their training in the elementary grades, if at all. This is the pre-adolescent period when parents and children should not be separated. The day schools, therefore, offer the best opportunities for reaching large numbers effectively. An added advantage of the day schools lies in the fact that their teaching may be made to fit into the local conditions of life, and the homes may be utilized directly in the educational plan.

Until recently the Indian schools have never attempted to fit girls for wage earning outside of domestic service. At a few of the large non-reservation schools attempts are now being made to train teachers, nurses, and clerical workers, but this training does not yet equip the graduates for competition with whites from schools of recognized standing, nor does it prepare them for entrance to colleges and technical schools. So long as the schools of the service fail to offer a high school education of accredited standards the doors of colleges and technical schools will be closed to the graduates, and thus the young women will be cut off from all really professional training. School girls are beginning to feel the necessity, or at least the desirability, of self support, and the more ambitious cannot be expected to find in domestic service a solution of their vocational problems.

The government has been trying for many years to develop Indian families to the point of competency, but with little success. That the educational nature of the work has been too often overlooked, especially where adults have been concerned, that the system of education has so largely ignored the family and community relationships of the Indians, and that programs have as a rule been the short-lived attempts of untrained people, are sufficient reasons for the slight success attending upon long years of effort.

Any future program for the improvement of the condition of Indian homes and the preparation of the women for economic competence should include the following features:

1. The natural grouping of the population on geographic lines should be determined, and each such group on the reservation should be organized for the development of wholesome community life.

2. The girls should be taught the practical essentials of homemaking in the day schools. These schools could in many cases be made centers for the health and recreation work of the community; if distances prove too great, small boarding schools from which the children can return to their homes at week ends.

3. Economic and industrial training should be provided for parents and other adults in their homes. Adult education should be undertaken with as much thoroughness as the education of children. This involves an industrial program for each reservation, which in many cases should include attention to the development of the native handicrafts. Any such program should emphasize training in the spending of money and the handling of property.

4. Problems attendant upon the disintegration of family and community life, such as dependency, divorce, sex offending and other delinquency, drug addiction, and various other types of personality difficulties should receive special attention and treatment.

5. Scholarships in colleges and technical schools should be established for the most promising Indian girls who graduate from the high schools as an essential step in developing leadership within the race. Non-reservation boarding schools for older boys and girls should offer a high school education conforming with accredited standards.

6. Although health instruction, improvement of economic conditions, and the utilization of family and community resources for the treatment of personal maladjustments are services needed everywhere, the character and amount of work to be done with the women and in the homes will vary widely with the variations in the problems of the different reservations. Expert study should be made of the needs of any given reservation before a plan of community work is formulated so that the types of service best suited to the needs of the people may be secured. State and local resources should be included in the scope of the study, since the Indians must eventually merge into general citizenship.

7. Expert help should be available from the Washington office for the initiating of local programs, and trained workers should be employed for putting such programs into effect. As a requisite for securing and maintaining a competent staff in Washington and on the reservations, salaries and working conditions in the Service should be raised to the standards customary elsewhere.

The problems on the reservations are largely social and educational and bear a strong resemblance to similar problems in the general population now in the hands of persons trained in the methods that have proved successful in the experience of the white race. The Indian Office has a few well trained employees whose work amply justifies the policy of employing this type of person in the Service, as for example the two women in general supervisory positions. Such persons are available for all the lines of work involved in the program suggested if standard salaries and working conditions can be established; they are a necessity if the Indians are to be prepared for release from tutelage.

Until the experience of the country at large in the treatment of backward groups is made available in the treatment of the Indians, they cannot justly be said to constitute a difficult or hopeless problem.

Women as Homemakers. No general statement can be made that is true of all Indian homes. There is as wide a diversity of conditions among Indians as in any other population, and the statements made here are seldom true of all tribes and probably never true of all families of a tribe. They do, however, describe conditions typical of large areas or conditions sufficiently prevalent and important to constitute a social problem throughout large areas.

The Dwellings. All kinds of Indian homes are to be found.[1] There are a few homes of distinct comfort, a few that are like the more modest homes of the white professional class, and many more that do not compare unfavorably with the homes of small wage earners in our villages. But all these are exceptional, not typical. The race in general still lives in primitive dwellings, in tents and shacks, and in small houses poorly constructed, ill kept and in bad repair. With the exception of the Pueblo dwellers and the rich Osages no tribe approximates as good home conditions as even the poorest little village of the Middle West. The nearest counterpart in the white population is the manner of living of the mountain whites of the Appalachians, the migrant families that follow the agricultural harvests, and the squatters along rivers and railroads and on the outskirts of cities.

The primitive dwellings most common in the Indian country are the wickiup of the Apaches, the hogan of the Navajos, and the brush or cactus house of the less progressive Pimas and Papagos. Pueblo dwellings, which are scarcely touched by modern influence, are the development from an earlier civilization and are very different from all other Indian homes. Among other tribes the tent, the nondescript shack usually of rough lumber, and the log house have generally replaced the earlier types of dwellings. On some reservations the government has built houses in considerable numbers. These vary according to available funds and materials from lumber shacks or log houses to attractive bungalows with

[1] For an enumeration of homes visited, by location, see Table 1, page 662.

modern improvements. In many localities a few of the more progressive Indians are to be found living in well built houses very like those of their white neighbors. The Indians in the hills of eastern Oklahoma still live like the poorer whites of the frontier of a hundred years ago. They have the one or two-room log cabin, with the stick chimney and the wide fireplace still used at times for cooking, the floor of dirt or loosely laid rough boards, and the windows small or lacking entirely. Many of these families depend on a spring or a creek for their water supply. Toilet facilities are as a rule entirely lacking.

On the basis of so wide a variety of conditions of housing, only a few generalizations can be made:

1. The dirt floor is still the rule in primitive dwellings, in Pueblo homes, and in the poorer lumber and log houses. This is a source of discomfort and illness. Some of the younger Indians now regard a board floor as a necessity.

2. The most primitive structures are better ventilated than the great majority of the dwellings that have replaced them. Most houses have been built without fireplaces, and the Indians have not learned to ventilate through windows. A few of the cheaper houses have board flaps in place of glass frames, or no windows at all.

3. Most houses are better lighted than either hogans or wickiups, where the light comes through a hole in the roof. Even if windows are small a side light is superior for most purposes. Houses, however, are seldom as light as the tents they sometimes replace, and on health grounds most families need far more light than the dwellings afford.

4. Throughout the Indian country a familiar sight is the arbor, a roof of brush or reeds supported on upright posts. This serves the purpose of outdoor work room and living room. It is a primitive contrivance worthy of preservation for reasons of health.

5. It is a question whether the building of houses has improved sanitary conditions. When primitive dwellings become foul they may be burned or abandoned, since they are easily replaced, while tents may be moved to a clean location. But houses being permanent need greater constant care than most Indians seem to know how to give. Throughout vast regions water for household purposes is scarce and is to be had only at the cost of much effort. As a rule toilet accommodations are conspicuous by their absence.

6. There is a high degree of room congestion, owing partly to the fact that dwellings are small and partly to the fact that whole families visit their friends and stay indefinitely while their own homes stand vacant.

The Food of the Family. Indians have a very restricted diet. Of the race as a whole it can be said that the diet consists largely of meat or fish, bread, beans, sugar, and coffee or tea, and is lacking almost entirely in milk and leafy vegetables. In many tribes wild foods, such as roots, nuts, and small fruits, are still in use, and nearly all Indians use some corn and have squash and melons in season. All tribes use some canned goods, but excepting in localities where tomatoes are popular this is seldom well chosen to supplement their other food. Some tribes, notably the Hopis and Cherokees, raise fruits and vegetables in considerable variety and amount and can or dry and store them for use out of season. With the exception of the Navajos few desert Indians keep milk goats. Here and there in the sections where pasture is good, families with milk cows are to be found, but cows are not the rule, even in eastern Oklahoma where the Indians live under conditions more nearly approaching those of their white neighbors. Few of the families who own cows take the trouble to milk them regularly, and in few, if any, of the localities visited is the use of fresh milk the custom of the tribe.[1]

The diet is often faulty with respect to quantity as well as variety. Some Indians never have enough to eat. Others alternate between starving and gormandizing, a primitive habit that is not discouraged by the government system of rationing. The ration as issued is never satisfactory with respect to food balance and seldom with respect to quantity. The recipients are half starved when they get their semi-monthly supply, and it would require much foresight and self-control to distribute the food evenly throughout the fortnight. The presence of hungry visitors is likely to add to the difficulty, and the result is a feast and then a famine. In some parts of the Indian country there are periods of starvation when the people are reduced to the use of horseflesh. There is much feeling against this. For example one says: "I think horse meat makes us

[1] Samples of the diets of two tribes are given in Table 5, page 605. These families spent on an average three and one-half times as much for coffee as for milk and cheese.

sick. A great many spit blood and lots of people die." Some of the poorest Indians report that as a last resort they eat animals that they find dead.

Much food is not well prepared. The cooking in many tribes is the hasty kind and likely to be unwholesome. In a great many sections of the Indian country a bread made of flour, baking powder and water fried in deep fat is the staple article of diet and is eaten either hot or cold. Meats and other foods are exposed to the flies during the drying process. Ordinarily food preparation is unsanitary and methods of serving and eating equally so.

The restricted diet is due in part to low income and lack of agricultural resources. Much more important, however, is the fact that the food habits of the Indians are poor. Like the people of other races, Indians are conservative when it comes to adopting new foods. Added to this is the distate for unfamiliar food characteristic of the undernourished and the sick of all races. Among the people of some tribes superstition still further restricts their tastes. For example, the Navajos are restrained by their fears from eating eggs, one of the most nutritious of foods. Although food habits are difficult to change, the government has had two excellent opportunities to form good habits, namely, the boarding school table and the ration. That these opportunities have been for the most part neglected is due largely to lack of funds but partly also to the fact that the formation of good food habits was not formerly recognized as an important part of education. In the few boarding schools where the children have been given plenty of milk, fresh vegetables, and fruit, it has been amply demonstrated that the taste for these things can be developed.

Very few Indian families understand the relation between faulty diet and ill health. But here and there the young women from boarding school or the children in the day school are attempting to carry the lessons of the classroom into effect, and occasionally an ex-patient from a tuberculosis sanatorium tries to follow at home the regimen of the institution. Some educational work has been done in connection with the Five-Year Industrial Program. A farm chapter member among the Sioux, a worn-looking man of about 60 who had weathered a severe winter with difficulty, said in describing his starved condition: "I'm a great fellow to build air-castles, but what I wish most is that I had a good milk cow."

Another Sioux, the father of six small children, said: "If we could get one good milk cow, that is half the living."

Enough such cases exist to constitute evidence that the fundamental rules of nutrition can be taught to the Indians. But in most cases these principles cannot be carried into effect without a considerable change in the manner of life of the families. At present most of the Indians retain some vestiges of their old migratory habits. Various kinds of excursions interfere with a settled agricultural existence. Crops, gardens, cows, and poultry all are neglected when the family puts the padlock on the door and sets forth on a trip which may last from a few days to several months. Whether they go to the cranberry marshes of Wisconsin, or for pine nuts to the mountains of the Southwest, or to the fruit orchards of the Northwest, or to the camp meeting in Oklahoma, or to a rodeo, or to a tribal dance or celebration, the result is the same. When they come home they find the crops injured, the garden dried up or choked by weeds, the cow dry, and the chickens scattered and gone. Later, when food grows scarce, the simplest solution of the difficulty is to butcher the cow. One may sympathize with the desire for the free life of the excursion or tribal gathering and still recognize that the habit of wandering is a most serious obstacle to a varied diet and is, therefore, in large measure responsible for the malnutrition which results in so many cases of disease and death among the Indians.

In general, the Indians may be said to understand the culture of vegetables better than the care of animals. Goats and cows often produce an inadequate supply of milk, either because they are not of good breeds or because they are not properly fed or regularly milked. The lack of milk in the diet of the Indians is especially serious because it is the one great protective food that supplements most other dietary deficiencies, but in very few cases are either men or women ready to give the regular care that a cow must have if she is to produce enough milk to supply the family.

Care of Infants and the Sick.—In many localities physicians are not to be had; in many the medicine men still flourish. Most Indians are much hampered by tradition and superstition. Relatively few are reached by the nursing service of the Indian Office. Only a small proportion of the girls and young women have had lessons in the care of infants and sick while away at school. Under these

circumstances Indian women could not be expected to know how to care for the health of those dependent upon them or what precautions to take during pregnancy. As a matter of fact, doctors and nurses find them sadly lacking in judgment. The result is that babies die, young children are infected unnecessarily, and the old and hopelessly ill suffer needless discomfort.

To stay at home from excursions because a baby is expected is not generally considered necessary, so that births are a common occurrence at tribal gatherings. The routine of life is little interrupted in any respect by pregnancy. Hopi women often lose their first child because of the long hours of work in the posture assumed in grinding the corn to repay their neighbors for the community contribution to the wedding celebration. On most reservations the majority of deliveries occur without the aid of a doctor or a nurse. The old women who officiate know nothing of sanitary methods, are often needlessly rough, and are helpless in abnormal cases.

Babies are not nursed regularly but are fed when they cry. They are nursed indefinitely, usually for a year or more, sometimes for two or three years, and occasionally for an even longer period. The time of weaning seems to be the crisis in an Indian baby's life, though statistics on this point are too meager to be trustworthy. The process is often a sudden change from the mother's milk to hard food of all sorts, with no milk of any kind in the diet. For example, Pueblo mothers give babies chili, beans, green fruits, or anything they ask for, especially melons in season; the Sioux, especially the full-bloods, put the children on meats and other heavy foods; Cheyenne mothers offer the child a nursing bottle filled with coffee or tea if it frets. Very few children are shifted gradually to soft foods and cow's or goat's milk. The use of condensed milk has, however, become common in some localities, and although this is objectionable, it is better than the more primitive method. In some localities the drinking water is never free from colon bacilli. It is not surprising that a great many Indian babies fail to survive long when breast-feeding ceases.

Other points of child care are very commonly neglected, including proper clothing, regularity of habits, and protection from infection and parasites. The custom of swaddling or wrapping and binding to boards or cradles is still widely practiced. This has the advantage of keeping the baby from sudden chilling, but it does not allow the free play of the muscles of the back, legs, and arms that the child needs for its normal development. A nurse of wide experience among the Indians says that on the whole the mothers care more for their own personal cleanliness than for the condition of their children. It is not unusual to see sleeping babies very dirty and covered with flies.

Very young children and sick children are taken on long trips or into camp for extended celebrations, with resulting sickness and loss of life. Half-grown children and adolescents are encouraged to attend or to take part in tribal dances, sometimes with serious injury to their health, and persons with tuberculosis are frequently permitted to dance even though they have been warned against it. Excursions to cranberry marshes, where the pickers stand in the water to work, and to the maple sugar camps, where there is much exposure to inclement weather, frequently result in deaths from pneumonia. Even when families are at home and nothing unusual is going on, sleeping and eating lack regularity.

Little is done to make sick or aged people comfortable or to protect the well from them. This is especially serious in view of the fact that tuberculosis and trachoma are prevalent. An old man complains:

> If I had a floor in my house I could see better. The dust from the dirt floor gets in my eyes and helps make me blind. I get dust in my mouth and nose and ears.

In many homes it would seem impossible for any member of the family to escape tuberculosis infection under the conditions of living. Often the whole family eats from a common dish, using the fingers; or they may have two or three spoons and cups for the use of everyone. A Navajo school boy, writing about his home, says:

> The dishes we possess are usually cups, spoons, and others but they don't wash them right away after using them till it's time to use them again.

Crowded living quarters make the isolation of the sick a difficult problem, and the difficulty is increased by the fact that the Indians are rather sensitive about isolation. If doctors and nurses are accessible the Indians are inclined, like most white people, to ask

them for medicine when what they need is instruction in simple preventive measures.

A custom which no doubt operates to lessen the amount of infection from tuberculosis arises out of superstition. When an Apache or a Navajo dies, the wickiup or hogan is burned with the belongings of the deceased. If the place of residence is a house, it is abandoned. The motive is ghost fear, but some of the Indians uphold the custom on sanitary grounds. A Navajo said in council:

> There are too many epidemics of diseases here in schools. I think it is caused by the beds being full of germs. The beds are used too long and too often. Out on the reservation when one of our people dies we destroy his bedding and even his hogan for fear he may have had a catching disease. We destroy everything used by the person. We even destroy the dishes, spoons, knives and forks used by the one who died because we fear the disease that caused his death.

The Hopis give their adobe dwelling a thorough cleaning after a death has occurred, whitewashing the walls and putting new clay on the floor. This is a part of the death ceremonies.

Cleanliness and Order. The majority of Indian homes are characterized by dirt and confusion. On every reservation, however, there are exceptions, and among some Indians the exceptions are many. The Hopis, Zunis, and especially the Rio Grande Pueblos value neatness and order and make much of the condition of their walls and floors. Whitewashing is a frequent process, and pictures, rugs, and bedding are cleaned or aired when the walls and floors are treated. The better homes are very attractive. But many of these same families are not sanitary in their food habits. The women of every tribe are in need of instruction and stimulation to greater effort.

In justice to Indian housewives it must be said that the conditions under which most of them live make cleanliness and order difficult to achieve. Poor housing conditions are in many cases the result of extreme poverty and are beyond the control of the Indians. The structure and state of repair of dwellings is unfavorable to good housekeeping. Houses are dark, walls are rough, roofs leak, and flies have free access to the dwelling. Dirt floors in particular are a handicap, for they soon become uneven and dusty with use. Most homes are entirely without sanitary facilities, and it is difficult to keep clean where water is hard to get. Even where it is not scarce the supply is often at an inconvenient distance. Many Indians haul all the water for household use. Many others depend entirely on creeks and rivers for their supply.

Homes are small and there is much overcrowding both of belongings and of people. It would be impossible to make some of the homes look neat, not because the owners have too many things but because there is too little space for any scheme of convenient arrangement. Where all the household processes must take place in one or even two small rooms, it is not easy to plan a good working arrangement under any circumstances. When these rooms are crowded with people, as they often are in cool weather, the task of performing household duties and of keeping things either clean or orderly must be beyond the powers of anyone.

The degree of room overcrowding in Indian homes is greater than among the whites of the tenement districts of our large cities.[1] Of the 366 homes visited on or near reservations by members of the survey staff, for which the number of rooms and the number of persons living in them were secured:

199, or 54.5 per cent, averaged two or more persons per room
120, or 32.8 per cent, averaged three or more persons per room
85, or 23.2 per cent, averaged four or more persons per room
62, or 16.9 per cent, averaged five or more persons per room
42, or 11.5 per cent, averaged six or more persons per room

This high degree of room congestion is due partly to the fact that Indian homes are small. More than one-fourth of all these dwellings consisted of only one room, and a larger number of Indians lived in one room dwellings than in homes of any other size. Homes of one and two rooms constituted more than half of the entire number, and homes of one, two, and three rooms, together made up more than three-fourths of the total.

Indian households are apparently somewhat larger than white. Over one-fourth of those visited consisted of seven persons or more. The average number of persons per household was 5.1. This figure does not indicate that families are larger than in the general population, but rather that the Indians share their homes with relatives and friends.

[1] See Tables 2, 3, and 4, pages 663 and 664.

The number of persons who can be crowded into small space seems almost unlimited. Ten of the one-room homes were occupied by seven persons each, seven had eight occupants, six had nine, three had ten, and two had eleven. Most of these one-room homes are small. A wickiup with an eight foot radius is not a commodious sleeping place for six or eight people, but it is as roomy as some of the one-room lumber shacks. Two houseboats visited on an inlet of the Pacific were no larger than box cars. In each ten people were living at the time of the visit. In one a 12-year-old girl was dying of tuberculosis. It was impossible to isolate her from the babies of the family. The mother of the other family had lost just half of the children she had borne. She and her husband and six children had two visitors making the kind of indefinite stay so common among Indians. Where they all slept was a mystery. Some houses visited had so little floor space per occupant that the arrangement when all lay down must have required some ingenuity. In hot weather, however, the custom of sleeping out-of-doors is common, and in some localities bedsteads are to be seen outside the year round.

Primitive habits of life still persist. It is the Indian custom to eat, sleep, and sit on the floor. There is little regularity or ceremony as among the whites, in eating and sleeping, their ceremonial observances being a community rather than a family matter. The blanket or skin or quilt on which the Indian sleeps at night often becomes his seat during the day. In wickiups and hogans and tents and sometimes in houses, meals are eaten on or near these floor beds and bits of food are scattered about. Many Indians are adopting bedsteads and occasionally bed linen, but when visitors arrive pallets are made up on the floor in any number desired. Under such conditions it is easy to understand why so many people are afflicted with headlice and other parasites and with so highly infectious a skin disease as impetigo. It is customary among many tribes to air and sun their bed clothing frequently, and this of course somewhat lessens the danger from infections.

Many other Indian homes in which the physical conditions are somewhat better than those just described are equally lacking in the beauties of cleanliness and neatness. This is not because Indian women have no feeling for beauty. Very attractive articles of hand manufacture are seen on display or in the process of making in

homes where they serve to accentuate the dreariness of the house itself. The difficulty seems to be that most of the Indians, excepting the Pueblo dwellers, lack the conception of the home as an object of beauty. Wall decoration is their nearest approach to this conception. Some poor hogans and log cabins have their walls covered with canvas or pieces of corrugated boxes as a background for pictures from catalogs, lithographs of religious subjects, photographs of friends, and choice pieces of beadwork or basketry. The Crows sometimes offer a prize at their celebrations for the best looking tepees, whereupon the walls of the tepees are lined with silk and decorated with pieces of native art, chiefly beadwork. It is quite possible that order and cleanliness might be achieved in many families through association with home decoration. It might prove easier to stimulate an effort toward the beautiful than toward the sanitary.

Here and there evidences are to be seen that health education in the schools and on the reservations, although as yet it is not very thorough-going, is having some effect. Some of the younger Indians know of the relation that exists between bad sanitary conditions and disease, and some improvements are being made in home conditions. Returned students are occasionally instrumental in getting board floors laid, windows enlarged, and houses screened.

Industry in the Home. Considering the economic condition of most Indians it is highly desirable that the homes should be centers of industry. It is true among Indians, as among whites, that where the living depends upon agriculture it is as important for the women as for the men to be able to do many kinds of work, both inside and outside the house. In general it cannot be said that Indian women are either very competent or very industrious, although the women of some tribes, notably the Hopis and the Navajos, know how to do many things and are usually found busy at their tasks. But in many other tribes the industrious housewife is the exception, and there is much sitting about in idleness.

The structure of most primitive dwellings is not favorable to indoor occupations, nor are many of the lumber shacks and log cabins sufficiently lighted to permit of much close work, but on the other hand among the southern Indians various tasks can be done as well out of doors or under the arbor as in the house. Many homes are too crowded with people and possessions to make work

easy. Then, too, equipment and materials for various kinds of work are lacking. Nevertheless, much more could be done to increase the comfort and well being of families everywhere if the desire to work were not lacking, and some observers believe that the women are even less inclined to steady habits of industry than the men.

This is not to say that the Indians are lazy, but rather that they are still primitive in their habits, given to great exertion at times and then to long periods of rest, impatient of routine labor, impatient of direction, and excited to effort only by the need of the moment.

As a race Indians are little concerned about the future. They lack foresight. On the whole the government has encouraged this primitive characteristic and has in some measure developed it by relying upon material relief rather than upon instruction and other forms of personal service in the treatment of poverty. Dependence on the ration in emergencies such as crop failures may be said to have become traditional in some tribes. A part of the difficulty is, of course, the Indians' ignorance of the consequences of intermittent industry. As has been noted already, they seldom understand the relation between diet or sanitation and ill health, nor do they realize that they cannot have a satisfactory food supply or hygienic conditions of life without continuous labor. If a family here or there develops higher standards than their improvident relatives and neighbors, the rules of hospitality operate to reduce their status to the common level.

Like the poor of other races the Indians are caught in a vicious circle. It is sometimes said that the chief cause of poverty is poverty. Indians are subject to the diseases of malnutrition because they are poor; they lack energy because they are sick and undernourished; lacking energy they cannot produce the essentials of life. A Montana Indian states the case as he sees it:

> The man who works must eat. If you feed animals well they work well. A person is the same way. He is small and must have good food. It is not because we are stubborn and do not want to work. We do try. The Superintendent knows we try.

No one who has experienced tuberculosis even in the incipient stage can fail to understand that a tuberculous father cannot make a living nor can a tuberculous mother protect her children from the disease through her own efforts. The vicious circle must be broken by help from outside the family. Even in families in which disease does not complicate the situation, outside help is needed in order to bring the members of the family face to face with their true condition and to supply incentives to industry or to furnish the tools of production.

In the shift from primitive ways to those of the whites there is confusion of values. It is difficult to choose the best from both cultures. Some primitive forms of labor are still practiced although unprofitable, while other desirable household arts are falling into disuse. Reference has been made to the long excursions in search of native foods. These foods are mostly fruits, nuts, and roots, and are therefore desirable to supplement a restricted diet, but they do not compare in dependability of supply or in variety with the food from domestic animals and gardens, which can be had only at the price of constant care in a settled place of abode. Yeast bread is rather popular with Indians and has to some extent replaced the less healthful fried bread, but on the other hand the home-ground flour or meal, which retains some food elements very necessary to a restricted diet, is being replaced by the less nutritious bolted flour from the trader's store. Sewing machines are owned and used to good advantage, but the beautiful old handicrafts are fast disappearing, though the products are still treasured in many families.

The sewing machine is an appliance of the white household which is much appreciated by Indian women and is to be found even amid the most primitive conditions. Indian women sew very well. In various tribes it is necessary to sew at home if the tribal costume is to be worn at all, and some of the women's costumes require a great amount of stitching. Fifteen or twenty yards of material is used in making the dress of the San Carlos Apache, and braid is usually stitched on the ruffles of the voluminous skirt; hence the sewing machine out in the sand near the wickiup. Women who belong to tribes that do not wear a distinctive costume use paper patterns with surprising success. Occasionally a copy of a woman's magazine or of a mail order catalog is to be seen in some homes where it is used as a guide to the fashions. Men's and children's clothing, however, are bought ready made to a far greater extent than women's, often by wives who need to save by making them at home.

That women are more proficient at sewing than at cooking is not surprising, for before they had sewing machines they were used to infinitely painstaking work in the production of objects of utility and beauty. The products of these efforts, such as the bead moccasins or the water jar, are a much more obvious result of labor than are those forms of human welfare that result from the practice of the routine daily tasks of cleaning and cooking, and therefore the handicrafts more easily engage the interest of primitive people.

The fundamental cause of idleness seems to be a low standard of living. The conscious wants of most Indians are few and easily satisfied. This is true of the men as well as of the women, for the men as a rule do not assume their share of the labor involved in making comfortable homes. Houses need painting and screening; roofs and chimneys need mending; floors need renewing. Water and toilet facilities could in many cases be provided or improved. Homes could be enlarged by the building of other rooms. Many homes could be made more attractive by the removal of debris from their vicinity or by planting flowers, shrubs, trees, or gardens. In driving along the road in mixed Indian and white communities it is usually possible to tell which homes the Indians occupy, not because they are different in structure but because they look peculiarly neglected and forlorn.

Superintendents and others who have tried to develop habits of industry sometimes say that if only they could create the desire for material possessions the problem of Indian welfare would be solved. Some of them believe that the automobile is a good thing for the Indians because working to support it sometimes develops steady habits. As a Pima woman put it:

> You don't have to work much for food and clothing. You can get along somehow. But when a tire gives out there is nothing to do but go to work.

The problem is hardly so simple as this. Happiness is not to be confused with the possession of many things. Indians can teach whites some lessons in non-material values. But any plane of living must be considered essentially sub-standard so long as ill-health prevails and parents do not strive for better conditions for their children than they themselves have had. What Indian women need more than a desire for things is a vision of health and the solid enjoyments of life that can be realized in relatively simple surroundings but only at the price of consistent and continuous effort.

The Home in Relation to Industrial Efficiency. Women as homemakers have an indirect relation to industrial efficiency that is no less important than the direct contribution they make through their own labors. Other members of the family are dependent upon the home in great degree for the ability to do effective work. For husband and children the home should supply two needs: first, rest and refreshment of spirit, a renewal for the next day's work; and second, incentive to effort.

How far the home serves the first of these two purposes it is difficult to judge. The difference between Indians and whites in underlying philosophy of life must be taken into account. To the Indian the white man's emphasis on material possessions is probably as strange as the white man finds the Indian's love of leisure and dislike of routine. The Indian's wider sense of close relationship as well as his feeling of responsibility for all the members of his clan and race may be a fundamental spiritual necessity even though it results in crowding his home with relatives and friends and making it anything but a place of peace and quiet. The tie between parent and child is strong and the reverence for elders is great, so it may be that the close mingling of the several generations does not create so much difficulty as among whites; but there is plenty of evidence that the presence of collateral relatives and persons not related complicates family life and frequently results in the loosening of marital ties. Indians can find near at hand both solitude and the enjoyment of beauty in nature, so that the psychological effects of overcrowded households may not be as bad as we know them to be in cities, but congested living does produce sickness and the presence of sickness has a bad effect on the nervous state of those not sick.

To a limited extent the Indians are undergoing a psychological adjustment to white standards of living, as evidenced particularly by the fact that returned students do not fit into their former life. The home is the place of conflict between the old and the new. In some cases the gap between the ideals of the generations is wide and the parents are placed in the difficult position of mediators

between the young people and the grandparents. The clash is much less likely to be severe if the grandparents live in their own separate dwellings. In some localities there has grown up the custom of giving a grandparent complete control of one grandchild with the understanding that the parents shall be left undisturbed in their relations with the other children. Occasionally local conditions have operated to develop progressive ways of living in one sex more than in the other. When the women lag behind the men, as is more often the case, the home does not fulfill its function of renewal of energy as it should.

Too many homes do not supply the second of these two needs. They do not furnish incentives to effort. They fail to generate ambition. Compared with the homes of an earlier generation there has been progress in many tribes. Parents whose own parents were hostile to the schools are willing and often eager for their children to have an education, and this is not always because the schools subsidize the families by furnishing food and clothing. Some parents see that an education is necessary to success in life and wish success for their children. Children with exceptional talents or ambitions sometimes find a sympathetic attitude at home, although seldom a plan for securing further education. But many parents are not so wise. A Sioux criticized his fellows in council as follows:

> I'm going to tell the faults of these Indians. Everyone has a fault. They complain not because they are mean but because they are illiterate. Their object in raising children is this: To keep them from hard labor, drudgery of all sorts, to dress up, look neat, to wear cowboy boots and big hat and ride all the neighboring communities horseback idling away profitable time. They forget that the white man works from daylight till dark, putting pleasures aside.

Between husbands and wives the situation is less satisfactory than between parents and children. Apparently little pressure is brought to bear upon the husband by the wife to increase the income, or upon the wife by the husband to disburse it more wisely. A government worker with a wide acquaintance among Indians says that they are complete individualists in running no risk of blame. Husband and wife will therefore take no responsibility for each other's actions, for if they refrain from advice they are left free to quarrel by slurring each other. Mutual distrust is evidenced

by the custom of the wife's accompanying the husband everywhere. Personal relations might be happier were it not for poverty of interests at home.

The Spending of Money. The inability to spend is as serious a handicap as the inability to earn. Some persons and tribes are exceptions, but as a rule Indians are not good spenders. Many of the women do not know the value of money from having earned it. Neither have they the family training and traditions that are so great a help to white women in determining values of commodities. Many are the first generation of shoppers, and as a rule their husbands have little more experience than they themselves. As a Cheyenne River Sioux said:

> White people are taught as children the value of money and how to spend it, but we were brought up in a different way. We ate lots of beef. If we see any meat anywhere we are bound to buy it, no matter what it costs.

To many Indians a melon is irresistible, even if it costs five cents a pound and they have little else to eat. There is no plan for the week or month and often no plan for the day's shopping. Some of the more primitive Indians, like the Apaches, buy an article at a time and pay for it, continuing the process until the money is gone. A child's whim may determine a purchase. There is much haphazard spending.

While some merchants and traders help their Indian customers to spend wisely, others take advantage of their ignorance and lack of skill. It is often asserted that local merchants have two prices, one to whites and another to Indians. Some of the Osages believe this to be true and resent it, refusing to buy in their place of residence. Most Indians buy in a very restricted market and few have as yet discovered the advantages of patronizing the mail order houses.

The home economics courses in the Indian schools, especially in the later years of the curriculum, cover some of the fundamental facts underlying intelligent purchasing, such as food values and standards in clothing. But comparatively few women have been reached by these courses, and outside the schools little has been done to educate either adults or children in the spending of income. The government system of doling out individual money has dis-

couraged planning. Then, also, many Indians are convinced that the government misspends tribal funds and have a resentful rather than a teachable attitude of mind. Particularly they dislike the "yellow paper which can be used at only one store" because they "can buy only at the trader's price and not at the market price," and because they must spend it all at one time. Some government employees proceed on the assumption that the Indians are not teachable, while the Indians resent being treated like children. On a northern reservation an old Indian said:

> If you had money and did any purchasing you would buy what you wanted and keep the rest in your pocket. But we have to take an order and spend the whole thing. We Indians know how to take care of money too.

His field matron, when asked about this feature of the order system, laughed and said, "Oh, an Indian always spends it all. That's the way with an Indian." If white people were restrained from exercising their judgment in spending money, if they could not experiment and learn from their mistakes, there would be even more poor spenders among them than there are today.

Family Relations. Indian families are subject to the same maladjustments within the family group as are white families. Husbands and wives fall out and separate, children are incorrigible, parents are unreasonable, and other relatives interfere and intensify the difficulties of these primary relationships. It can be said as truly of Indians as of white families that "these maladjustments in the (family) group arise from physical and mental ills, bad habits, ignorances, legal entanglements, together with the element of resourcelessness,"* a resourcelessness not merely material but mental and spiritual as well. Like many poor white families the Indians themselves are often sensible only of their economic and health needs, so that these things constitute the immediate and practical points of approach to the somewhat less obvious but fully as fundamental problems of the adjustments of the members of the family in their relations to each other and of the family to the larger social group.

* Unpublished report of the Committee on Content of Family Social Work at the Annual Meeting of the National Conference on Social Work, Cleveland, May 26, 1926.

Those ills consequent upon industrial strain and upon life amid the congestion of large cities have scarcely touched the Indians. But the shift to cities and to non-agricultural industries is beginning, and here and there the strain upon family life is apparent. A few women are entering wage earning occupations and deferring marriage. In localities near towns and cities some married women find it easy to earn by working in the homes of white people and some husbands find it easy to let them furnish the main support for the family. Indian men are seldom trained for the more interesting occupations and, as has been said before, they are impatient of routine, a characteristic more marked in the men than in the women. Occasionally interracial antagonism constitutes a barrier to desirable occupations. Unemployment or underemployment of the husband, whether from inability to find work or from dislike of available jobs, tends to disintegrate the family the same as in other populations.

In general the family relations of Indians may be said to suffer strain through contact with whites. This is because most interracial contacts are not with white men and women who represent the higher white standards. Here and there Indians have had intimate acquaintance with the more substantial class of white people who have come to them either as missionaries or government employees or who have known them as neighbors, and these Indians have greatly profited by sincere friendships devoid of condescension. Many interracial marriages have proved successful. Far more frequent, however, are the contacts with whites who are trying to exploit the Indians, or who are superior and patronizing or brutal, or who are merely curious.

The Indian has his own code of ethics. It differs in some particulars from the white man's, especially in matters that have to do with family life. Indians are taught one set of principles in the schools and missions and see a very different set in operation. They are told that it is wrong to lie and steal; they hear the gospel of love. But they are victims of lies and broken promises. Both tribes and individuals have been cheated out of their property by white people. Wealthy Indians are even victimized in marriage by whites. White dope and liquor peddlers have demoralized whole communities. In some localities the whites hold the Indians in contempt:

they encourage back door begging and dispense old clothing as a charity.

Under these influences the whole moral tone of the Indian's life suffers. In particular the effects are bad when whites are known not to practice the principles of sex purity that the race professes. Under primitive conditions the tribal customs restrict individuals severely from infringing upon the code, but with the shift from tribal to state control the individual knows a new freedom and may choose to follow neither the old nor the new ethics of family life. Then the cases of illegitimacy and desertion tend to take on the same economic and social significance as in other populations, for with the relaxing of clan authority comes the weakening of clan responsibility for dependent women and children.

Differences Between Indian and White Families. The primitive Indian family differs from ours in two significant particulars:

1. The two-generation family composed only of husband, wife, and children is relatively less significant than in our social organization. The several generations mingle more intimately in the households and the camps, and the grandparents, particularly grandmothers, occupy a more influential position than in white families. The family has a relatively greater obligation to the larger group than among whites. Home life is not so exclusive as with us. Hospitality and guest privileges must be extended even though they interfere with family obligations. Even where these customs are breaking down the form outlives the spirit of hospitality, and guests are offered food even when the members of the family resent the visit and maintain strict silence.

2. The family is less stable than ours. Informal separation and remarriage is common and apparently does little if any damage to social status. Many Indians ignore legal forms and polygamous marriage has not entirely disappeared. In some localities the custom of dismissing husbands is said still to survive in its primitive form; on many reservations the adjustment differs little from desertion and remarriage among whites; among the Osages large property interests have made it necessary to legalize both proceedings. Since Indians are wards of the national government many states do not take jurisdiction in domestic relations, but even if there were state jurisdiction few Indians would have the money to pay for divorce.

Government Treatment of Family Difficulties. Most family troubles and sex irregularities come to the reservation superintendent for adjustment. In some cases the superintendent is able to utilize the Indian court to good advantage in handling such matters. This plan has the merit of bringing the offenders face to face with the public opinion of their own race, although on reservations where factions exist among the Indians the force of Indian sentiment is largely lost. Much or little use may be made of the tribal court. On one of the Sioux reservations in a period of a little over a year 148 of the 271 cases before the court were concerned with domestic relations, nearly all having to do with the marriage relation or with delinquency on the part of children. On some other reservations just as populous comparatively few cases of this nature are brought into the court. For various reasons the superintendents should be relieved of the duty of handling the routine of these matters. They have far too many other duties to be able to give these personality difficulties the study they deserve, and besides they have not the necessary training for this specialized kind of work. A trained assistant working with the Indian court would probably prove a desirable arrangement until such time as the states shall take over this responsibility.

The special treatment of unadjusted or delinquent children has not yet been undertaken by the government, though many employees recognize the need of such work. Lacking specially trained workers the Indian Office has been slow to perceive the fundamental problems underlying the obvious problems of vice and crime. Efforts to correct these disintegrating things are therefore superficial and ineffective. Delinquent children have been sent indiscriminately to the boarding schools where they increase the difficulty of handling all children, not only because their influence on the others is bad, but also because these few difficult ones have fixed the type of discipline for the whole school to the detriment of the many who need little control.

Strains Imposed by the System of Education. Indian families are subjected to peculiar strains growing out of their relation to the government. Some of the projects of the government, notably the appointment of field workers to deal with home conditions, have tended to strengthen family bonds. But on the whole government

practices may be said to have operated against the development of wholesome family life.

Chief of these is the long continued policy of educating the children in boarding schools far from their homes, taking them from their parents when small and keeping them away until parents and children become strangers to each other. The theory was once held that the problem of the race could be solved by educating the children, not to return to the reservation, but to be absorbed one by one into the white population. This plan involved the permanent breaking of family ties, but provided for the children a substitute for their own family life by placing them in good homes of whites for vacations and sometimes longer, the so-called "outing system." The plan failed, partly because it was weak on the vocational side, but largely by reason of its artificiality. Nevertheless, this worst of its features still persists, and many children today have not seen their parents or brothers and sisters in years. A Hopi boy describing his home says:

> We used to have lots of fun when we were little fellows. Of course we sometimes get into fight, but since then I never have seen my sisters for seven years, they both away from home like me, so I hope we will all see each other some day.

A Navajo mother said: "I hated to send this boy to school. I knew I was saying goodbye. He would come back a stranger."

But parents know a worse fear than this. On many reservations there is distress because children die away at school. An Apache voiced the general sentiment in a speech in council:

> I know the results of the reservation school but when we send our children to non-reservation schools we do not see these children for a long time, and sometimes they die. The reservation school is what we want.

A Hopi, speaking in council, said:

> I wish to speak about students educated in non-reservation schools. In the matter of transfer of pupils to other schools, climatic conditions are often different and the child gets sick and yet parents are not notified. We all have children, as you may have, and we are all interested in these children. If a child is taken sick and brought home dead we feel very bad. Often in the case of sickness parents watch closely. If notified the child might be saved. Parents know the health conditions of the child. We all want our children educated, every one of us, but health comes first. I hope if the child gets sick in a different climate he may be returned home. I wonder if the grades may not be made higher at the day school, for such cases of sick children who have been sent home.

A Ute girl in one of the larger schools writes of conditions on her reservation as follows:

> A lot of the young Ute girls that went away to school have gone home and died and the old Ute Indians don't want for us to go away to school and are having trouble about it, most of the girls died from T. B. and there are hardly any young girls on the Ute reservation and old people, they think that soon their will be hardly any more of this tribe and I think one of the nicest things to be done would be for them to have a hospital around Ignacio to care for the sick so they could get well.

Sometimes of course it is the parents or brothers or sisters who die, as in the case described by a girl of the Aricari and Pawnee tribes:

> My mother died while I was away at school. Three of my other sisters died with flue that same winter. And so there was just my father and a little sister two years old and a little brother five years old, left at home. When vacation time came I went home to see the folks that remained. But I could not stand to stay at this home. I was always lonely without my mother and the three sisters, and every time I went from one room into another I thought of them and it made me more lonesome than ever.

The real tragedy, however, is not loss by death but the disruption of family life and its effect on the character of both parents and children. The personal care of helpless offspring is the natural expression of affection no less among Indians than among parents of other races. No observer can doubt that Indian parents are very fond of their children, and though the care that they give may be from the point of view of white parents far from adequate, yet the emotional needs of both parents and children are satisfied.

Effects of the System upon Parents. A normal emotional life is essential to the development of parents to full adult responsibility.

In relieving them of the care of their children the government robs them of one of the strongest and most fundamental of the economic motives, thereby keeping them in the state of childhood. One of the most common remarks to be heard in the Indian Service is that the Indians are like children. Certainly most of them retain their primitive characteristics of improvidence. Since the avowed purpose of the government has been to develop the race to the point of full adult competence, it seems strange that the greatest incentive to industry and to provision for the future should have been overlooked. Evidences are not lacking that many tribes are today less industrious, less able to fit themselves to their environment than they were fifty years ago; that they were in some ways better off in their primitive state. Insofar as the government has sacrificed real and vital adult education to the formal education of children in institutions it has handicapped a primitive people in their development, and the Indians have little to show to repay them for the sorrows of broken homes. The loss of children tends still further to disrupt the family through the loosening of marital ties. Normally husband and wife have a strong bond in their common responsibility for children. To take away this responsibility is to encourage a series of unions with all the bad social consequences that accompany impermanence of marital relations.

Effects of the System upon Children. The effects of early deprivation of family life are apparent in the children. They too are the victims of an arrested development. The experience of the white race abundantly demonstrates that institutional children, even with the best of care, have greater health and personality difficulties than children in families. Affection of an intimate sort is essential to normal development. Recognizing this fact the better societies for the care of dependent white children have for many years been placing their wards out in families as rapidly as the very delicate adjustment involved can be made. Even in institutions for the care of dependent white children the children are there because they have no homes or because normal home life is impossible, and very few are taken forcibly from their parents. But many children are in Indian schools as the result of coercion of one kind or another and they suffer under a sense of separation from home and parents. Since initiative and independence are not

developed under the rigid routine of the school, the whole system increases the child's sentiment for dependence on parental decisions and children in their teens go back to their mother with a six-year old's feeling for her.

Under normal conditions the experience of family life is of itself a preparation of the children for future parenthood. Without this experience of the parent-child relation throughout the developmental period Indian young people must suffer under a serious disability in their relations with their own children. No kind of formal training can possibly make up for this lack, nor can the outing system when the child is half grown supplement what he has missed in his own family and with his own race in earlier years.

Sex Morality and the Schools. The boarding schools assume the parental function of moral control but fail in large measure in the attempt to develop sex morality. An underlying difficulty is the wholesale handling of the children, which makes intimate personal contact with individuals impossible. No one can stand in parental relation to two hundred or even to one hundred girls. Then, too, most of the employees are familiar only with mass methods of education and are satisfied with negative rather than constructive means of getting results. They are intent upon preventing irregularities of conduct and attain their ends by forcible restraint. The children are housed in large dormitories, each of which is in the charge of a matron who exercises disciplinary functions. In addition each school has an officer called a disciplinarian. Neither matrons nor disciplinarians are required to have the educational qualifications of a member of the teaching staff. Although here and there these positions are held by employees of good personality, the work is rarely regarded as being fundamentally educational.

Moral education in Indian schools, like health education, is therefore a matter of precept, not training. The children have their twenty-four hours so systematized that there is little opportunity to exercise any power of choice. A graduate of one of the largest schools, speaking of the occasional sex offending of Indian girls engaged in domestic service in cities, said:

> At school a girl does everything to the sound of a bell. You eat by a bell; you study by a bell; you work by a bell; you go to bed and you get up in the morning when you hear the bell. Then the

girl goes to the city to work, and she goes out in the evening; and at ten o'clock when it is time for her to go home the bell doesn't ring.

In a number of schools the girls sleep at night like prisoners with the windows nailed down and the door to the fire escape locked,[1] so that by no chance may boys enter or girls leave the building. We have long ago learned in white schools that we do better without many prohibitions; that in the eyes of students rules exist chiefly for the adventure of breaking them. As a matter of fact some of the Indian schools do not nail down the windows or lock the doors to the fire escape, but attempt instead to put the girls on their own responsibility in this matter. The instances of disaster under this system are no more frequent than under the other and the effect on character is immeasurably better. A Pueblo girl who had attended two non-reservation schools contrasted them with respect to discipline:

Miss A. at B. was like a mother. The girls would go to her and tell her everything. And if they heard that anything was going wrong they would tell her. They were not locked in. Here the girls can't tell Miss C. anything. If they know other girls are going to do anything they won't give them away. The girls talk among themselves and they know they are not trusted and they just seem to want to show people that they can't be trusted. It puts that kind of a spirit in them. They are locked in.

There is no way to develop moral fiber without exercise. Dr. Frankwood E. Williams, writing in the little volume, "Concerning Parents," makes this clear:

The child must come into control of his own emotional forces. This process is as necessary as learning to walk and difficulties and dangers are involved. We do not, however, prevent the child from learning to walk for fear it will fall in the fire or down the stairs. . . . Learning to walk involves the possibility of death or of serious permanent crippling. This is not so true in adolescence though it may appear even more so. These possibilities are at times involved, but if parents will examine closely those activities on the part of adolescents which give them such great concern, they will find, I think, that seldom is either of these dangers involved. At most what is involved—and it is this that is the real cause of the concern, although the parents may not be aware of it—is the possible embarrassment and "disgrace" to themselves growing out of these activities rather than any very great likelihood of serious danger to the child. At least this is clear—whatever the danger, whether to parent or child, the danger in the opposite direction, so far as the child is concerned, is surer and greater.

[1] The Indian Office has taken steps to correct this practice in those schools where it obtained.

Many Indian school officers, like the parents referred to by Dr. Williams, seem to feel a personal hazard in the conduct of pupils. Again and again matrons and others say that although some of the girls have had illegitimate children the offense was not committed at the school but while they were at home on vacation or after they had left school, apparently not realizing that the function of education is to fit the children for life and that the test is not what they do under surveillance at the school but rather how they conduct their affairs when put on their own resources.

Many of the school children come from tribes with primitive sex customs not countenanced by whites and in some cases not understood by white employees. Under such circumstances it is doubtful whether direct attempts at wholesale sex education are of any value. More promising would be the study of the elements of the organic sciences, for without this the children can hardly be expected to develop an intelligent respect for the functioning of sex in their own lives.

Attitude of Returned Students Toward Parents. School children long separated from their homes and families lose their sense of reality and tend to idealize their former life. This fact is apparent from the way in which they write of their homes. In the meantime they live under strict discipline that not only fails to accomplish its purpose of moral training but in many cases contributes to an attitude of conflict with authority of any sort. When they return to the reservation many students are bitterly disappointed in their homes and are then faced with a dilemma. As a successful city dwelling Indian puts it:

The child goes back to his home, and then his family will not fit into his ideas of culture. If he gets a home in town among whites, the elder members of his own family will not fit into it.

Many returned students, however, are ill prepared for success in the cities. They have really no choice but to fit into the reservation

life as well as possible. Their elders are sensitive to criticism; they themselves are sensitive to ridicule. It is small wonder that so many of them fail to work out any satisfactory solution of their personal problems and develop into ne'er-do-wells or agitators, or that others escape conflict in a childlike attitude of dependence upon the judgment of their elders.

Strains Caused by Failure to Educate Parents for Economic Independence. In its effect on family life another government practice, though less directly operative, has probably been as unfortunate as that of breaking up families in the name of education. Families have suffered strain because Indian parents have been kept in a state of perpetual childhood in relation to their economic life. Various government practices seem to have had their origin in an implicit belief that Indians are unteachable. Too many people see only two possible ways of handling Indian property; on the one hand with the complete control necessary in the case of a half grown child; on the other hand as a complete release to the Indians to be dissipated straightway. In some jurisdictions the government officers have in effect interpreted their function of guardianship to be a guardianship of funds rather than a responsibility for the training of the wards for an independent economic existence.

Local officers, however, differ greatly in this respect. Some superintendents are men of sympathetic imagination who realize that the Indians like to understand what is done with their property and are capable of understanding. At the other extreme are superintendents who have little respect for the intelligence of their clients. These men do not seem to realize that Indians share with whites in all the essential characteristics of human nature and that it would be not only kind but politic to satisfy them with information in regard to their financial affairs. On reservations where the office is secretive or where the officers are merely arbitrary and do not take the trouble to explain business affairs to their clients, distrust, suspicion, antagonism, and lack of respect for the government and the white race all develop among the Indians.

Lack of Control of Tribal Finances. Spending tribal moneys without the consent and often against the best judgment of the tribe is a particular grievance. Farsighted Indians look forward with concern to the time when tribal funds will be exhausted. The

following statements were made in the council meetings of various tribes:

> In the name of our people I ask this commission to use every effort to try to get for us a surgical building for operations. We want it equipped with all modern devices of hospitals up-to-date; we want an X-ray machine and we ask for a trained surgeon who can perform operations. We would like also to have a trained nurse. In order to get a surgeon of the caliber we need we must pay more. These people have a tribal income and some of this can be applied to the salary of a surgeon. This tribal income is small and is paid out in different channels so we do not feel the benefit of it, but if used for a surgeon it will be money well spent.
>
> These children have no income and are denied use of tribal funds. Instead money is taken from these unfortunate children to support agencies in luxury of Solomon while Indians are denied comforts.
>
> When I was a small boy I heard of treaties between Indians and whites: grandfather told us we were to live among white people. Government going to give you rations. I saw agency put up. They issued crackers. Indians got flour they threw away because they didn't know how to use it. You can realize how ignorant we were. It has been one continued waste up to the present time. We have never seen much money and our funds are getting lower and much has been wasted. I've never received money from tribal funds. I wonder if when funds are exhausted they will tell us now we are independent. And these children will be up against it for a start. I suppose the schools will be closed. I wish my share to be set aside so that if I die my children will have it. If they don't these children will take to tramping.
>
> The Indian Bureau makes out plans for us to make a living and we do as they ask. We understand that these plans or experiments are carried on with tribal funds. A matter came up lately that I've been thinking a whole lot about. If they keep draining tribal funds for different plans and experiments that some one thinks of, there will be nothing left. We all have a share in a 3 per cent fund now in the Treasury. But if a child dies he loses his share. I think tribal funds should be individualized and placed to the credit of members. We hear that salaries of many employees in the Indian Service are paid from tribal funds. In this way funds won't last long it appears to me. After funds are exhausted we will lose farms, superintendents, employees, and everything. Amounts are appropriated every year from tribal funds, but we don't get the benefits we are expected to get.

Lack of Control of Family Finances. A note of exasperated helplessness runs through the speeches in several of the councils.

Nothing is so irritating to the more ambitious Indians as to be ignored with respect to their own affairs. To set down the discontent of the Indians merely to the influence of agitators as some superintendents do, is a tactical blunder. Some of the following complaints come from highly intelligent Indians.

Indians are citizens and are held responsible by the state for any crimes they may commit. Then why shouldn't they have a right to administer their own affairs.

Indians are not even permitted to know how much land they have. They are kept in ignorance of transactions with the Washington Office. Concealing information from Indians requiring them to accept orders on the strength of it, by what authority does he get away with it anyway? Indians with no influence with this office have to ask for authority from Washington. Recent storms injured barns and other buildings and we have to wait months for permission from Washington. In the meantime another storm may blow them entirely down.

If the Indian is incompetent the government will protect him. It would be better to teach the Indian to take care of his own.

The U. S. Government has extended protection to the Indians by extending the trust period for 25 years, then for a year and then for 25 years again. This is desirable because Indians are not competent though we may look competent on the surface. The Office has done all this for us and we have no business experience.

The superintendent here rules with iron hand and does not furnish sympathetic aid and help. He does business for the Indians instead of helping them and teaching them to do business for themselves. He will not let an Indian make his own lease but makes it for him. He wants them to let the superintendent make all leases for them. I feel that the agency should be a school to build Indians up to the point where they can take care of themselves. It is wrong not to give a man a chance to run his own business, if he feels he has learned something. But don't wait until he gets his competency and then find out if he is able to run his own business.*

* Again attention should be called to the fact that the variation between the best practice in the Indian field service and the poorest is wide. Criticisms of this character from the Indians at some of the less well administered jurisdictions seemed justified. Such criticisms were by no means universal. They were not made against the better superintendents who regard their task as educational and endeavor to make the Indians understand their economic affairs and to stimulate them to economic activity.

In some cases the more intelligent and energetic Indians, who would like to have some freedom to experiment like their white neighbors, do not find a sympathetic response at the agency. They are in effect treated as completely incompetent till the day they are declared competent. Some officers seem not to know that the natural result of arbitrariness on the part of the guardian is incompetence on the part of the ward. They blame the Indians for squandering money, failing to realize that they themselves are at fault for not regarding their jobs as primarily educational and the chief object of their efforts as the development of the qualities of character necessary to success when government control is withdrawn.

Repressive Character of Interracial Relationships. At some reservations lack of courtesy and consideration for Indians coming to the office to transact business adds to the feeling of discontent. At reservation offices well organized and well staffed, the feeling between Indians and employees is good, and this is apparent to the observer. But equally apparent is the bad atmosphere in other offices where the routine of work is ill-managed and where the clients of the office, even old people, are subjected to very unnecessary hardships and inexcusably long delays in transacting necessary business. The Indians deeply resent an overbearing office attitude, particularly where old people are involved. The following are two of several such complaints:

They use profanity to the Indians and this should not exist. We are human beings and expect to be treated as such. Complaints to Washington result in greater animosity on the part of the superintendent and others. Indians would like a place where they could complain and get justice.

Everyone who goes into the Indian Service should like the Indians and should visit homes once in a while. If they hate the Indians and are afraid to shake hands they cannot get anywhere with them. There is no interpreter at the office and the old people come away hurt.

Such interracial relationships on account of their repressive character are a barrier rather than an aid to progress. When Indians are antagonized by white employees they do not attempt to ingratiate themselves by imitating white customs. The tendency is rather

to cling to the old Indian ways and to assert that these ways are good because they are Indian.

Results in Personality. To say that the Indians are a frustrated race may be an overstatement. It may be true, as some superintendents say, that visitors are likely to be over-impressed by agitators. But after many contacts both with those considered disturbingly active and with those adjudged hopelessly passive, there is a clear impression of a vast amount of frustration resulting on the one hand in revolt or agitation on the part of some of the more intelligent and energetic, or the more restless, and on the other hand in withdrawal into the refuge of primitive ways, a kind of passive resistance.

Results in Family Relations. Whatever injures personality injures family relations. The individual cannot be a good husband, wife, father, mother, or child without being a fairly well balanced person. In these most intimate and fundamental relations the thwarted personality does not function normally and the result is likely to be disintegration of family life.

Most white families have a strong bond in the common financial interests and plans of the members. Husbands and wives assume definite obligations for their children and for each other. Financial plans are made for the future involving personal sacrifices. Ambitions develop for the family as a whole and the welfare of all the others is the concern of each member. Withdraw from many white families their freedom of handling their private finances as they see fit, rob them of their economic motive, and the result would be a great loss to family solidarity.

Strains Due to the System of Relief. How far the Indians are pauperized it would be impossible to say. Practically everywhere there is industrial maladjustment, with little evidence of a keen desire to work. Very commonly the old customs of hospitality are degraded by some Indians who avoid effort by "sponging" off of others. On many reservations there is a strong demand for rations. In some towns and cities the Indians are begging from the whites. A subtle form of begging is developing in the Pueblos where the government has arranged to permit tourists to visit one or two of the most picturesque villages, thus making people and homes the objects of casual curiosity. No home should be a spectacle. Already

little children hardly more than babies approach strangers and offer to dance for pay.

In some places the Indians expect too much help, or rather the wrong kind of help, from the field matrons. Two cases will illustrate this tendency, one reported by a teacher, the other by a nurse:

> At A. they had no matron for several months and one of the men from the village came down to the day school and asked when they were going to get a field matron. The teacher asked why they wanted a matron. He said, "We want someone to give us things."

> My experience, thus far, in trying to teach individual women in their homes has not been at all satisfactory. One incident may make this statement clearer. A woman whom I had helped to can beets last month (and I understand that she had had help from the field matron before) sent me a note a few days ago asking me to come up and teach her how to can beets. Her idea of being "taught" seems to be that of having a "servant" each time she cans beets. When I tried to show her that she should try and do the work alone this time she only laughed and said, "No, no," . . . I have noticed this tendency to expect the "matrons" to do the work in other homes. Others complain because "they do not bring us food, blankets, and soap as they used to." When I suggest certain foods for the sick, they say, "Got no money," or "Why don't you bring us some?"

Such attitudes of mind are produced by the methods of untrained workers who supply obvious needs of a material nature instead of taking the slower and more difficult course of developing resourcefulness by the process of education.

Rations. Family responsibility has been weakened by the way in which relief has been administered on reservations. The government still pursues policies long since recognized as pauperizing to white families. Rations are a most undesirable form of help and are useless except for the immediate purpose of relieving suffering. To give the same supply of food to each applicant is essentially a haphazard process, since applicants have very different needs. To give without investigation to determine the need is to give unwisely in most cases and unnecessarily in some. To give habitually without a working plan for the social and economic future of the family is to lose the opportunity for constructive work that the occasion offers. The evils of rationing are increased by dispensing the food

publicly at the agency, for this encourages a begging attitude on the part of the Indians.

Government Support of School Children. Another form of relief widely practiced is the support of children in the schools. Unquestionably some school children are without resources and must be supported wholly or in part by the government. But in general the responsibility for the education and support of the children is lifted from the parents far more than is good for them. Even in some of the day schools the children are clothed by the government. Mrs. Elsie E. Newton of the Indian Office reported after her inspection of a South Dakota School in 1919:

> At a meeting with the girls I made inquiry as to how many could supply a part or all of their clothing if necessary and three-fourths to four-fifths of all girls present held up their hands. Many now are bringing their own hats, shoes, coats, and sweaters. Since the cost of clothing has soared, our Indian children clothed at government expense do not look very well, especially the boys. They look pretty seedy; the girls because they dress in cotton look neater at less cost.

A tribal school in Oklahoma reports that in all but a few cases the parents furnish the children's clothing.

Apparently the general practice of clothing all the children in boarding schools has its origin in the official passion for uniformity and the assumption that rules and regulations may be made to take the place of trained workers. To apportion the maintenance of the children wisely with reference to parental ability would require a thorough knowledge of family circumstances impossible to get without social workers on the reservations. But if parents could have some share in the financial support of the children in the boarding schools and some voice in the control of the schools, it would promote family solidarity.

Care of Dependent Children. A common device for the care of orphans or other dependent children is to place them in boarding schools. It is not unusual even in the non-reservation boarding schools to see several little four-year-olds who are there because they have no homes. Children of this age are especially ill-fitted for the rigors of the boarding school. Even if they have older brothers or sisters in the school they are out of place among two hundred to a thousand older children. It should not be very difficult

to find homes for such children with relatives or friends of their own tribes, especially since the bonds of relationships are strong among Indians and the love of children great.

Private Social Work with Families. Remarkably little private social work has been done among the Indians. Apart from a few local efforts only the work of the mission boards, the Junior Red Cross, and the Four-H Clubs can be cited. These, while good in themselves, put the emphasis upon the child, not the family. They would be much more successful if accompanied by family work.

Opportunities to experiment, to supplement government effort at its weakest points, to demonstrate the usefulness of the various kinds of social work not employed by the government have not been utilized. An exception, however, was the demonstration of the usefulness of public health nursing among the Indians, made by the American Red Cross a few years ago. The success of this experiment, both in demonstrating the Indians' responsiveness to trained service and in its lasting effects on the work of the Indian Office is unquestioned. At present the New Mexico Association on Indian Affairs is supporting two public health nurses in Rio Grande Pueblos and one at Zuni.

Missions have not utilized the opportunity to render an experimental service, but too often have merely supplemented activities already in existence. They have attempted to stabilize families by moral teachings. The use of precept in itself does no harm, but it is a direct means of control while the only effective means are indirect. In an interracial situation where two different codes of the ethics of family life are involved, it is unfortunate to tie up the teachings relating to the right and wrong of these things with sectarian doctrines. Indians become confused with the conflicting teachings of the sects and are likely to discard indiscriminately the ideal of a permanent union in marriage along with minor points of sectarian belief.

Desirable Measures to Promote Family Solidarity. The government obviously should alter those policies that are creating personality difficulties and causing strain in family relationships. Day schools should be established wherever possible and should be developed to take care of all children below high school. Indians should have a voice in determining the disposition of tribal funds.

They should be taught to handle their own finances under proper supervision. No one should be employed in a position involving personal contacts with the Indians unless he likes Indians and regards his work as fundamentally educational. Trained workers should be employed to handle the difficulties of personal adjustment growing out of the shift from primitive to civilized life or resulting from past unsuccessful government practices.

Effective methods of handling the difficulties of personal adjustment involved in family disintegration are not unknown, for they have been worked out in the general population, mostly in the large cities where the strains on families are greatest. Dependency, chronic discontent, idleness, sex irregularities, divorce, drug addiction, and crime are familiar problems to city workers. The methods of dealing with these things involve careful investigation into the underlying causes of the trouble including a study of personal relationships; a plan for the future of the family carefully worked out but subject to change as conditions change or as the worker's insight into the situation becames clearer; and the enlistment of all available help that the community affords for the correction of unfavorable conditions and the development of wholesome family life. Within the last twenty-five years several schools of training for this type of work have been established and there are at present many trained social case workers connected with city organizations both private and public.[1]

[1] "The chief objective of social case work is to assist individuals who need such service to achieve what may be for them as complete a measure of self-maintenance as possible. This objective might be itemized as an attempt to develop within the individual his fullest capacity for self-maintenance and at the same time to assist him in establishing for himself an environment which will be as favorable as may be to his powers and limitations.

"Failure in self-maintenance presents itself in many forms. One may be unequal to the task of earning a living, one may be unequal to his responsibilities as a parent, student, employer, employee or teacher. One may be incapacitated through sickness, helpless through lack of adult supervision, unable to withstand temptation, injuriously affected by the ordinary experiences of life. Failure does not necessarily imply fault. A large part of social case work is concerned with children who are not receiving the kind of care that for them is necessary to self-maintenance, as the term is used here, and to which the present standards of society entitle them. If any one or a combination of these and other factors prevent one from achieving an acceptable adjustment to life and its demands, there may be evidence of a greater or less degree of self-maintenance. The organizations through which social case work is carried on deal with human beings presenting problems such as these or others like them.

"These are not new problems in the history of mankind. They were not discovered by social case work. They have been through centuries the concern of the charitable and the benevolent, of the clergy and the medical profession. The contribution of social case work has been a contribution to a more profound understanding of their origin and implications, to the development of more far-reaching methods of studying and dealing with them, and to a better correlation of the human services of all kinds which are helpful to an individual who is struggling with them. Social case work, in other words, has become both a well-established form of expert service to human beings who have failed in the task of self-maintenance, and an important ally of other services, such as medicine, education, and the administration of justice which also deal with these human difficulties from different points of view.

* * * *

"While the difficulties that beset human beings, therefore, are not new, our understanding of them and the scope of our ability to deal with them are in many ways new. With respect to sickness and some other difficulties, this needs no demonstration. We accept without question the fact of a greater degree of expertness on the part of physicians in the treatment of sickness than a layman can be expected to have. It is not so generally recognized that with the other familiar difficulties, such as conduct, family compatibility, foster-home relationships, lack of progress in school, and failure in economic independence, expert service is possible. We are much more likely to assume that these are difficulties which can be handled through the use of such equipment as is possessed by an ordinarily intelligent human being.

"The fact is, however, that out of our experience of dealing with such difficulties in organized fashion through schools, medical practice, and social agencies, it has been clearly established that the development of human knowledge and experience enables us to bring to bear upon such difficulties a greater degree of insight, a more authoritative understanding, and more far-reaching methods of treatment than the ability and experience even the most intelligent laymen can provide. The knowledge and facility in action that constitute this relatively new form of expertness have been developed partly by educators, partly by the medical profession in general, partly by psychiatry, and over a wider area, by social case work."—From a bulletin of the American Association of Social Workers, "Vocational aspects of medical social work," pp. 7-10 (New York, 1927).

Some of the specific problems of racial groups in the general population bear a strong likeness to those of the Indians. Immigrant families are handicapped by the difficulties of an alien language. They have in some instances very different racial customs from ours. It therefore becomes essential to successful handling of their maladjustments that the social worker understand their customs and their social attitude in order to interpret our life to them and their difficulties to us. The strain between parents and children

resulting from too rapid a shift from one culture to another is to trained family workers a familiar difficulty, and the methods of dealing with the resulting delinquency are well known. The strain between husband and wife growing out of poverty, inefficiency, and lack of industrial opportunity is to be met with everywhere, and in tenement districts of large cities family disintegration is not much restrained by public opinion.

Social case work with families has been undertaken in many rural communities where the problems of poverty, delinquency, and ill health are outstanding, and the methods worked out in cities have been adapted successfully to country conditions. In practice family case work develops along with rural public health work and home demonstration work, because all these things are only different ways of attacking certain fundamental causes that are due to imperfection in the social and economic structure of the communities, and the specialized workers in each field get much better results when their efforts are supplemented by other lines of work.

The principles and methods involved in family case work with whites are equally applicable to Indians. Since standard training for social case work includes the study of interracial adjustments and since successful experience is impossible without such personal qualities as tact, sympathy, resourcefulness, patience, and ability to coöperate with other workers, well equipped family case workers who have met with success elsewhere, like well trained and successful teachers, doctors, nurses, and other workers whose effectiveness depends largely upon the ability to make satisfactory social contacts, should as a rule be able to get results with the Indians. Some vestibule training is, however, as desirable for this as for other classes of workers.*

The difficulty in the Indian Service at present is that with a very few exceptions the government does not now have and never has had trained social workers. The specifications for the position of field matron have always been too low and the salaries have been sub-standard. The ideals of work involved in this position have been high enough, but it has been useless to promulgate them under the circumstances. On many reservations problems have been created because these untrained women have not known how to

* See pages 159-160.

work constructively. The most unfortunate feature of the situation is that the conclusion has in many cases been drawn that the Indians are somehow fundamentally different from the rest of humanity and constitute a hopeless problem.

Trained workers would not be difficult to secure and hold if salaries were even approximately equal to what they can command elsewhere. Experience has shown that the Indian race has a great attraction for many white persons who work in the Service. No other fact will explain the devotion of some fine people working under untoward conditions. This attraction is explained by one of the very few trained family workers in the Service as being at least partly due to the fact that Indians are very sensitive to the opinion of anyone who is their friend and therefore easily influenced to good courses of action. Moreover many Indians are backward because they are primitive and have as yet had little chance to make successful adjustments to civilized life, whereas social work in cities is in large part with the unsuccessful and the relatively incapable members of a race long civilized.

The Field Service to Indian Homes. The Indian Bureau has long recognized the existence of the two great interrelated problems of ill health and low standards of living and has taken steps to remedy them. Besides the employment of physicians three positions have been created with a vision to improving home conditions; namely, the "Field Matron," the "Field Nurse," and the "Farmer." The field matrons and field nurses are concerned especially with the women's task of homemaking.

Field Matrons. The field matron service has existed for more than a quarter of a century. For the most part however it has been ineffective, though occasionally a matron is to be found with some definitely useful training and the personality necessary to create the desire for better conditions of life and to stimulate efforts towards its realization. The Indian Office has had high ideals for these family workers, as is evidenced by the following excerpts from a circular issued to them in 1922 and at various times previously:*

* Department of the Interior, Office of Indian Affairs. Education-Health supplement to 1919 Health Circular. Superseding No. 992 to Field Matrons, January 5, 1922.

The position of field matron is much more than a job. It is an opportunity for service to others; an opportunity for self-sacrifice in the interest of humanity; and for the exercise of the highest attributes of mind and soul in a preeminent cause. The position should be filled only by women who have the desire and the aptitude to teach the things that influence lives for good and fill them with higher aspirations.

No woman should seek or hold the position of field matron who is not endowed with physical strength, with strong moral and mental force, and with the real missionary spirit—a real spirit of helpfulness that finds expression in a fervent desire to better the condition of a worthy race that is struggling upward to a realm of higher life, for without these qualifications, the duties will be uncongenial and success cannot be attained. The material remuneration is not large and the discouragements and adversities are many. The rewards are chiefly in the sacrifices.

* * * *

The improvement of home, educational, moral, sanitary, environmental, and social conditions, is to be regarded as the primary object of field matron effort for the advancement of the Indian people. While it is the duty of every employee in the Service, regardless of his position, to do everything possible to contribute to this end, both by effort and example, the field matron, being the one who comes into the closest relationship with the family and having the best opportunity to influence the home circle, especially the mothers and the girls, is particularly charged with the responsibility—with the duty of developing high standards of living, of inculcating a desire for progress, and of evolving plans to make the homes more attractive.

* * * *

The duties of a field matron are too varied and extensive to be enumerated or fully defined here. To a certain extent they are modified by the different conditions which obtain in the various districts and on the several reservations, and by the degree of the advancement of the Indians and their particular needs. Many of the helpful things which a field matron may do are not subject to schedule classification and their influence for good can be fully measured only in terms of human destiny.

As a general summary of the duties of field matrons, the following outline may serve to associate and coördinate their work with special phases of local conditions needing improvement, and to give a unity of purpose to their endeavors with regard to the following named objectives:

Home: To give instruction with respect to ventilation, proper heating, and sanitary care, of the place of abode, be it a home, or a tent, or a tepee; and to show the necessity for more room when

such places are too small; pointing out the dangers and evils of overcrowding. In suitable cases the question of interior decorations and other matters that would add to home attractions should be given attention. Conditions that improve the home life of any people make for general progress in everything that concerns them.

There is among the Indians a marked and tender affection for their children, but too often the wife, the mother, is regarded and treated as the burden bearer. I wish we might see this habit overcome, for it is distinctly barbaric. I want to see developed and prevalent in every Indian school from the least to the largest that modern and truly chivalrous spirit that recognizes and respects the sacredness of womanhood. I should like to have every Indian boy leave school with this lofty and just sentiment fused into his character, as the picture in the porcelain, because of the deep and exquisite power it will have to bless his future home with health and happiness.

May it be the purpose, as it will be the privilege, of every field matron to work for the betterment of the condition of Indian women, especially for those who are humiliated by traditional customs which deny to them their rightful place in the home.

Then follow similar statements relating to premises, health and sanitation, practices and customs, domestic instruction, school coöperation, industrial coöperation, employment, and special classes. In some cases the injunctions under "special classes" are followed so conscientiously that the matrons have little time to themselves except when in bed asleep.

Special Classes: Field matrons are urged to have "at home" days for various purposes, such as mothers' meetings, saving-the-baby talks, cooking classes, instructions in canning, classes in sewing, and such other special gatherings as may be indicated, but when not away they should always be "at home" to the Indians within reasonable hours.

Clearly the motive back of this service has been good, but there have been only general aims, not definite objectives, nor has there been any organized plan for the work. The chief trouble, however, has been the lack of trained workers. This was recognized some years ago by Mrs. Elsie E. Newton, who was appointed Special Indian Agent in 1907 and from that time until her resignation in 1922 headed the women's work of the Service. In an early memorandum to the Office, she wrote concerning the difficulties of filling the position:

It cannot be acceptably filled by persons who are shunted into it because they do not fit elsewhere in our service, or to piece out their husband's salary. Yet now that the office has set itself against this sort of thing, we have the gravest difficulty in getting just the kind of woman we want, and often we must be content with a compromise.

* * * *

It has seemed best in many instances where missionaries were already established in an Indian community, having facilities already granted by their societies, and themselves having a personal knowledge of the Indians, to merely add sanitary and homemaking teaching to their duties and pay them accordingly from government funds. Many denominations have been included in this arrangement.

* * * *

As to employing farmers' wives as half-matrons, I am generally opposed to it. There are only rare cases when it is justifiable. It merely affords superintendents an opportunity to piece out a salary of a male employee without regard to results to be obtained. If these women have families of their own, it is obvious that they cannot really do much for the Indians. It is only when we are obliged to make bargain counter arrangements rather than none at all, that half-matrons of any sort are to be considered.

In 1912 Mrs. Newton called the attention of the Office to the unsatisfactory results of appointing field matrons from the list of matrons.

There is no justification for thinking that because a woman has passed the examination for matron, or has served as matron or seamstress in a school, she has the other qualifications for a kind of work which calls for a high degree of tact, intelligence and judgment. Many of our matrons and seamstresses may indeed have the qualifications but their work in the school has not developed them for the community work on the reservation; besides it is more than often true that a superintendent will transfer to a position of field matron some employee who cannot get along in the school.

* * * *

It is quite true that some of the most successful field matrons have been women who had no special training, but their success was due to the fact that they were well-endowed by nature, and their complete devotion to the Indians resulted in their being able to work out some practical plan and to apply their policies with

persistence. Unfortunately we cannot wait until we can find only women of this rare class, while the work needs to be done.

I believe that one way to improve the personnel of this branch of the Service, is by having a separate register for field matrons secured by a discriminating examination.

As salaries were increased the makeshift arrangements referred to by Mrs. Newton were resorted to less often. But the pay has never been even fairly good compared with salaries outside the Service, and consequently there has always been a dearth of trained workers. In a letter to the Indian Office, dated June 14, 1917, Mrs. Newton wrote:

In this connection I wish to add that the handicap of nearly every woman entering field matron work is that she does not know what to do, and in nearly every case her superintendent does not know much more than she does what he wants done. The ideal arrangement would be the location at one or two points in the Service or more, where probationaries could take up a preliminary course of coaching. Or make arrangements with some university or social training school to add to its branches a department pertaining to Indian work besides. Or failing either of these, there should be a manual put out by the Indian Office, detailing what the duties of a field matron are, suggesting methods of work, giving lists of literature bearing directly or indirectly upon the problems. Something is imperative, since we lose greatly in results through a lack of articulation and training.

These practical suggestions for training incumbents did not touch upon the root cause of Mrs. Newton's dissatisfaction with the work of the field matrons. The real trouble was that the qualifications for the position were so low as to be in practice non-selective.[*] The requirements have been raised somewhat since this letter was

[*] No schooling requirements were specified until 1924, when the applicants were required to have the equivalent of an eighth grade education. In 1916 applicants were required only to "answer fully what experience and training, if any, they have had in (a) cookery, (b) household sanitation, (c) sewing, (d) care of the sick, (e) care and feeding of infants, (f) home gardening and poultry raising, and (g) social work, such as reform, settlement, slum, civic betterment, or any similar line of work," and to state "What experience, if any, they have had in the management of their own homes or in the instruction and training of others in the household arts." In 1916 the salary was $600 to $840 and quarters "usually provided free." In 1925 it was nominally $1200 to $1500 with quarters, though in actual practice it seldom exceeds $1200 with quarters.

written, but at the last examination (March 26, 1927) they were still so low that no one with professional qualifications would have been interested in the position even if the pay had been attractive. A woman with the equivalent of an eighth grade education, "eighteen months' experience in practical home nursing or care of the sick," and one year of "experience in home management and performance of general household duties, including the care of children and home cookery," could qualify.

As a matter of fact, higher standards of education than the minimum are represented by most of the field matrons, if the information furnished by the twenty-three reporting may be considered representative. Only three of these reported no education beyond the eighth grade; ten others reported no education beyond the high schools, but two of the ten were high school graduates; five had completed one or two years of college; one was a college graduate; the other four reported normal school or other specialized training in addition to their high school education. In addition to their regular schooling two of these field matrons have had two years each of nurses' training, and various of the others have had university extension courses, summer courses, correspondence courses, and the like.

These untrained workers lack supervision both local and general. The working relations between superintendents and field matrons are as a rule cordially cooperative, but superintendents cannot be expected to be qualified to give the detailed training necessary to specialized types of service. The social worker, like the forester, or the doctor, or the stockman, needs to know the job and to be able to achieve results without more local supervision than that indicated in the instructions to superintendents appended to the 1922 circular to field matrons:

Duties of Superintendents: It is expected that superintendents will give their active support to field matrons in the discharge of their duties and direct the activity by careful planning and friendly counsel. It may appear that the inconcrete results are not always commensurate with the trouble and expense involved, but it should be remembered that, even though all that is hoped for may never be realized, the true appraisement of the value of work cannot be made without regard to the sincerity, harmony and faithfulness of those who go forth to do good and of those who sustain, plan, counsel, and direct.

Individuality: While superintendents will have administrative control over the work of field matrons, it is deemed advisable that the latter should be given, so far as is consistent with the interest of good administration, an opportunity to express their individuality in the performance of their duties.

Quarters and Equipment: Superintendents will see that field matrons are provided with quarters and such station equipment as may be secured on requisition, and extend them such assistance in their work as may be advisable and expedient.

Since 1924 general supervision has been provided for by the appointment of a Supervisor of Field Matrons and Field Nurses. The creation of this position followed the demonstration by the American Red Cross in which public health nursing service was effectively given the Indians of several localities. The quality of this supervision is excellent, but the present supervisor needs assistance. Little can be done except by personal visits, for the instruction involved is a slow process. Under such conditions it is impossible for the supervisor to make the rounds of the Service in less than two years. More frequent visits would be desirable even if the local workers were well trained public health nurses.

At the present time most field matrons are trying to render visiting nursing service, a few have attempted home demonstration work, and two or three have done excellent work with the young people in stimulating them vocationally. But in spite of some outstanding exceptions, the field matron service is in large measure a service of palliative errands rather than the development of a program of constructive work. It is significant of the general quality of this service that although the work is essentially family case work, no family case records are kept. On the basis of visits with three-fourths of all the field matrons the conclusion is reached that in all but a few cases the money spent for these salaries is productive of little lasting good, notwithstanding much devotion and conscientious effort. It would be of more benefit to the Indians to spend this part of the salary budget in securing half the number of trained people at double the salary.

The Indian Office recognizes the ineffectiveness of this service and is gradually eliminating the position by substituting field nurses when vacancies occur. It should be recognized, however, that this plan meets the needs of the home only partially. The public health

nurse cannot be expected to render specialized service in those cases in which the problems are primarily economic, nor is she a specialist in the handling of those maladjustments that lead to divorce and delinquency.

Field Nurses. Since the Supervisor of Field Nurses and Field Matrons was appointed an effort has been made to secure graduate nurses for field service and a program of health education is under way. In addition to the qualifications as graduate nurse[11] the applicant for this position must have established "at least four months' post graduate training in public health or visiting nurse at a school of recognized standing, or in lieu of such training, one year's full-time paid experience under supervision in public health or visiting nursing." At present[12] nine out of eleven positions are filled. The movement is crippled because salaries are sub-standard[13] and nurses with public health training are much in demand outside the Indian Service.

Some excellent work is being done by the field nurses in various localities. The nurses interviewed like to work with the Indians and would like to stay with the Service if they could afford to continue at the low salary and if working conditions were more nearly satisfactory. They work under various handicaps, some of which could be removed, but others of which are inherent in the pioneer nature of the work. The least excusable and therefore the most irritating relate to the lack of supplies and equipment and to poor transportation facilities. Both of these things hinder the effectiveness of their work. The standard conveyance is a cheap touring car which in some cases is old and ill-suited to winter travel, especially at high altitudes. The nurses believe that their efficiency suffers from the exposure and the necessary delays caused by unexpected repairs to old cars. The living quarters furnished

[11] "(1) Graduation from a recognized school of nursing requiring a residence of at least two years in a hospital having a daily average of fifty patients or more (or having a daily average of thirty patients or more and employing at least one full-time resident instructor in nursing) giving a thorough practical and theoretical training; and (2) evidence of state registration."

[12] September, 1927.

[13] The salary is $1680 a year, less a deduction of $180 for quarters, heat, and light.

are not in all cases comfortable and this adds unnecessarily to the strain under which certain of the nurses work.

In some instances the work of the field nurses suffers from lack of coöperation on the part of other employees, who are unfamiliar with this type of specialized service and associate nurses only with personal service of the type found in hospitals, failing entirely to grasp the fact that the aims of the public health nurse are primarily educational. Occasionally also nurses meet with opposition from doctors who are conscious of their own limitations and fear too close association with anyone who has good training in a related field. Such doctors resort to the claim that they prefer field matrons as being "more practical." These difficulties, however, may be interpreted as indicating that the field nurse's duty of education must for a time embrace fellow employees as well as Indians.

At present no development in the Indian Service is more promising than these beginnings of public health education in the homes. Essential to the future of the Service, however, is the improvement of conditions of work, including a higher salary scale. The three nurses maintained by the New Mexico Association on Indian Affairs are paid at a much higher rate than the government nurses and are furnished closed cars. The state supported public health nurses among the Minnesota Indians are maintained on higher standards than those of the Indian Office. The work among the Indians on most reservations involves inevitable hardships because distances are long, roads rough, weather conditions severe, and the demands on the nurses' time never ending. It will be impossible to build up and maintain an efficient force unless the Indian Office can offer salaries and living conditions approximating those found elsewhere.

Superintendents. Superintendents differ greatly in their attitude toward the Indians and their conception of the objective toward which they should direct their own and their employees' efforts. As a rule they give their field matrons and field nurses support and appreciation and as good facilities for work as the very limited funds permit. But like many of the field matrons, some of the superintendents lack any conception of constructive social work and a few have a definitely antagonistic and contemptuous attitude toward the people whose welfare they are employed to promote. Some of the more intelligent and socially minded superintendents

have at various times undertaken projects for the improvement of home conditions. Two of these are noteworthy; namely, the building of houses and the Five-Year Agricultural Program.

Some of the government officers have rendered the Indians an excellent service in providing good homes at reasonable cost. Not only have they protected the well-to-do from exploitation, but they have exercised in the Indians' behalf a combination of business ability and experience that few white people can command in building homes. Some others have been ingenious in using housing material at hand and therefore inexpensive for the simple homes within the means of the poorer Indians. But on the whole the building of homes has not generally improved conditions of living as much as anticipated. Several reasons for this are apparent.

Some houses are less attractive and less healthful than the primitive dwellings of the Indians. Many are built of rough lumber with single walls and are therefore cold in winter and hot in summer. These structures are usually as utterly devoid of beauty, both inside and out, as a dwelling could possibly be. In various localities the mistake has been made of building the rooms very small, a serious thing when there are few rooms. In the Reno colony, where the rooms are as small and as crowded as those found in the tenements of New York City, twenty-nine of the fifty-one homes are one-room houses, and fifteen are two-room houses, while only seven have three rooms. On an Oregon reservation, where the Indians have great wealth in standing timber, the houses are small shacks and the people complain that they cannot get lumber for floors. More than twenty years ago the government bought about forty little portable houses in New York City and shipped them by sea to southern California, setting them up for the Mission Indians. The expectation was that the people would build better structures in front of these, but today they still serve as forlorn makeshifts.

Most of the cheaper houses are built without fireplaces, small stoves being used for heating and cooking. With the disappearance of open fire cooking the means of ventilation is cut off, for few Indians have learned to ventilate by means of windows. Under these conditions the wickiup, the hogan, and even the tent, are less dangerous to a tuberculous population than the white man's house,

and it is not altogether regrettable that sometimes these houses stand idle or are used only for storage, the family meanwhile living in a wickiup or tent nearby. Any housing plan for a primitive tribe should retain at least two of the features of their native dwellings; namely, the open fire and the arbor.

On some reservations houses have been built before the Indians were ready for them. The Apaches, for example, do not like windows because they think the ghosts of the dead may look in; they abandon a house if any occupant dies. Shoshones and Bannocks will vacate a house in which a death has occurred or will use it as a barn. Some of the more progressive Navajos are building stone or log houses, but as a tribe their housing habits are influenced by ghost fear.

In many localities tribes much less primitive than these have carried Indian ways of living into modern houses. Many of them do not appreciate or know how to use modern equipment. Some are reported to have pawned furniture in order to buy other things of more practical importance to them, such as gasoline for their cars. Nothing is more forlorn than the well built, well furnished, much abused house of a well-to-do Indian. Such examples serve to strengthen the conviction that the public health nurse and the home demonstration worker should precede the builder and furnisher of homes; that training in housekeeping should precede or at least accompany the acquisition of much equipment; and that the desire for beautiful and useful things should first be created if such things are to be appreciated and used to good purpose.

On some reservations there is at present a demand for homes to be built from tribal funds. This desire on the part of the people could be made the occasion for teaching them many things they need to learn about home-making if workers could be supplied before mechanical programs of housing are adopted.

The Five-Year Industrial Program is in progress on some of the reservations of Plains Indians. It is a practical effort to stimulate the people to self support by the creation of habits of industry and by teaching them how to utilize the opportunities at hand. Most of the Indians on reservations where this plan is tried are without any great tribal or personal resources. Their future depends on their own efforts. The men are organized into farm chapters and the

women into auxiliary chapters, and this form of organization is utilized for instruction, encouragement, and the developing of the qualities of initiative, preseverance, foresight, and regularity of work. The program is a venture into adult education with the chief objective the development of character. The methods utilized are sound and something lasting is being accomplished. A Sioux on the Cheyenne River reservation where the superintendent had recently died said:

Different superintendents have different hobbies. About the time he gets working he is transferred and other man comes. As I see this five-year program it doesn't depend on one man staying. I see too that it isn't for just five years but for all time. Our superintendent took an interest in us and went into the work strongly. He saw our future better than many of us see it ourselves, but we've lost him.

This whole program is handicapped by the lack of family workers. Both men and women need the type of service that has been developed in the demonstration work of the Agricultural Department. But in the absence of such help other means have been used, such as mimeographed cartoons and mimeographed circulars of instruction to the women, some of which have been issued in the Sioux language for the benefit of those who know no English.

Where the women are definitely included in the program the response seems to be good, if the speeches made in a chapter meeting following a severe late blizzard may be taken as evidence:

I am a full blood Indian woman. Mother nursed me ten years, and I know nothing of cow milk. There are eight women in our auxiliary. We do a good deal of work. We pick cherries, plums, grapes, and wild turnips. I make jelly and have a garden that I work. We raised wheat and sold it and got flour and did not suffer for want of food. Last year we did not plant potatoes. After my store of food was put up I worked in the potato fields and got enough to buy groceries for the winter, flour, lard, etc. We also do bead and porcupine work and sell and make little purchases at the store. This snow-storm lost us no horses. I think these men that were talking about hard times should work a little harder, make bigger barns and store more hay. They are grown up men and they ought to know how to work and take care of themselves. All you women get to work, and your men, and next winter you won't suffer so. I generally have more than I need myself. I help my neighbors. I'm going to work harder yet this summer. I have even preserved and boiled cows' feet. In my auxiliary we are not having hard times. We get along pretty good. I want everybody to get after us and make us work. I'm not bragging. It can be done and we have done it.

We have 20 members and 11 have chickens and 10 have cows. We are getting along nicely. What we raised in gardens helped us through the winter. Some made enough jelly to last the winter. We do not raise cabbage. We do raise carrots and potatoes. Each is to have a small individual garden this year. I have chickens, eggs, butter, and raised wheat and sold it for flour and other grub for the winter. It is a fine thing to have chickens, eggs and milk. We tried the superintendent's recipes that were sent out in Sioux. We put up hay, alfalfa, and oats, and took care of our horses and milk cows. Alfalfa is a fine thing for it makes our cows produce more milk and cream. We lost no stock in the storm. We thank the superintendent for the program.

These young men who got up and talked, I feel sorry for them. If they had got out and worked they wouldn't be talking now. They go to fairs off the reservation instead of putting up hay and keeping it. I'm awfully sorry to hear we are starving to death right now when we have put up jelly, etc. Each one with her husband should stay at home this summer and attend to our business. We'd have no more trouble like this.

This work so well started in the face of difficulties should be developed. The superintendents need trained workers. With sufficient help the children could be organized and closer affiliation between schools and homes worked out. The economic program should be accompanied by a health program. On one of these reservations, where distances are truly magnificent, the local office reports one physician to 3500 Indians, with no field matron or nurse. There is need also for work to prevent family disintegration and crime. The local office just cited reports 100 convictions for crime within a year.

Improvement of Home Conditions. If the government is to make any considerable permanent improvement in Indian homes within the next generation certain policies should be followed:

1. Any program designed to raise Indian planes of living to the recognized "health and decency" standard should be developed on a community basis and should embrace some convenient unit like a tribe or a reservation or a locality. It should include all the

Indians of this unit and not merely the women, the traditional homemakers. The necessity for including everyone lies in the fact that homemaking is essentially a coöperative undertaking and the standards of living cannot be raised very much in any sex or age group of a population if the others lag behind. To say, as has often been said, that the backwardness of the Indian race is due to the unprogressive character of the women, is to over-simplify the diagnosis of the trouble and to obscure the deeper causes. These causes are community wide, and any plan must therefore embrace the community if it is to be successful. Any program for the women alone would be as disappointing as has been the program of education for children alone.

2. Any program for the improvement of the homes should include all departments of welfare. At various places in the Service the visitor finds health programs, industrial programs, housing programs, women's clubs, Four-H clubs, and effective day schools, but nowhere a unified program. Especially is the visitor struck with the irony of teaching the precepts of diet and sanitation to Indians in extreme poverty who can never hope to have enough to eat or a comfortable and sanitary place to live unless they learn how to make a living in a difficult environment. On the other hand, to attempt to develop economic efficiency in the presence of serious disease and under-nourishment is to start with an impossible handicap. The two efforts should supplement each other if they are to succeed.

3. Any such program should be put into effect by trained workers. The quality of the personnel is much more important than any plan of organization that can be devised, for a trained staff is capable of setting up a fairly practicable local program. On the other hand, no plan of organization, no matter how sound in principle, will work satisfactorily as interpreted by unskilled people, for no plan can be carried out mechanically to a successful end. It must be constantly subject to study and modification in the light of results.

At present the most fundamental criticism of the Indian Service has to do with personnel. In spite of many exceptions it is true that a large number of the employees would have considerable difficulty in holding similar positions outside the Service. They are particularly weak where contacts with people are involved. Many have drifted into the Service because they have failed elsewhere.

The problems of ill health and incompetence are not peculiar to the Indians but are problems of the general population. Health has been a matter of public concern in all sections for many years, and methods of controlling disease and lowering the death rate are in successful operation. Public health work is now a recognized branch of the medical and nursing professions. Universities and hospitals have for some years coöperated in offering courses of training for public health work. Organizations both public and private have for many years employed doctors and nurses for this specialized work.

Poverty has long been a matter of concern in this and other countries. Families with low standards of living have been the subjects of treatment, and methods of reducing poverty and increasing competency have been developed. Specialized workers in this field are family social case workers, home demonstration workers, and experts in the problems of agriculture and other industry. Agencies of various kinds, both urban and rural, among which are public and private relief agencies, schools, churches, industrial firms, and rural welfare organizations, have developed the specific kinds of services involved. Specialized training is offered by universities and technical schools and workers of training and experience are to be had. No one can predict how responsive the Indians might prove if their relations were to a much greater extent with the successful rather than the unsuccessful of the white race.

4. Any such program depends for its success upon financial support. Many socially minded and able superintendents have been capable of handling a comprehensive program, but have had neither employees nor funds. The Five-Year Industrial Program is a good illustration. With sufficient support this movement might be expanded so as to constitute the first demonstration in the history of the Service of what can be done with Indians on reservations.

The Indian Service is traditionally a starved service. Half way measures are the rule. Actually much money is wasted because work is half done, a bit here and a bit there. Often the essential next step cannot be taken because it involves the expenditure of a

few dollars which are not forthcoming. Permanent results, therefore, must be sacrificed.

Evidently the general public has not known the situation and has had no great interest in the Indians. Comparatively few whites have first hand knowledge of conditions, because the Indian race is scattered and is crowded back into the more remote and inaccessible parts of the country. Even the comparatively well informed in many instances discuss Indian affairs only in terms of the picturesque desert tribes of the Southwest, who though important are a minority. The Indian Office might once have assumed the function of educating the public and might have formulated a comprehensive program as a basis for requests from Congress, for it is often easier to get a large sum for a thoroughgoing undertaking than a small amount for a little project that lacks any appeal to business sense or imagination. As it is, the Indians are the victims of a nominal service which has been largely ineffective. In justice to various devoted and able officers and employees of the Indian Office it should be said that it would be difficult to improve the Service much beyond its present condition without a more nearly sufficient budget.

Education of Women for Homemaking. The program of education of the women on the reservations should include several things if the women are to become successful homemakers:

1. They should be given a knowledge of food values and their relation to health. This teaching should make the most of the very limited food resources of many Indians, but it should also embrace a plan for increasing and developing their resources. The care of cows, goats, and chickens should be taught, as well as the culture and preservation of fruits and vegetables, since these things are lacking in the diet of most Indians.

2. They should be taught the practical application of the principles of household sanitation, especially as relates to the care of infants and the protection of the well from infection by the sick. This would necessitate coöperation from the men in providing sanitary facilities, particularly in desert regions where water is scarce and must be brought from long distances.

3. Attention should be given to the development of all the varied household processes which contribute to the well-being of the

family, such as sewing, canning, drying, baking, and caring for beds and bedding. Under hard conditions of life it would be desirable to develop the native Indian handicrafts as a partial means to a livelihood.

4. Special attention should be given to the development of the qualities of initiative and self reliance, for, as has been said before, government practice has tended to pauperize the Indians. Government officers have too often attempted to control the spending of money rather than to educate their wards for spending and have doled out the Indians' funds to them as if they were paupers. The result has been discontent, discouragement, and the suppression of interest and initiative on the part of the Indians.

Money should be furnished to the family as a part of a financial plan worked out with them. Orders on firms should be resorted to only when it is unwise or impractical to give cash allowances. The judgment of the spender should be tested on small amounts, and larger sums given as ability to spend wisely is evidenced. The newly rich, notably the Osages, need this training fully as much as any of the tribes. Various of the more intelligent observers say that many of this tribe are eating and drinking themselves to death. The Pawhuska office is highly efficent in protecting its clients from some kinds of white aggression, but apparently the employees have not yet had a vision of the educational possibilities involved in protecting the Indians from themselves. The office might learn from some of the more progressive banks of the country[*] how to develop wise habits of expenditure by utilizing the service of home economics experts.

Indian women need especially a knowledge of retail markets. Traders and merchants could in many cases be enlisted to coöperate in a plan of education through shopping, and traders who exploit the Indians should not be tolerated on the reservations. One of the public health nurses sent by the American Red Cross found local merchants coöperative. In 1923 she reported:

> I have got the home work pretty well lined up. I have good food for the tubercular members and have begun the scheme for getting merchants to deliver purchase orders in divided doses so that the families will not have a whole month's supply in the house for their

[*] The Society for Savings in Cleveland was a pioneer in this field.

dear friends and kind relatives to eat up the first week. I ought to make a study of purchase orders to get the whole story but my time for "studies" has dwindled to none at all.

Women as well as men need to be taught how to manage their property. They might be taught the elements of business law by means of a consulting service like that rendered by our Legal Aid Societies if one of the objectives of the service were educational.

Even the administration of relief might be handled in such a way as to be educational. Little can be said for relief in the form of rations. Grocery orders are better because the food can be suited to the nutritional needs of the family, and since the shopper has some power of choice there is presented an opportunity for teaching good practices in buying. But relief in the form of money is best wherever this method can be utilized, because it offers the greatest opportunity for education in the planned spending of money under normal conditions of shopping. With money instead of an order to pay for a purchase the housewife may "shop around," thus learning comparative values.

Rationing as practiced on the reservations at present is a positive interference with adult education because it obscures the fact that more fundamental forms of service to the families are needed, such as health education and medical attention, vocational advice and employment, and business advice and assistance.

Relations with State and Private Agencies. Any plan for releasing the Indians from federal control should include the preparation of the public as well as the Indians for future relationships. A shift of this kind cannot be made suddenly with satisfactory results. What has happened in eastern Oklahoma will happen elsewhere. The Indians will be stripped of their property and will live somewhere in the back country under distressing conditions of poverty and ill-health, neglected or entirely ignored by state, county, and private agencies. Some day of course the state of Oklahoma must face the consequences of the present exploitation and neglect; and similar problems will be created for other states if the national government does not seek state coöperation.

Some of the more progressive state departments of public welfare, especially departments of public health, are at present concerned for the Indians living within their boundaries and are seeking coöperation with the national government. In Minnesota, for example, the state is supporting public health nurses who are doing good work in Indian homes. The United Charities of St. Paul sent their secretary, Mr. John R. Brown, into the Chippewa country to make expert study of the reported destitution in the summer of 1924. Mr. Brown found much poverty but condemned the annual appeals for money through the press as a bad practice. He recognized, however, that the Minnesota public has a responsibility of a different character.

A general appeal in behalf of the Indians is unnecessary. It is also demoralizing. . . . If carried out consistently it would mean the complete pauperization of the Indians—it would make initiative, resourcefulness, ambition, and production impossible. It would make the Indians a perpetually parasitic people.

This would not close the door to private gifts and benefactions, or preclude special services within certain groups. This kind of help the Indians will need for a long time to come. But it should be in connection with the agencies and institutions now at work among the Indians—Indian churches and pastors; government doctors and specialists; state health nurses; teachers in the government schools and special employees who are acquainted with the facts at first hand and know the people in their own homes. Plans for aid should be worked out in coöperation with such persons and agencies but always subject at least to their knowledge and approval.

Even where there is no legal obligation public officers both county and state, as well as private organizations, should be asked to cooperate in work with Indian families. Thus local people of responsibility would acquire a definite interest in their Indians and would gain a working knowledge of conditions existing among them. The Red Cross recognized as one of the objectives of its experiment "The education of the white people in the community to accept the Indian, giving him equal privileges," and later one of their nurses reported:

We have succeeded in convincing the South Dakota Public Health Association that it might be a good idea to accept some of our little undernourished Indian children as candidates for the summer camp. . . . I am going to send a rather model boy, his behavior may convince them that it is quite possible to accept Indian children amongst the whites.

Both state and federal work with homes would be improved if workers from the Indian Service should sit with county and state committees that deal with problems like their own, and if county and state workers should be invited into the consultations of superintendents and staff members on projects for Indian communities and homes. This is a simple educational device of great value to both parties to the arrangement.

The Education of Girls for Homemaking. If Indian girls are to become better homemakers than their mothers they must be taught the essentials of homemaking either in the public schools or in the federal supported day schools and boarding schools. The national government has only slight control over the character of the teaching in the public schools. Much of the specialized work with the more primitive and backward Indians must for a long time be done through the special Indian schools. It it therefore with the instruction in these schools that this section is concerned.

Home Economics in the Schools. For a number of years an effort has been made to give the girls in schools some training for homemaking. In 1919 Mrs. Newton wrote in an inspection report:

> It is almost useless to comment upon Home Training in any of our schools. It has never assumed the importance that the Course of Study requires and most women are not able to conduct such courses. They need more training in order to do it properly. I wish to recommend that someone make an outline of a course of Home Training more detailed than that in the Course; a bibliography and very definite suggestions as to approach in the various subjects.

In the same year a superintendent of long experience reported:

> I have found a number of matrons who have only a vague idea about what they are to teach along the line of home training. I am beginning to feel that our course of study is too elaborate for the class of employees that we find in the service, for I find that many of them have not had any educational advantages that would fit them to carry out the work of the new course of study.

About five years ago the position of Supervisor of Home Economics was created and the position was filled by a home economics graduate with teaching experience. She has worked for an improvement of conditions in the schools, with some very definite

results. The standards for teachers are not yet as high as is the rule in first-class high schools, but a few well prepared teachers have been secured, and throughout the service the work shows the effect of intelligent supervision.

Some good work is being done, especially in the latter years of the curriculum. This work is mostly confined to the classroom and laboratory, but a few schools have practice work in a demonstration cottage and more rarely the care of a garden and domestic animals. Where demonstration cottages have been provided juniors and seniors live there, or at least spend their days there, for a number of weeks and rotate duties. In one such school six girls manage the cottage. One takes the responsibility of the house for a week, getting the supplies and seeing that the rest of the girls do their work; one takes care of the rooms, including the bath room; one cares for the cow and chickens; one is assigned to the dining room; and two do the cooking. One of the cooks plans and cooks the meals with help from the other. The girls care for the milk, churn, make their own bread, and do most of the laundry work.

The teaching of cooking is all outlined on a meal basis, so that from the beginning the pupils may get practical experience in balanced meals along with the classroom lessons in nutritional values. Some effort is being made in a few schools to avoid the more elaborate kitchen equipment in the domestic science laboratories and to use as nearly as possible the simple things that the girls can hope to have in their own homes.

The teaching of sewing also is outlined on a practical plan. From the beginning the girls make garments and household supplies. Usually a girl is able before graduation to make her own clothing as well as children's garments and to mend and alter clothing.

The teaching differs in quality from school to school. Instances may be found in which the emphasis is on the product rather than upon the training of the pupils. One school has acquired some reputation for over elaborate demonstration meals served to guests of the school. In another the objective in hand sewing seemed to be not what would make the Indian girl's home a more attractive place but rather what would sell best at the annual fair. But on the other hand teachers in a number of schools have exercised considerable ingenuity in making the school work fit into the every-day life and interests of the girls. In one of the better schools the girls

criticized their own meals eaten at the school dining table, although the teacher admitted that the matter had to be handled diplomatically. In two schools the teachers used their own babies as laboratory equipment in teaching the lessons of infant care; but unfortunately a baby serves this purpose for only a year, so that the next year they had to depend on visiting Indian babies, a much less satisfactory arrangement. In one of the demonstration cottages a sick room was arranged to the best advantage and the various lessons in home nursing were demonstrated there. In other schools the girls have participated in redecorating and refurnishing rooms. In a Navajo school the boys made a hogan which the girls equipped ingeniously with store box furniture and simple utensils. In several schools the girls who go home to spend vacation are asked in the fall to report on some project carried out at home.

Some of the girls are carrying the lessons of the school into effect in their homes. The following statements are taken from the English compositions of ninth grade girls who were asked to describe a day during vacation at their homes. The first two were written by Pueblo girls, the next two by Apache and the last two by Navajos.

Also in cooking I don't cook same things over but I at least add in a vegetable every day. I do the washing almost every day whenever I see anything that needs washing. We don't have any garbage around our house for we don't like to have flies so we always carry it away. Whenever I see anything that is torn I mend them up for I know sometimes they are still useful and we don't like to waste or throw anything away that we know will still be useful as it is expensive to get things around home and we don't often get things cheap.

I took more interesting in sewing and cooking. I cooked everything what we cooked on at Domestic Science when we go to our lessons: I taught my mother what food was good for health and what wasn't, and how to safe up when things is left. I use to sew mostly any spare time I used to have. I can crochet, tat, embroider and make my own dresses, I sometimes use to sew for my cousins, that are in school at home.

The country around my home is beautiful, it is never too hot the climate is just right for any unhealthy person. There are high mountains, the country is useful for grazing, there are little valleys

where rich soil are farmed but since the Indians got sheep they let their lands go. I rather much have for my Indians to have large farms with chickens, pigs, horses, and milk cows, than sheep and tend to the lands where they might be able to grow vegetables for the family and some acres of crops to keep and sell. And on this farm I liked for them to have good large size houses with large windows for ventilation and screen windows and doors to keep out flies, instead of wandering from place to place and build one room house and live in it for a year then move again.

When I went home last summer one day I got up rather early because that evening I had planned to show my mother how to can. After I got threw cleaning I helped Mother with the breakfast, then after the dishes were washed and the kitchen all cleaned, we went out into the orchard and picked all the green apples that were on the ground, we brought them in and put them to boil, I washed them first, after they had boiled I took then out and put them threw a strainer and got all the juice out and put the juice to boil again then I put sugar in it and let it boil until it jelled then I put it in glasses and covered it paper and tied it with a string. In the afternoon Mother asked to make her a dress. I didn't know how to get started because she doesn't like dresses that are in stile. I cut it very plain, I didn't have any patern to go by so I just guess at it, when I started to sew it the needle broke, but it was because the machine was never used very much and it need to be oiled. I got the oil and oiled the machine then it was all right so I made the dress, and after all she like it the way I made it.

When I go back home, I tell them what new things I learn that they never saw or did before. Especially in cooking food getting ready for the meals. Sometimes I'll tell them to cook this and that, soon we'll be fussing over it. Not all of us fussing but my sister and I, who is married now. Sometimes I let her cook the way she wants sometimes I cook way I learned to cook in Domestic Science. When the meal is ready my father comes in everything ready wash our hands and sit down. Soon he'll say this meal is very good. Who made the meal he'll say to us. I'll answer him I did. My sister then will follow the way I cook my food. Then they all will say "Gee this way it tastes better the way Annie cooked," they'll all join in and learn my recipes.

When I was on the reservation school I used to go home every summer and help my parents in taking care of the home and children. Every summer I used to tell them about my school and what I have learn at school, and try to teach them about cleanliness in our home. We don't have a very nice home like some other Indians

but all the same I kept it clean for the good of my parents. My father always speak of me as a housekeeper of the home because every day I used to teach my little sisters about cooking and ways of caring for foods. They enjoyed it very much. When I went away to school they miss me in summer times. Since I was away for three years I find out that they have improved in homes and cleanliness of food. I went home last summer and told them more things of this school they were interested in my education that they told me to go on with my education. I have helped them in many ways of the white races, not only my own folks but also my neighbors. I did all the sewing for my folks and neighbors. I have shown them different stitches that they were delighted in seeing it.

Some of the boys are getting similar ideas. The first is from a Pima boy, the second from an Apache boy.

I want my living room to have plenty of sunshine, circulation of air, and it should be warm in winter and floors easy to clean. I want my bed room to have a circulation of air plenty of sunshine floor easy to clean and closets for my clothing. I want my kitchen to be more convenient as it is at my home now. I want to plant trees and flowers around my house to beautify my home. I want to have a lawn at my home. I want to improve my home farm by setting some citrus fruits away from the roadside where no children will destroy it or damage by other animals. I want my garden full of green vegetables and the rows will run from north to south.

When the Indians return from school they want books. In a tepee there is so much smoke and noise and women. It is impossible to think good thoughts and to work with books in a tepee under those circumstances.

Such results are excellent, but unfortunately they are comparatively infrequent. All the children writing were of the relatively small number who reach the ninth grade, and all were in one of the better schools in the Service. Many Indian children do not have the opportunity to complete eight grades. Many others, like children in the general population, are apt to become restless and leave school at adolescence. As has been stated in the chapter on schools, a large proportion of the students are over age. Many, therefore, reach adolescence in the lower grades. It is true that the number of adult primary pupils is growing smaller, but even yet many Indian girls get a late start and leave school after only two or three years of work.

In view of these facts it is clear that the plan of education at present leaves too many homes untouched. If the schooling of housewives in the homes visited by members of the survey staff may be taken as representative of general conditions, then training designed to meet the needs of all the homes must be given within the first six grades. The questions in regard to schooling were asked only of English speaking wives. They are of course a younger group than those who cannot speak English. About two-thirds of those questioned had stopped school before reaching the seventh grade, while only one in fifteen reported more than an eighth grade education.

The fact that only a small proportion of the girls are at present getting the essentials of home making is recognized by the supervisor and by some of the teachers, and various practical suggestions have been made, such as the teaching of child care to the older girls in the lower grades, thus taking them at the age when their interest is keen rather than at any given point of academic preparation. One of the better teachers says that while her former upper grade pupils are doing well, those from the lower grades come back to visit her with little dirty babies. Another suggestion is the teaching of camp cooking to girls below the seventh grade. Up to the present time the emphasis in the boarding schools has been put very properly upon the development of the home economics work in the upper grades. All lower grade schooling should, if at all possible, be carried on near the homes of the pupils, leaving only the later years of work to be taught in schools far removed from the homes.

The plan of education is at present too restricted in scope, embracing in most schools the preparation of food and clothing with some slight attention to the subjects of infant care and home nursing. Other definite objectives should be the development of skill in the spending of money, and of the practice and understanding of the principles of thrift. Payment in money for tasks done about the school might be used as a device for teaching the value of money. Girls as well as boys should become familiar with business forms and customs, particularly those relating to the care of property. A practical course in business law would be very much worth while if Indians are to be educated to protect themselves against exploitation.

Nothing in the education of Indian women is more essential than the development of skill in the use of leisure time with a view to creating initiative and industrious habits. The effect of the "industrial system" is not to develop industry in the students. On the contrary it creates a bad attitude toward work because it leaves little or no leisure time. Therefore the student gets the habit of idling at set tasks, a natural result of too much work and too little play. As a means to education the "industrial system" cannot be defended.

Adults should be employed to do much of the work now done by children. Especially should they operate all dangerous machinery. Under the present system Indian girls who have no choice but to work at mangles are occasionally the victims of mangle accidents with no redress such as the more progressive states provide for the employees of private firms.

The Day Schools. The education of girls for homemaking can unquestionably be made much more effective than at present. In the school the girls should learn to create for themselves those values that they are later to create for others in their homes. Judged in the light of this objective the present system of education can be much improved by utilizing the activities of girls outside the classroom, whether at home or in the boarding school. Much education for homemaking can be carried on only outside the classroom, through the experience of everyday life. This is true throughout the curriculum, but especially of the early years. These years should be devoted to establishing habits, developing aptitudes, and teaching skill.

The day school or the public school is better adapted to such teaching than the boarding school, for the home is the girl's natural environment and all education proceeds more effectively in the pupil's real setting. Family relationships are themselves important parts of the child's education. In schools where the children go home for the night, education must take a practical slant because home problems are forced upon the teachers. One of the arguments sometimes heard in the Service in favor of the boarding school is that the children escape contamination from home conditions. It is argued that children in day schools cannot possibly be kept free from impetigo and pediculosis. The facts are, of course, that under such conditions the education of the children needs to

be expanded to embrace the parents; that instruction cannot be confined to the school room but must be carried on in the homes too.

The more progressive day schools are attempting the use of the homes for laboratory and demonstration purposes, and this plan is practical among village Indians. Children are assigned tasks at home and are allowed to take home and keep useful articles made in the schools. Articles in process of making are to be seen in some of the homes, and mothers as well as daughters are found at work at things that were originally school projects.

Occasionally in the day schools community resources are being used in the teaching of the native arts. One of the schools sends the girls to the home of the best pottery maker for lessons in her art, but employs a woman to teach weaving at the school. Other schools are encouraging the utilization and development of native designs in various ways. Some of the most attractive designs are adaptations from scraps of ancient pottery that the children find near their homes.

In many of the day schools the children are given a hot lunch at noon. This noon meal might be utilized educationally much more fully than at present. It offers an excellent opportunity for increasing the children's acquaintance with a variety of foods and for developing wholesome tastes, as well as for cultivating hygienic and conventionally polite habits of eating.

On some reservations, especially among the Plains Indians, the parents of boys and girls in school follow their children and settle in camps near the school houses. This is bad economically, because as a rule crops are neglected and few domestic animals can be kept. If, however, the condition must be tolerated, the opportunity for adult education should be utilized. The mothers could be taught by means of visits to their tents and log houses, as well as at evening sessions in the school rooms.

The day schools possess other advantages over the boarding schools. They are free from the hampering industrial routine of the boarding schools and have no excuse whatever for the old-fashioned military regimen. The teachers have small numbers to deal with and close contacts with the children. Moreover, the girls in the day schools are not so likely to be taught exclusively by women, an unfortunate limitation wherever it exists, since women must learn from men and men from women all through life.

In most of the day schools the building and equipment are inadequate to any considerable expansion of their work and specialized teachers are lacking. Future support should be accorded these schools in larger measure, and their number should be increased. Much practical work in home economics could be taught if the schools were developed to include from six to nine grades and teachers with the necessary training were secured.

The Boarding Schools. The boarding school, though in most respects not so effective a means of education as the day school, is likely to be a necessity to a limited number of children for a long time to come. Younger children, however, should be eliminated from the boarding schools as far as possible, and for the small number of those whose homes are too isolated to permit of education in any other way small schools conducted on the cottage plan should be provided not too far from their homes.

A long standing criticism of the boarding schools is that they do not fit the students for life among their people. In the early years of the Indian school system it was the declared policy of the Office not to prepare the Indian young people for return to the reservation, but to educate them for life among the whites. In view of this policy it is not surprising that the training of the girls is in general too little related to the life they have left and to which they will return, to be of much practical value. Though the tendency is to improve it in this regard the chief difficulty lies deep and cannot be reached merely by improvements in the course of study and in the quality of the teaching force. The underlying trouble is that Indian education is a mass process, while real education is a very individual thing. The following description, written by one of the employees in a large school, fits the case of the girls as well as that of the boys:

> From babyhood the Indian youngster lives quite free and independent. There is little if any restraint in the home. He eats, sleeps, plays and does pretty much as he pleases. In the day school and the public school he gets some idea of discipline and regularity of habit but outside of school hours which are comparatively few, he is still a free agent. One day he is an individual with no plan for his many leisure hours—then another day there are no leisure hours. He is lost in a maze of bugle calls, bed making, fatigue duty. He is just one small piece of raw material on its way through a hungry relentless educational mill.

Boarding School Life Adaptable to Educational Ends. For those of the adolescent girls who go to boarding schools instead of to the public high schools these Indian schools should be made very different from the present huge institutions with their wholesale methods of regulating the lives of the children. The proportion of teachers and matrons to the number of girls should be materially increased, and wherever feasible a field service might be established to keep the school and the homes in touch with each other. The present school plants could be utilized under such a system. If public school and day school facilities were fully utilized, the number of older children dependent upon the boarding schools would be much reduced. In small boarding schools much good training might be given to the girls in connection with their every day life if the school routine were planned with reference to its educational values. The following activities might be profitably utilized:

1. Eating: This is one of the chief means of health education if properly managed. Nothing is more important in the education of the Indians than establishing in the future wives and husbands wholesome and varied tastes in foods. But in all but a few Indian schools the food is lacking in quantity and balance, it is served unattractively, and the meals are too hurried for health requirements. In one of the schools where the time allowed at the table is fifteen minutes the students are told once a month in a health lecture to eat slowly. In many schools they are exhorted in charts and health talks to drink milk and eat vegetables in quantities which the school table never supplies.

One of the best of the home economic teachers is training the older girls in her classes by utilizing their personal supplementary purchases of food and drink at a little store not far away. She has them keep account for a week of what they eat in this way, and then they balance the food values of pop, candy, and the like, against the food values of the quantity of milk, orange, or apple, that might have been purchased for the amount they spent. She hopes to get the merchant to coöperate with her by putting in five-cent bottles of milk and fruit in five-cent lots. In another school the underweight and overweight girls in domestic science are on special diets. They keep a record of their own weights while on these diets, and make graphs showing how their weights fluctuate with respect to the ideal weight.

Eating may be managed in such a way as to have a distinct social value. But twenty-minute periods are too short for this purpose. Moreover, there is far too little relaxation of formal discipline in most of the dining rooms. Some of the school dining rooms remind the visitor unpleasantly of the dining rooms of large penitentiaries. Too little attention is paid to eating habits. Merely keeping order does not improve personal habits at the table.

2. Sleeping: Apparently the fact that sleeping arrangements offer an opportunity for moral training is not generally recognized. Only in the occasional school does the necessary mutual confidence and trust between the matron and the girls seem to exist. For this fact the matrons are not entirely to blame. It is a rare woman who can stand in the place of a mother to one or two hundred girls. But some school superintendents and matrons recognize that the time must come when the girls will not sleep as prisoners, and these do not lock the doors to the fire escapes or nail down the windows. To lock the girls up is to refuse to meet the educational issue, for sex morality does not develop by removing the individual from all the normal conditions of living."

3. Care of Personal Appearance: Indians as a race are fond of personal adornment and nothing is of greater interest to most adolescent girls than their own personal appearance. Through this interest habits of cleanliness and neatness might be developed as well as good taste in dress, if only school opportunities were favorable.

In some of the schools personal cleanliness must be hard to achieve. Bathing facilities are seldom adequate to the maintenance of high standards of cleanliness. Other restrictions on personal habits grow out of a crowded schedule. In one of the schools the matrons are said to require the girls to wear their gymnasium suits under their dresses while at their day's work in order to save the time of changing. Such conditions are most unfortunate, for immaculateness of person has moral as well as health values.

Uniforms are in a sense a luxury. The government is at considerable expense for materials and much of the girls' time is consumed in routine monotonous sewing in the "production room" instead of in doing something more valuable educationally. Many Indian parents could afford to furnish their daughters' clothing.

" The Indian Office has taken steps to eliminate this practice.

and other students might be given an opportunity to earn money for theirs just as white students often do. The girls dressed in varying garb might not present quite as much of a spectable standing at attention, but no educational purpose is served by standing at attention, whereas very definite educational values lie in choosing and purchasing and making individual pieces of clothing that evidence the girls' own ideas of what clothing should be.

Some of the schools encourage the making of personally designed dresses by the more advanced students in sewing. A device worth while is a style show at the end of the year where the girls wear what dresses they can and exhibit the rest. At one such style show the girls exhibited plain woolen and gingham dresses and demonstrated how much better they looked with collars and cuffs.

The buying of clothing and toilet articles would furnish excellent training in the spending of money. With some supervision the girls could learn much about values and about the comparative advantages of various methods of buying. In 1919 Mrs. Newton wrote: "I have favored the plan of boys and girls with individual Indian money buying part of their clothing, for I think there is no better way of teaching pupils the value of money and economy in its use."

4. Care of Personal Belongings: A "property sense" may be developed by caring for personal belongings, and the habit of taking good care of her own things may later be expanded to include the girl's own dwelling. In one of the smaller schools every little girl had a chair, a shelf, and at least half of a bureau used by no one but herself. Relatively very few students, however, are so fortunate. The vast number of girls have to keep all their little personal things in a small locker. Their clothes as a rule are not all kept in one place, but are stored in various parts of the building. Most girls leave school without having had the experience of having even a small expanse of wall to decorate or a few square feet of floor to arrange. As a future homemaker each girl should have a place of her own; at least half of a room, including a closet, with a chair, a shelf or table, and some bureau drawers, together with some freedom to exercise her own judgment in the use of these things.

5. Work: All school girls should have some work to do, but it should be so suited to the child as to create habits of industry. The

task should be interesting, within her powers of accomplishment; not too closely supervised and not too fatiguing. The janitor work about some of the day schools fulfills these requirements. The children accept the responsibility and say they like the work. They attack their tasks systematically and with cheerfulness and vigor. In doing this work the girls are learning something about methods of housekeeping. But in the boarding schools most industrial processes must be performed on an institutional scale. They are fatiguing and monotonous, and as a rule are of little value to the future homemaker. A story is told of a returned student who offered her guest a meal without bread, explaining that they could not have bread because they could not afford to buy one hundred pounds of flour at a time.

So far as possible each girl should have the experience of earning money, because one way of measuring the value of money is in terms of the effort required to get it, and this experience is just as important to the development of thrift as is the valuation of money in terms of commodities purchased.

6. Supervised Recreation: Schools differ greatly in the amount of attention they give to supervised or organized recreation. In some schools the older students have bands, orchestras, glee clubs, athletic teams, Y. M. C. A., Y. W. C. A., and the like. The great majority of the students are, however, merely spectators of the activities of the few, a kind of passive recreation that is relatively of little value, especially since all students must line up and march to the various events, whether or not their personal inclinations point that way. Many schools have supervised social events like dances or other parties, some of which are remarkable for the lack of spontaneity on the part of the students. In general this type of recreation loses much of its natural value because it is routine.

In respect to organized activity the older girls do not as a rule fare as well as the boys. In the few schools where they have some organized life of their own it is noteworthy that they tend to develop initiative and responsibility, qualities much to be desired in Indian housewives. Most Indian girls love singing or have an aptitude for acting. Choral work and dramatics might be organized so as to give every girl in the school at least one form of active recreation.

In most schools the little children have some games or other supervised play during school hours, but they, like the older students, spend much time lining up, marching, and standing in ranks. Such time might much more profitably be given to games and imaginative play. If play with dolls were properly utilized even the little girls could be taught a good many things about infant care and sewing.

7. Unsupervised Leisure: Unsupervised leisure is necessary to a satisfactory development of personality and the creation of a high standard of living. Without leisure there can be little development of personal tastes, little chance to experiment, and little opportunity for reflection. Out of these things develop the power to discriminate between the greater and the less important values in life and to choose wisely between satisfactions of conflicting desires. Without this development of character the foundation for a high standard of living is lacking.

Various educated Indian men and women have referred to the lack of leisure time as one of the most difficult adjustments for Indian students and one of the greatest deprivations. One says: "Students are lost because they have no leisure, no time to think, after having spent their earliest years on the reservation where there is a sense of timelessness and where the old men don't feel that everything must be done in this generation."

Teachers and others connected with the schools comment unfavorably on the endless drill and the evening study hour at the end of a long day. It has been suggested that the reason for filling up the children's day so completely is that authorities do not know what else to do with them. This seems plausible in view of the fact that so little play space is available. In good weather the little girls may play out of doors in the late afternoon; on stormy days they are restricted to their dormitories, which are seldom homelike and are almost always overcrowded. Play space is usually in a dark barren basement room, too small for the number of girls; homelike living rooms are rare; halls are usually bare and unattractive. Most of the girls sleep in great rooms or porches with many others. The crowd is always present. They work, study, eat, sleep, make their toilets, worship, and are entertained in crowds. This is one of the worst aspects of wholesale education. Every human being needs, for normal development, some solitude, some privacy.

Reports of various supervisors contain unfavorable comments on these conditions. According to a comparatively recent report:

> There are two rooms necessary to every girls' building.
> 1. A workroom which can also be used as a kitchenette. In this room the girls can do their own mending, make doll clothes or candy.
> 2. A rest room, large enough for six or eight cots for day time use. It is not practicable to use the dormitories for this purpose and only the really sick are sent to the hospital.

The minimum of privacy necessary can be secured only by greatly reducing the school population of the present plants if the more desirable cottage system cannot be established.

Girls and boys should have opportunity to mingle in wholesome ways. Indian school education is neither co-educational nor the opposite. The boys and girls see each other and yet have little chance to know each other. It is no wonder that they sometimes resort to secret meetings. Since homemaking is a coöperative undertaking in which men must share with women, Indian homes would be the better for real co-education by means of which boys and girls might achieve a good basis for future understanding and sympathetic coöperation.

It has often been said that the schools would do well to encourage marriages between students because the race loses by unions between the returned students and "blanket Indians." Intertribal marriages are frowned on by Indian parents for reasons of the ancient clan laws and on account of former wars, but such marriages should be encouraged on eugenic grounds.

Education Value of Standards Maintained by the Boarding Schools. Since one of the primary objects of Indian education is to raise the standards of living in Indian homes, the schools themselves should represent higher standards than at present. Like most of the homes, most of the school plants are overcrowded: they are lacking in privacy; they are lacking in the comforts of life; and some are lacking in cleanliness. The school diet is more restricted than many of the pupils are accustomed to at home. The educational value of uniform clothing is slight. The whole school life is subject to routine and is devoid of most of the niceties of life. These things are bad, but even more serious are the standards of education and training represented by the personnel. In spite of many exceptions, especially among the teachers, the employees are as a rule not qualified for work in educational institutions.

The Matrons in Boarding Schools. All positions in Indian schools are of an educational nature. The head matron's position today is the weakest link in the school organization. No position has more of the human element in it and no position is more important. The morale of the entire school depends to a great degree on the efficiency of the incumbent in this position. The head matron has charge of the other matrons and of the women who supervise the industrial work. She usually lives in the building occupied by the larger girls. She must assume the responsibility for the physical and moral training of the girls. She should be a teacher in every sense of the word. She needs as good an education as that required for teachers in first-class high schools.

Of the 110 matrons reporting on educational qualifications to the survey staff, thirty-two had nothing more than an eighth grade education, while forty-one others had stopped short of high school graduation. Of the thirty-seven remaining, eleven had finished high school, seven had had one or two years of college, and sixteen had completed from one to four years in normal schools, while three others had had specialized schooling of some kind. There was not a college graduate among them. In other words, not one could qualify as a teacher in a first grade high school under standard requirements. The education of assistant matrons reporting was even less satisfactory.

Both head matrons and matrons in subordinate positions are difficult to hold at the present salaries.[a] The positions of head matrons in all but the larger non-reservation schools have been temporarily filled the greater part of the time during the last ten years. In many of the smaller schools there have been two, three, and four head matrons within a year. Many women filling these positions now should be replaced. The management of the girls is, in too many cases, merely a matter of discipline because the matron

[a] Head matron from $1080 to $1500 a year; matron $1020 to $1320 a year; assistant matron $900 a year. A deduction for quarters, fuel and light is made of $120 a year where salary is less than $1320, and of $180 a year where salary is $1320 or over.

knows no way to manage girls without punishment. Her sense of refinement, in fact her whole outlook on life, is not such as would commend her as a desirable person to put over girls.

The position of head matron can seldom be filled by promotion because the matrons in subordinate positions are not suitable. Many of them are wives of employees and are appointed not because of fitness, but because they are available.

The eligibles furnished by the Civil Service roster are not desirable material. Most of them are not high school graduates, nor have they had training for such a position. Their experience is mediocre. Some have been housekeepers in their own homes, others have been housemaids or have worked in laundries or stores, while a few have held minor positions in correctional institutions or asylums. Practically none has had experience with normal girls.

The upper limit on the entrance age for matrons is too high and as a class they are too old. They are expected to act as mothers to these children, yet many of them have reached the age appropriate to grandmothers. Almost one-third reported their ages as fifty or over, as the following brief statement shows."

Age	Number	Per cent
Under 40	34	23.3
40 but under 50	46	44.7
50 or over	33	32.0

That some older women retain their sympathy with youth without developing an over indulgent atitude cannot be questioned. They are, however, the exception. Too often older women lack the real understanding necessary to the happy mean between over severity and over indulgence. Women from the late twenties to the early forties are in the suitable age class for this position. As they grow older they might well be transferred to positions involving less personal responsibility for the conduct of young people.

Efforts have been made by interested outside organizations to persuade the right kind of women to quality as matrons, but without results. The salaries are too low, and the title of matron is forbidding. The duties involved are too varied and too numerous for one person. A supervising housekeeper should have charge of the business end of the work now done by the head matron. The

" For a fuller statement, see Table 6, page 666.

personal work with the girls is similar to that of deans of women in colleges and of the girls' advisers in high schools. Some such title should be adopted and qualifications and salaries should be raised so as to secure for these positions college graduates who have had successful experience in their personal relations with high school girls either as teachers or advisers. They should be qualified to give vocational advice.

The Outing System. An exclusively boarding school education, at its best, leaves the girl without experience in the economic side of home life. The outing system was originally designed to correct this defect. Students from Carlisle were placed out during vacations or for longer periods in the homes of substantial people, usually Quakers, with the understanding that they were to be treated as members of the family with school privileges if they remained during the school year, but under strict supervision from Carlisle. Opinions differ as to the success of the plan. In the years since Carlisle was closed, the past may have been idealized so that it has become a tradition to praise the golden age of the outing system. There can be no doubt, however, that in some cases the experience was worth while. Its features are described as follows by one of the women who was placed out from Carlisle:

1. It was an honor to the girl to be placed out. She must have a good record.
2. The homes were under inspection a long time before students were sent there.
3. The girls were treated as members of the family.
4. They were not paid for their work.

Osage women can be found today whose financial prosperity has not spoiled them, who are economical and industrious, and who say when the immaculate condition of the homes is commented upon: "How else could I keep house? I lived with Quakers."

But however successful the Carlisle plan may have been, the outing system today is not so much a preparation for homemaking as an apprenticeship for domestic service. Some good work is being done by the women in charge of this service. Without doubt some of the girls are better for the experience. In many families they get better food and quarters than at the boarding schools and can build up physically; and, just as important, they get freedom

from crowds, a close observation of home life, and in many instances personal affection. Through special arrangement some extend their outing throughout the year in order to attend the public school. Then, too, they have a friend to whom they can turn, in the supervising matron, with whom their relations seem in most cases to be cordial. Nevertheless, the Indian Service in effect regards the experience as an apprenticeship. The girls work for wages, mostly under city conditions; they are in demand with families whose regular maids want to go home or to do something more profitable during the summer; the work in practice often leads to a permanent job on leaving school. So far as any implicit intention can be perceived it is the fitting of Indian girls for domestic service, the one occupation where there is always a demand for labor because of the social stigma popularly attached to it.

The system is conducted under very rigid rules and in its operation suggests the parole system of a correctional institution. It is not surprising that an Indian who has seen something of the present system characterizes it as a kind of peonage which the children must undergo. "As food appropriations at the school get short they think they must turn the children out," he says.

Few efforts have been made to establish working connections between the boarding schools and the homes of the students. One of the schools has devised a plan for sending out small circulating libraries to Indian villages, each in the charge of a graduate, and has collected some very good material for this purpose. Another employs a field worker whose task it is to study home conditions in order that the school may make its instruction more suitable to the needs of the people and may hold the students in the school for a longer period. This institution plans next year to send a health wagon out into the hill communities from which the girls come. Occasionally a little Four-H club work is found in a boarding school, but this can hardly thrive without closer connections with homes than exists in most of the schools at present. It would be a definite improvement if the present outing system were superseded by another plan for keeping the students in touch with the outside world, a part of which should be a field service to the communities from which the children come.

Community Life. Among many tribes and in many localities a striking lack of development of community life for useful ends is apparent. Organized activities of native origin tend to disappear, while little has been borrowed from white civilization. In a healthy society changes of structure are always going on to meet changed conditions of life. But among the Indians, living as they do under a system of control imposed from the outside, the old social structure tends to die instead of undergoing adaptation to new conditions of existence.

Forms of Community Organization Among Indians. Forms of organized activity that are either indigenous or closely in harmony with primitive forms are clan organization, secret societies, the tribal council, and the Indian court. No less important in the lives of the people are the native ceremonies, such as celebrations, dances, games, and races. These forms of organization tend to disappear under the general influence of white culture, or to take on the form of a spectacle and become commercialized, thus losing much of their original significance in group life.

Forms of organization introduced by whites are churches and schools, clubs for women and children, and farm organizations including both men and women. These new organizations are not characteristic of all Indian communities, and, with the exception of the schools, reach a comparatively small number of the whole Indian population. A specialized activity apparently adopted from pioneer whites is the camp meeting, which still flourishes in eastern Oklahoma. Probably the camp feature is responsible for its popularity with the Five Civilized Tribes.

Other church organizations with features adapted from the whites exist in some sections. The "Shakers" of the Northwest have crosses and candles and a noisy ritual to the accompaniment of hand bells and violent motion, all of which they use in their attempts to heal the sick. They are successors to the medicine men and are no less obstructive to health work. In some parts of the south and east of the Indian country, the Peyote Church flourishes. The Indians assemble for meetings in churches, so-called, where they fall into trance-like stupor from the use of peyote. The organization is of no practical value to the community, and peyote addiction is probably harmful physically as well as socially. The Shakers and the Peyote Church are both reported to be growing.

Recreational Activities. Most Indians seem to cling longest to the recreational features of primitive group life and to appreciate recreational before other features of white community life. They cling to their dances and games long after they have abandoned distinctive Indian ways of dressing and living. They love celebrations and fairs and races, and in some places make Christmas, Easter, Decoration Day, Fourth of July, and other holidays of the whites occasions for going into camp and celebrating in their own way for a week or two at a time. They appreciate various forms of recreation originated by whites. A field matron reports from the southwest, of the Indians near a city:

The Indians do not lack for amusement. They attend all the "Fiestas," Carnivals, Circuses, Holiday Celebrations and Movies. Very few work Saturday afternoon, spending the half day in town, and usually having a dance in the village Saturday and Sunday evenings.

The government policy seems to have been repressive to native recreational activities. Many officers have been keenly sensible of the economic loss involved in the neglect of animals and crops while Indians gather in camp far from home. Gambling is a part of most games and contests. Dancing is often so intense and protracted as to be injurious to the health. It is often accompanied by the giving of presents. A Red Cross nurse in the Sioux country described the abuse of the custom of giving under the intense emotional strain of the dance:

I suppose that it amounted to a community rite in the old days. Now the idealism is often prostituted by those who see an opportunity for personal gain as the giving goes to individuals. Thus the clever get the money, horses, blankets, shawls, beadwork, etc., by singing a song in praise of those who have the goods. The dance goes with the song in their honor. This giving will go the limit if allowed and families return home destitute.

The same nurse describes a fair as follows:

I have dozens of ideas about the next fair but my main idea is a fond hope that there won't be one. The fair is managed by the Indians and it is Indian all right. The idea sounds well. It would seem a good educational opportunity. Being managed by the Indians it descends to feasting, dancing and roping contests with a ball game, bucking bronchos, and poor horse racing. Accidents, acute gastritis and infant diarrhea with a funeral or two and a spring crop of illegitimate babies are the concomitants. As this is one of six of the same variety between June 1st and October 1st the educational value becomes questionable. The exhibit of work was small and creditable but little interest was developed.

Missionary influence has been for the most part directed toward the suppression of dances and similar celebrations, either because they are pagan rites or because dancing is not an approved form of amusement in some denominations, or on account of the various harmful consequences of these events.

In some cases no doubt the judgment of officers and other whites with reference to the Indians' ways of amusing themselves has been biased by race prejudice. There is a touch of complacency regarding white institutions and a lack of respect for those of the Indians. Many have not the sympathetic understanding of the Red Cross nurse, who commented further upon the dancing she saw:

All those interested in bringing the Indian into any degree of economic prosperity are bound to see the extremely deleterious effects of unbridled Indian dancing. On the other hand there is no reason why we should sacrifice in toto their idealism, their art and the good of their ancient religion to our ideas of economic prosperity. One certainly cannot hold that our dancing presents a more socially valuable idea even though not economically demoralizing. At its worst ours is as destructive to our social structure as Indian dancing, and these Indians know it. My present opinion is that it would be of more value to limit the amount of "give away" with dancing than to try to forbid the dance.

A similar attitude was apparent in the comments of a Red Cross nurse among the Cheyennes:

We went to the Indian Christmas tree together. The tent resembles a circus tent inside except for the unique arrangement of the rough logs. At the entrance is a tall pine absolutely bare at which we were a bit disappointed until we saw that each family put their gifts to another family on the tree in their turn, to the tune of the big drum in the center. Nine men were seated around it, playing it while they sang. The persons receiving the gifts entered the singing and danced in a circle around the tree. The chiefs

sat on a bench facing the tree and the singers. One of the chiefs thanked the members of the tribe who contributed for the feast the next day, appointed the cooks, sang his song of joy and departed, leaving the younger crowd to dance white dances to white music. I must say it was dull, unattractive, and clumsy after the solemn, graceful rhythm of the older Indians. Though there are many evils connected with these dances, in proportion they can be no worse than the examples they have of our own.

To take away from any people their forms of recreation without replacing them by something as good or better is generally a mistake. Certainly in the case of the Indians their pronounced bent toward group recreation might be utilized to some good ends. If many day schools could be established and made local recreation centers for the little neighborhoods they serve educationally, and if recreational features could be introduced generally along with local industrial activities, then the Indians might cease to feel so great an urge to congregate in large bands far from the responsibilities of home.

Economic and Civic Organization. Long excursions in search of native foods and annuals migrations to hop or potato fields or to orchards during the season for harvesting these crops have harmful features similar to those connected with recreational and religious celebrations in camp. Such projects as the Five-Year Industrial Program and the Industrial and Better Homes Association which has been recently organized on a northwest reservation, are attempts to "fight fire with fire"; to make a community effort so interesting that the people will be content with the adventure of making a living at home. An excellent feature of these plans is the organization of the women into auxiliaries, thus enlisting all adults in the enterprise.

The occasional women's clubs, as well as the Four-H Clubs, are chiefly concerned with the encouragement of work in the homes, but in most communities where they exist they are isolated forms of organization and do not thrive as they might if they were part of a unified program. Indian women as a rule are somewhat backward as club members and are especially shy about assuming the duties of office, but they are easily interested in handicrafts or in games. In some places considerable family interest is manifested in the meetings, and husbands as well as children of all ages drop in as spectators.

A few day schools are developing programs of community work and in some cases give promise of becoming real community centers. In some schools the community activities are recreational and include basket ball and baseball teams or orchestras; in others the art of the people is encouraged and even put to industrial account. Various schools are attempting practical health education programs. In a few localities community bath houses and laundries have been established and are in use.

With the single exception of the Pueblo form of government, the Indian council and the Indian court represent about the only approach to civic life that the Indians have. Neither the council nor the court is to be found everywhere; many Indians have no form of organization. Neither the council nor the court is utilized to any great extent as a means of education for self government. Some superintendents regard these forms of organization half contemptuously, and in some cases seem to consider the council rather a nuisance because it serves as a forum for agitators. The superintendents who do try to use the council and the court have not sufficient help to accomplish very much. With proper assistance these organizations might be utilized in such a way as to diminish rather than to increase the superintendent's load.

Degenerative Tendencies. In the absence of well developed community life degenerative influences have full play. This has been the experience of white communities, and it is to be seen also among the Indians. Wherever wholesome occupational and recreational activities are lacking, ill health, shiftlessness, vice, and delinquency flourish.

Undesirable forms of commercialized recreation get the patronage of the Indians living in the vicinity of towns and cities. The field matrons who work with such Indians report disasters arising from the girls' frequenting dance halls and other cheap amusement places. In a locality where the missionary interfered with the organization of a boys' orchestra because he did not believe in dancing or dance music, the gambling houses flourish, as well as the dope peddlers, and the field matron reports:

> Our police duties are oftentimes heartrending. For instance, during the past three days we have had three men stricken down by canned heat and bad liquor, two of whom died frightful deaths.

Out on the reservations, far from the amusements of urban life, the Indians find in their periodic camp life a refuge from monotony. The excesses of the dance and other diversions of camp life are undoubtedly due partly to the fact that the people have a poverty of interest in the dull round of existence in the communities where they live.

In some places the Indians seem to have lost both the form and the memory of their own native political organization. The superintendent who organized the Industrial and Better Homes Association found that those Indians had to be taught how to vote on the merits of a question. At first all voted in the affirmative. An old woman at one of the first meetings made a speech in which she explained that the young men did not know how to speak; that her tribe had lost the art because it was so long since they had had any occasion for public speaking.

In tribes that still have merely a form of organization functioning ineffectually, the agitator is influential because among his followers there is much idleness and chronic discontent instead of activity and a well developed public opinion. In a community functioning healthily some agitators would be leaders of real worth and others would have scant followings.

Standards of living tend to seek a lower level in the absence of wholesome community activity. The economic level in a community depends not only upon natural resources but also upon the degree to which economic ideals of life develop within the group. The deadly uniformity to be found in home conditions in many places exists not only because of poverty but also because the people lack economic leadership and do not know how to obtain results through coöperative effort.

The Community the Smallest Unit for Effective Work. Up to the present the government has attacked the Indian problem almost exclusively by the method of standardized routine treatment of individuals. Family work has been for the most part nominal. Community effort has been inadequately financed and staffed and not sufficiently inclusive of all the elements in the community and all departments of welfare to constitute more than the illustration of a promising method. The regulation of the affairs of adults has in large measure failed to develop independence of character or soundness of business judgment. The government school system has been as disintegrating to the community as to the family. The school routine has interfered with the development of leadership and the ability to carry out coöperative enterprises, since the children have had little participation in organization for work or play. After many years of effort and the expenditure of much money the Indians still constitute a problem. The Indians themselves are more generally blamed than the method to which they have been subjected.

The experience of the white race is that progress is a group process rather than an individual process. Just as individuals usually fail to develop far beyond the level of their families, so family development is limited by the standards of the society in which the families live. Good homes do not flourish under subnormal community conditions, nor do many children develop initiative and responsibility in a general atmosphere of shiftlessness.

Backward communities are sick communities which need diagnosis and treatment. Each one has its own peculiar difficulties, and therefore no set program can be devised and applied mechanically like a patent medicine. Community conditions like family conditions need careful study by experts in that field. In order to change bad conditions skilled leadership from outside the community is usually necessary, but the purpose of such leaders is to develop their successors from within the community so that the group may become self sufficing.

Experience in White Communities Applicable. The methods worked out in dealing with backward white communities should be applied among the Indians. The community should be made the unit of attack, and every family and individual should be included in the study of community conditions and in the resulting plan of treatment. Many reservations include several distinct communities and each should have its organization. In organizing activities the Indians should have a voice. Programs should not be imposed on them, even if the start with their sanction and cooperation should prove slow. Wherever their coöperation is sought their interest in the enterprise is deeper, but still more important, they sometimes save outsiders from fatal mistakes such as that of ignoring lines of social cleavage among them.

Utilization of Indian Activities. What is left of the Indians' primitive community activities should be studied and utilized as far

as possible for constructive ends. Such an approach to organization is tactical as well as sound. The Indian court and the Indian council could be made powerful means for creating public opinion instead of mere forms of congregate activity tolerated by the officers.

Harmful forms of recreation should be eliminated by a process of substitution rather than by direct prohibition. Some Indian dances and games could profitably be retained. A superior feature of some of them lies in the fact that everyone participates, whereas nearly all our games and dances are limited on age or sex lines. A significant thing in the experience of the American Red Cross nurses among the Indians was the demand for recreation and the willingness to try new forms as well as to revive Indian sports. At various points in the Service games, especially of a contest nature, athletic events, circulating libraries, musical organizations, dramatics, parties of various kinds, clubs with social features, and story hours have been tried with success.

Specific Training for Future Citizenship Among Whites. As a specific preparation for release from tutelage Indians should be trained in health, recreational, economic, and civic activities. Group participation in these things is a definite part of the education Indians need if they are ever to have a share in the common life of the American people. Even in sparse rural populations American whites have a degree of control over their own local government and the organization of their economic interests far beyond that of most Indians. The fundamentals of group participation can be learned by the Indians more effectively in their natural environment than after they have scattered into the larger white communities where they may encounter the barriers of race prejudice.

Economy of Organizing Communities. As an administrative device community organization would in the long run prove economical. The Indian Office exists in order to eliminate the need for its own existence. Once the Indians can take care of themselves this branch of the government service may be discontinued. The present policy of consolidating reservations in the interests of economy, even though the Indians are thereby neglected, is not true economy. But if through organization of the Indians native leaders could be developed and community responsibility could be created, then government officers could gradually withdraw supervision without causing hardship and suffering.

Even from the point of view of the local superintendent alone sound community organization in the long run would mean economical administration. The development of native leadership in sympathy with the superintendent's aims would create many centers of influence outside the office. Many government policies could be more effectively interpreted by native leaders than by government officers, because the more backward Indians are much more sensitive to the public opinion of their own people than to that of whites. Government prestige would not suffer from native promulgation of policies. Real prestige depends upon the personal qualities of the superintendent and his assistants and is found only where real leadership exists.

Type of Organization Desirable. All field workers should be engaged in the organization of community forces, and all community work of a reservation should center in the office of the superintendent. Health, industry, and the schools should all be represented by community programs, each of which should be worked out with reference to the unified effort of all. In some localities a recreation program might be carried out through the schools without a specialized employee; in others where the recreational resources of the people are few and vice and delinquency thrive, a recreation worker of experience should be employed.

In the development of a recreation program under a trained leader the worker should be employed before a community house is established. Experience in white communities has shown that trained personnel is much more important to success in this field than elaborate equipment. Many community houses and much equipment have stood idle or have been used fitfully and without perceptible good results because of the absence of responsible leadership. Even the Indian Service is not without its examples of this mistake. Money spent on a community house or a recreation center in advance of a program and workers to carry it into effect is a waste of funds.

A trained worker should precede any definite program of recreation. A good working program in the field of recreation is difficult to evolve and depends upon the insight and understanding of a good leader. Like any other satisfactory program it must be preceded by a study of local needs. The competent leader in an Indian

community would of necessity be adaptable. He would find it necessary to study Indian life sympathetically and devise new methods to attain his ends. The competent leader would also work constructively, with the object of eliminating the need for his services, as well as coöperatively with every other member of the staff, keeping himself well in the background. He should be an artist at getting apparently spontaneous action.

It should not be necessary to repeat among Indians the mistakes made among whites, especially during the war period when much so-called recreation was in the hands of people entirely unqualified as leaders. Too rapid a program development with resulting superficiality and artificiality is always a danger. A sound program should avoid the over emphasis upon athletics that leads to the various evils of commercialization. Athletic games should, however, be cultivated for the excellent character effects to be derived from team play. The Indians themselves have developed some very fine games.

If a recreation program is to be more than a merely mechanical thing unsuited to the real needs of the people, it must take account of the fact that recreation is an essential part of all healthy human life. The program must therefore have certain objectives:

1. It must make some kind of recreation available to everyone in the community regardless of age, sex, or limitations such as illness creates.

2. It must not limit recreation to congregate activities but must promote it in the homes.

3. It must not separate recreation from the other activities of life but must enliven them all with its spirit. Especially do the Indians need the element of contest in their work and in the daily routine of home life. Any permanent improvement in community standards of living will come through the operation of the spirit of emulation.

Women as Wage Earners. Relatively few Indian women are at present gainfully employed outside their homes, for the Indian population is scattered over vast areas and the number living convenient to industrial centers is not great. Outside of domestic service Indian women and girls are most often engaged seasonably in harvesting fruits and vegetables, or in fruit, vegetable, and fish

canneries. But the tendency is apparent, especially among the younger women, to enter wage earning occupations in increasing numbers. Even among some of the primitive tribes there is a drift to the cities and a pressure upon girls as well as boys to become wage earners, for many of them live in parts of the country where the natural resources are very slender and the poverty great.

Homemaking the Objective of School Training. The present education of girls in the Indian schools seems intended primarily as preparation for homemaking rather than for wage earning. Preparation for homemaking is by far the most important task for the schools so far as numbers are concerned. Since nearly all girls at some time become housewives, training in homemaking is likely to be useful eventually to nearly everyone. To make this training the sole objective of the schools is, however, no longer possible if the immediate needs of all girls are to be met. Some superintendents says that the most baffling cases with which they have to deal are returned students, girls disqualified by the boarding schools for life on the reservation and qualified for no occupation off the reservation unless it be domestic service.

Domestic Service. The only occupation open to any large number of the girls who stop school or to those who finish the number of years of schooling offered by the average boarding school is domestic service. Even the few girls who graduate from home economics courses in the best schools in the Service have not the education necessary for teaching home economics, although they do have a good practical training for making homes of their own according to the standards current in white communities. If the schools at present prepare the rank and file of the girl students for any vocation it is domestic service. They are not fitted for life on the reservation; they are not educated for homemaking under primitive conditions, and only a few can become the wives of Indian men living in white communities; they are in many cases induced or required to spend their vacations under the outing system, which is in practice an apprenticeship for domestic service.

Many white people extol domestic service as an occupation for other people's daughters. But the women of no immigrant race that has come to America have tarried any longer in this occupation than economic necessity required. During the war when factory positions were for the first time opened to Negro women some of the

women of that race rejoiced that at last they might find work other than personal service. Domestic work though not essentially degrading carries a social stigma. This may be one reason why it is a morally hazardous occupation, as careful studies made among white wage earners have shown. Certainly among Indians a reason for the moral hazard is the social isolation imposed by the conditions of the work.

That many Indian girls have found comfortable quarters and kindness and protection in the homes where they worked is of course true. But no one wishes to spend a lifetime in domestic service, and unfortunately it is a "dead end" occupation. As a preparation for the future home life of Indian girls it is not even justified, being on the whole ineffective because the gap is too great between conditions in the homes where the girls work and any homes they are likely to have.

The impression gained by many whites is that Indians are capable of doing only unskilled work that no one else wants to do. It is difficult to understand why the government, avowedly educating its wards for a place in white civilization, should have prepared the girls almost exclusively for the least desirable of the gainful occupations open to women.

The Indian Service employs several field and outing matrons who spend part or all their time in selecting homes suitable to the girls and in looking out in various ways for their welfare. The matrons generally recognize the desirability of helping the girls to adjust themselves to city conditions in their hours off duty; although some of them open their own homes to the girls and give very generously of their time, none has sufficient free time to give the girls the oversight they need. If girls must be put out to service by the government, then the government should provide proper housing facilities and chaperonage for them. They should be housed in a comfortable building with a house mother and with facilities for entertaining their friends, so that they may have opportunities for knowing young men in wholesome ways. Since domestic service leads to no better occupation, it is the more important that it should not be allowed to interfere with opportunities for marriage.

Training for Nursing, Teaching, and Clerical Work. The need of preparation for more desirable occupations is recognized by the Indian Office and various courses are now being offered in some of the larger schools, notably Haskell Institute, in preparation for lines of work open to women. A few young women are now specializing in nursing, clerical work, and teaching. The latest addition to the list is physical education.

The education in these subjects, however, does not constitute a satisfactory preparation for the occupations to which they lead. The chief difficulty is early specialization with too meager a general education. No school carries the students beyond a twelve-year curriculum, and all schools have the industrial feature which strictly limits the time available for study or classroom work. The time for school work of a general nature is still further limited by specialized instruction in sewing, cooking, and the like. Even in the best schools only a very few girls in the last year or two are allowed to substitute real practice work for the routine industrial work of the institution. Since the industrial work has very little educational value and is sometimes physically exhausting, the girls may be said to have been throughout their course on a half-time school schedule. It is absurd to expect the teachers to work a miracle of education in the twelve years and to put these girls on a par in their general education with white girls in public schools who have started without a language handicap and have devoted twelve years of full time to general education.

These Indian graduates cannot compete for positions with the graduates of public high schools who have spent two or three subsequent years in special preparation for nursing, or teaching, or the various kinds of clerical work. Neither can they enter colleges and technical schools to secure more training even if they are financially able, since first class institutions require a diploma from an accredited high school as a condition of admittance. At present the general tendency of technical schools is to require more rather than less than a high school education as a qualification for specialized training. The relative situation of the graduate of the Indian school therefore grows no better, even though from time to time some improvements in the curriculum are made. Neither can many of the girls supplement their education by entering the public high

schools. The public schools are usually popular with the Indians who are familiar with them, but most of the girls who graduate from the boarding schools are from homes remote from high schools, or are from localities where race prejudice bars them out of the public schools, and, moreover, many of them are past the usual high school age at the time of their graduation from the Indian schools. For most of them there is no way out. Their schooling is finished.

The result is a very restricted market for their work. A large proportion of the teachers and clerical workers enter the Indian Service. But wherever they work they are in a pocket. They cannot hold positions outside the Service with firms or institutions whose standards of work are exacting. Little consistent attempt is made within the Service to train them or place them in better positions. They are likely to be discounted on account of race even inside the Service, where they occupy the lowest paid positions. These girl teachers and clerks are not as a rule expected to advance within the Service but are looked upon as a permanent source of low priced labor. In some jurisdictions they seem to be discriminated against socially.

The girl preparing for nursing suffers only part of these handicaps. Under the present arrangements with hospitals she has the opportunity to know something of conditions in the outside world, to measure her performance against that of white nurses in training, and to secure positions through the training school. But she suffers equally with the others from lack of accredited high school education.

Development of Leaders. A familiar complaint in the Indian Service concerns the backward state of the women and homes and the lack of native leadership. This condition is partly to be accounted for by the system of education. The schools have no plans for the development of leaders. Indian women doctors, nurses, teachers, and social workers with thorough professional training could do much for their people. Some young Indian women today desire to serve their race more than anything else. Some others are educated beyond the men of their acquaintance, and rather than marry men with whom they have little in common they are seeking happiness in work. Still others look forward to several years of

work before marriage. Some of these young women are trying to save money for college educations but the outlook is not hopeful.

The almost complete resourcelessness of these ambitious Indian girls is difficult to realize. Compared with white girls they are intellectually isolated. They have no general information such as white girls absorb from family and community. Their white world is little larger than the Indian Service. They seldom have personal or family friends to whom they can turn for information or service. Under such circumstances the mere acquisition of information relative to colleges where they might register with entrance conditions would require a considerable degree of initiative. The routine of the Indian school does not develop initiative.

The financial problems involved in getting a higher education are in most cases beyond their power to solve. Most of them come from families too poor to send them to college. Their education has prepared them only for low salaried positions where savings are too slight to make possible the accumulation of funds for college. They know of no loan funds or scholarships.

At least two of the larger schools have done an excellent thing in furnishing quarters to two or three young women graduates who have gone back and forth from the school to a nearby college. This help and encouragement has brought a higher education within reach of girls who could hardly have managed to achieve it alone.

If the Indian schools could give the accredited high school education, other arrangements might be made for financing the higher education of outstanding girl graduates from private funds. The following are some of the possibilities:

1. With an accredited high school education they could compete for university scholarships and loans as white students do.

2. Various private agencies, like women's clubs and college sororities, might be willing to create special scholarships for Indian girls.

3. Individuals and organizations interested in special lines of work might welcome the opportunity to establish scholarships for Indian girls interested in these specialties. Business firms and art schools might profitably coöperate in developing the abilities of girls with special aptitude in native design.

4. A few Indians might wish to use some of their surplus wealth for the higher education of Indian girls.

Desirable Changes in the Plan of Education. The Indian students as undergraduates seldom know their real situation. It is not strange that later a few of them manifest some bitterness, not so much because their education was substandard as because they were kept in ignorance of the fact. The schools are badly in need of vocational advising and an employment service. The girls graduate without knowing: (1) The relative merits of the occupations they have chosen as compared with other occupations; (2) conditions affecting these occupations in the larger world; (3) how far they are able at graduation to compete for positions under these conditions; (4) where to look for positions outside the Service; or (5) how to supplement their education or to make other plans for success in the fields of their choice. This specialized work in the schools should be in charge of persons with professional qualifications at least as high as those of the teachers. They should have had experience with first class schools or other organizations prior to their appointment.

Vocational guidance and an employment service should be an integral part of the system, but these things alone do not reach the fundamental trouble. To give Indian girls a real preparation for earning their living would involve an overhauling of the present school system. Schools should be put on a full-time basis and the boarding schools should become accredited high schools. If the girls were educated through high school, it ought not to be necessary for the Indian Office to maintain technical schools. It would be more economical to offer a generous number of competitive scholarships for graduates who might want specialized training. Advanced education in schools of recognized standing in association with white students would be an excellent preparation for future work, especially since it would enlarge the girls' knowledge of the work of whites during their student life and would enlist the interest of these higher institutions in placing them in positions.

The present system of education not only fails to prepare girls for earning but also tends to disqualify them because it interferes with the development of traits of character essential to success. Institutionalized children of any race are likely to be wanting in habits of industry, initiative, and good judgment with regard to work and general conduct. Success cannot be expected of children who are deprived of the atmosphere of parental love, brought up in a formal and even militaristic manner, and taught right and wrong by means of precepts instead of being allowed volition in their conduct. If the girls of the boarding schools are to develop strong moral fiber several changes in the school system should be made:

1. The children should be kept in public or day school or, where that is impossible, in small boarding schools not too far from home until they are ready for high school.

2. The proportion of teachers and counselors to girls in non-reservation schools should be relatively much larger than at present.

3. Women with the qualifications of teachers in accredited high schools should take the place of the present matrons.

4. Unadjusted or problem children should not be educated in the same schools as the other children.

Employment Service for Women. Women and girls not in school should be included in a general employment service for Indians. The graduates of the Indian schools especially need an extension service of vocational guidance for some years, because many of them face difficult industrial and social adjustments. Young women in domestic service in cities have no less need than "outing" girls for good residence quarters and wholesome recreation outside of working hours.

The general employment service should include a woman who is expert in personnel and employment work. Her duties should include: (1) The study of occupational opportunities in all parts of the country; (2) the exercise of general supervision over the work of local employees dealing with women; and (3) coöperation with the schools in their vocational and employment work.

Handicrafts. The Indians as a race, and particularly the Indian women, show a great fondness and aptitude for handicrafts. In every tribe some form of hand manufacture is followed. In many tribes with long-continued white contacts one or more of the arts of the frontier whites have been taken over and are popular, though not significant commercially. Occasionally, as for example, among the Chippewas, a native art and a borrowed art flourished side by side. In other cases, notably among the Five Civilized Tribes,

native handicrafts seem to have disappeared almost completely, and the examples that remain might be classified as "antiques" in the popular acceptance of the term.

Varieties of Native Handicrafts in Homes. Various native arts are still widely popular. Some of the most important of the handicrafts practiced in the homes of one or more tribes are: Pottery making; bead work, both embroidery and loom work; basket making from a wide variety of materials; the weaving of rush or grass mats; the weaving of corn husk bags; blanket and other textile weaving, mostly in wool; the tanning of leather and making of leather garments and other articles; and the hand manufacture of silver and turquoise jewelry. Of these arts the work with beads and the making of baskets are the most nearly universal, while the making of pottery and baskets and the weaving of rugs and blankets among the desert dwellers of the Southwest are the most flourishing.

Tendencies to Disappear or Degenerate. The general tendency is for the native arts to disappear. In various localities this has already occurred. To some slight extent borrowed arts or the "fancy work" taught in some of the government and mission schools takes their place, but for the most part nothing is substituted. The process of disappearing is a shift with the generations. The fine old craftsmen die without having taught anyone to do the work as they did it. A typical instance is that of a Mission Indian woman, no longer young, whose baskets are much admired for workmanship and beauty and therefore bring high prices. Although her younger neighbors value her work, no one seeks to learn from her and when she is gone she will leave no successor. Across the street from her home is a neat little house with a wonderful display of old baskets, many of which were made by the deceased grandmother of the family, whose descendants are proud of the evidences of her skill but cannot practice her art.

The reason for this tendency toward the disappearance of the native crafts are several. Government employees say that many of the young people look upon the work of their elders as old fashioned, and some employees are inclined to atttribute this attitude to the influence of the schools. A more fundamental reason is the impact of modern life upon Indian society. Indians like whites

prefer riding about in automobiles, if they have them, instead of sitting quietly at home and working. Moreover, as the ancient religious and ceremonial customs loosen their hold, the arts connected with this department of life tend also to lapse. The old handicrafts are most flourishing where the native religious beliefs are still powerful.

Then, too, the practice of some of the handicrafts is strictly limited by availability of the necessary materials. These primitive crafts are largely dependent upon native vegetable and animal life. Even beadwork, though beads are a commercial product, requires skins and sinew. Skins in particular are difficult to secure, especially since the sale of deerskin in some parts of the Indian country is severely regulated by law. Beads of good quality are very difficult and often impossible for Indians to find in any market they frequent.

In many tribes the arts tend to degenerate. Some baskets weavers and many textile weavers now resort to the convenient use of the vivid commercial dyes instead of the more lasting and beautiful vegetable dyes of former times. Marked degeneration is noticeable in the beadwork of many localities. This degeneration is not all the Indians' fault, for beads of desirable size, shape, and color are often hard to find, and much superior workmanship is wasted on the garish beads the traders sell. In some places, however, the present practice is to work with the larger beads and thus produce for sale quickly, and to resort to poor designs or even to a hit-and-miss type of beading, very ugly and uninteresting. The designs used in much of the bead work are no longer native or distinctive. The corn husk bags of the Northwestern Indians are likewise deteriorating in finish, design, and color, though as a rule they are still of fine workmanship. Much of the pottery of the Pueblo dwelling Indians is made merely to sell and shows the carelessness incident upon quantity production. In the aggregate a vast amount of labor, most of it painstaking and much of it superior, is expended upon the making of Indian things; but far too large a part of this labor is unproductive because the Indians use poor materials, loud colors, or inferior designs.

Tendencies to Develop. At least one instance may be cited of a recently developed handicraft which is apparently an Indian invention. The Paiutes of a single locality cover small smoothly woven

split osier baskets entirely with beads. The designs are characteristically Indian, the color combinations fairly good, and the ingenuity and workmanship remarkable, especially in the adaptation of the woven design to spherical surfaces.

Individuals and private organizations have for years been actively interested in fostering and developing or restoring native Indian arts. Some achievements are the introduction of old designs and improved methods in the making of pottery in some of the Rio Grande Pueblos; the revival and encouragement of woolen embroidery among the women of some of the Pueblos; the increase in quality and output of silver work in a colony of Navajos by the application of business enterprise combined with high standards of excellence; and the improvement of bead work in several tribes by furnishing beads and other materials of good quality, the best of native designs or general specifications, and a steady market for the product.

Government Attitude Toward Native Arts. The government has made a little effort of late years to foster the native arts by introducing some instruction into the schools. This effort is largely confined to a few of the day schools and boarding schools of the Southwest, where rug weaving, pottery making, and the drawing and painting of typical Indian designs are encouraged. This kind of instruction, however, has not been introduced as a matter of general policy, but has developed only where individuals or organizations have been specially interested in its promotion.

No systematic effort has been made to encourage or develop the Indian handicrafts on the reservations. The general policy has been to make a white man of the Indian rather than to encourage things native. As a rule field matrons and teachers have not made much effort as individuals to stimulate activity in the native industries. Many of them appreciate the products enough to acquire specimens, but field workers as a rule feel the pressure of more immediate tasks, and many of them know little better than the Indians how to secure materials or how to find good markets for the finished work. Neither have they the time, or in some instances the taste or the skill, to control the quality of the work done, and the difficulty of disposing of low grade products has proved the chief obstacle to the development of markets where the effort has been made. In a few instances Indian women have been encouraged to

forsake Indian handicrafts and to compete with whites by making for sale such things as household linens or children's clothing. Such efforts usually fail for lack of a market.

The Marketing of Products of Native Art. The Indians cannot develop their own markets because they are remote from their potential customers and because they have little business experience. Usually they sell or trade their wares directly to local dealers who dispose of them to tourists or to large dealers. But some of these Indians who live in the line of tourist travel sell directly to the tourists, especially if they come to the homes of the Indians.

Under such circumstances there can be little standardization of price. Prices are determined by individual bargaining and have little relation to intrinsic value or to the cost of production. Traders among the Navajos say that families carry their rugs to several different stores before they will sell. The Hopis, too, are keen in getting the best market possible. But the Indians of many tribes have little ability to set values. Consequently prices are often too low, especially if the necessity of the vender is great, and they are often too high, especially if the sale is made directly to the tourist. It adds to the confusion of values that the transaction between the traders and the Indians is often an exchange of commodities. Some Indians are said by traders to refuse payment in cash, preferring to barter instead. In a few localities there is a considerable exchange of handiwork and produce between Indians of different tribes.

Relation of Handicrafts to Income. Since the sale of handmade articles takes place independently of the reservation office, superintendents can make only very rough estimates of the amount of income derived from this source. Probably such sales do not form in the aggregate a large proportion of the income on many reservations; but they constitute a supplementary income much needed by most of the producing families and essential to the existence of some, and are therefore of considerable importance on reservations. Among Pueblo dwellers such income is fairly steady and dependable and is no small factor in a comparatively high standard of living. In many localities the production and sale of articles is resorted to seasonally when supplies of food are exhausted and funds are low. This is said by some observers to be the chief reason for the production of Navajo rugs. Among Indians gener-

ally the sale of handiwork constitutes a financial resource in emergencies such as crop failures. The Indians of various tribes do not like to sell their best work, and only do so as a last resort under extreme necessity.

Some of the handicrafts, such as the making of baskets and rugs, are somewhat seasonal by reason of the nature of the raw materials. But most of them afford work when there is nothing else to do, and thus idle time is turned into money. Although this utilization of spare time is as a rule a good thing, still there is danger that with an increase in the demand for these products the main support of the families might tend to fall upon the women rather than the men. One of the field matrons believes that this is now true in many Hopi families. Some observers say the same thing of the Navajos, among whom the women do practically everything connected with the rugs. They take care of the lambs, they and the children herd the sheep, they even do the shearing in some cases, and from that stage on they do all the work. Navajo children in describing their home life tell of their mothers' rising early and staying up late at night to work at their rugs. The men attend to the horses and cattle, but raise few crops.

Social Value of Handicrafts. Much of the traditional religious and social significance has been removed from Indian arts. Formerly when a woman made moccasins for her husband or father or son she sat in religious reverie and embroidered them with religious symbols; she made them strong because they must not fail their wearer in the hunt or the fight, but must fulfill an economic purpose for the family and the clan; she made them beautiful because they were for those she loved. Now the men go to the traders and buy heavy boots or shoes, while the women make the moccasins to sell to the traders. The economic motive has changed and become less personal.

The recreational and artistic aspects of these pursuits might, however, be much developed even under present conditions. The expression of individuality through creative art is one of the highest forms of happiness. It constitutes a refuge from monotony and a resource for leisure of great value to women who have only the primitive social life of the more conservative Indian communities, particularly in some of the Pueblos where the restrictions on returned students are severe. It makes possible a goal for women

ambitious to achieve something noteworthy. Already individuals from several tribes have gained reputations as artists in the making of pottery, baskets, and rugs. They are known by name in the markets of the whites and some of the potters are now able to enhance the value of their products by their signatures.

The making of articles of value proves a means to the social amenities. In some tribes of the Northwest the interchange of handsome gifts made expressly for that purpose is so settled a custom that it is difficult to buy their blankets and bags outright. Handicrafts also offer a good basis for wholesome group activity. Indian women seem to enjoy working together and talking while they work just as much as do their white sisters. This probably explains the popularity of quilt making in some of the women's clubs.

The fostering and development of the native arts is a wholesome thing in inter-racial relations. It is good for both Indians and whites to realize that Indians have a distinctive contribution to make to the world. Through the Junior Red Cross, Indian and white school children have in some instances developed acquaintance by correspondence. In one such school where the Indian children have made drawings and designs illustrative of their ceremonies and arts and have explained the meaning of their drawings in their letters, the teacher says that this project has contributed more to stimulate the children's education than anything else in their school life.

Suggestions for Government Supervision. The Indian Office should include in its program the development of Indian handicrafts. This program would involve on the one hand the securing of marketable goods and on the other the organization of a market. The quality of products should be standardized and their genuineness guaranteed. Articles should be: (1) Characteristically Indian, (2) of good materials, (3) of good workmanship, (4) of good color and design, (5) usable unless intended merely for display; (6) unique or original so far as compatible with the other requisites, (7) tagged with the government's guarantee of genuineness and quality, and (8) priced fairly. To achieve these things it would be necessary to exercise some supervision over the workers in their homes. Employees should see that the workers avoid mistakes that

would make articles unsalable and that they be enabled to secure the best materials to be had. It would be necessary also to stimulate originality of design, to encourage regularity of production, and to require as far as possible good working conditions in the homes, especially with respect to cleanliness and light. This work would of course be slow, and spectacular results could not be expected.

If the experience in private ventures is significant the organization of a market would not be difficult. The typical experience is a demand for really good products, far beyond the available supply. Probably little advertising would be necessary except the issuing of simple catalogs. With two persons in advisory or supervisory positions, one with the necessary business qualifications and the other technically trained in arts of this nature and appreciative of primitive types of work, a good beginning could be made without employing specialized people locally. Much could be accomplished through the day schools and the boarding schools. At present most of the work done under government auspices is in the hands of the teachers.

The development of handicrafts should be a means to an end; namely, the improvement of the economic and social conditions of life. The success of the enterprise should therefore be measured not merely by financial results but more particularly by social consequences. The work should not be developed at the expense of family life. To aim too directly at business success might result in a system of "sweating," or might shift the burden of support unduly upon the wives. To aim at an exclusive form of art might eliminate workers who could do a good standard grade of work with profit to themselves and their customers.

The development of this work should have a place in community plans. In some cases community houses and school buildings might profitably have light comfortable rooms and workshops for the use of individuals or clubs. In all communities work in clubs and classes should be encouraged for its social value.

Personnel. No standardized plan for organization and personnel can be set up for mechanical application to all Indian reservations. Although the social problems of ill health, low standards of living, family disintegration, undeveloped community life, and lack of occupational adjustment are to be found everywhere, each agency has it own peculiar conditions. The size of reservations, density and distribution of population, character of the country, economic and social relation to the outside world, tribal peculiarities, historical background especially with relation to past government policies, present government policies and personnel, and cleavages among the Indians, all combine to make the development of wholesome conditions of life and work a distinctly individual task for each superintendent.

Expert Service to the Reservation. No superintendent, no matter how able, can develop a satisfactory program for his reservation without outside help. He needs the service of experts who are familiar with the various problems confronting him and with the methods used in handling these problems in the general population, and who have knowledge of the experience of the various reservations with reference to the peculiar character the problems and methods of treatment assume among Indians. These experts should be available from the Washington office. They should coöperate with superintendents in making local surveys and setting up programs. Their advice or supervision should be available from time to time as the program is put into execution. No local program should be set up without their assistance, for they would have specialized knowledge in their own fields, they would be free from local factional bias, and a joint program would have more prestige with the Indians than one set up by the superintendent alone.

Under some circumstances it would be both desirable and possible to utilize also expert help from state, county, and private agencies in planning for Indians who must eventually become charges upon such agencies unless educated for release from federal control.

Trained Service on the Reservation. As a condition for putting the local program into execution each superintendent should be provided with a staff of permanent workers who have had their previous training and experience in social work with first class organizations. The superintendent, even if the reservation is small, cannot be expected to administer it as a business and do much of the personal contact work. He should have the assistance of employees who are able to perform the function of education in their respective lines of field work, besides interpreting government policies successfully to the Indians and furnishing him with such

data concerning the welfare of the Indians as he should have for administrative purposes. These field employees should also be able to establish outside contacts with whites whenever this would serve the interests of the Indians.

Except the recent beginnings in developing field nursing, the concerted attempts to improve the quality of the work with the women in the homes have been confined almost entirely to the promulgation of rules and regulations and statements of general objectives and to the requiring of routine reports to Washington. These are only makeshifts. Three things are necessary to effective local service:

1. Training for the duties of the position. Persons with the necessary qualifications may be secured through Civil Service examination.

2. Definite objectives of work, involving a selection of the more fundamental and the more pressing needs to be met on the reservation. These objectives should be supplied by the formulation of a local program.

3. Supervision and counsel. Supervision of a general administrative character is the function of the superintendent, that of a technical professional character should be available from the expert staff in Washington.

Types of Service to Homes. If existing conditions are to be much changed for the better five* distinctive types of service must be rendered to the homes by the local staff. All these services are concerned with the same problem of subnormal standards, though occupied immediately with different aspects of the problem. All, therefore, have a common duty of mutual aid not specified under the duties of each separately. Each of the five includes also the duty of record keeping. Full and accurate records are essential to continuity of work whenever there are changes of personnel. But even if there are no shifts of workers, records are essential to good work. They are as necessary to the social case worker as is the medical case record to the doctor, and for the same reasons.

* Services specially treated under other sections of this report, such as the medical and those parts of the industrial concerned primarily with the activities of the men, are omitted from this list.

It is impossible to do intelligent case work of any kind without careful and complete case records.

1. Health Promotion: The chief duties of the public health service to the homes are:

(a) Teaching the underlying principles of health, such as household sanitation, food values in their relation to health, and the protection of the well from the sick. This involves attention to prenatal hygiene as well as to the care of infants and small children.

(b) Cultivating healthful habits of living in both adults and children, especially with reference to eating and sleeping. This work can be carried on through the schools, the clubs of the Junior Red Cross, and other clubs, as well as through visits to the homes.

(c) Stimulating families and communities to self help in matters of concern to health, such as the provision of household and community sanitary conveniences and desirable food supplies.

(d) Teaching hygiene and the care of the sick in the homes and securing family coöperation with the physician and with the clinic, sanatorium, or hospital, wherever such treatment is found desirable.

(e) Working with state and private agencies wherever possible, in order to stimulate active interest in the health of Indians and coöperation in its improvement.

2. Adult Education for Homemaking: The duties of this service to homes involve work chiefly with women, but to some extent with men. The principal duties are:

(a) Teaching the housewife how to make the most of available resources. This teaching includes training in the fullest utilization of the food supply; the care and remodeling of clothing; the making and care of simple furniture, bedding, and the like; and the making of some utensils. It may involve organizing clubs.

(b) Teaching the family how to enlarge their resources by the keeping of domestic animals and the cultivation and preservation of vegetables, fruits, or other food supply. This may involve club work.

(c) Enlisting or helping to enlist the coöperation of the men and children of the family in improving the condition of the home and surroundings.

(d) Teaching the household arts to girls' clubs, such as the Four-H clubs, in coöperation with the schools.

(e) Teaching the women how to do retail buying, extending this instruction to the men and children also if they do any considerable part of the buying for the household.

(f) Enlisting the help of local merchants and traders and of state and county home demonstration workers in this program of education.

3. Promotion of Economic Efficiency: Promotion of economic efficiency is a part of a general industrial program. The service to women and homes includes:

(a) Vocational guidance of women who find it necessary to support the family or to add to the income, and of school girls who wish to enter wage earning occupations.

(b) Occupational training of women and girls who must add to the family income or who must be self supporting. On many reservations this training would consist largely of stimulating and developing the native handicrafts. In some localities agricultural pursuits such as the raising of chickens, turkeys, or rabbits, the keeping of bees, or the preservation of foods for the market should be developed, while in others arrangements should be made to secure training for urban occupations.

(c) Representing the interests of the women in the employment service of the agency.

(d) Coöperating with the agricultural agent or other industrial worker in developing family and community agricultural and industrial plans.

(e) Working coöperatively with state and private organizations in order to keep in touch with occupational developments and to stimulate interest in the economic problems of the Indians.

4. Treatment of Personal Maladjustments: The duties involved in the treatment of the personal maladjustments embrace:

(a) The diagnosis and treatment of the personal difficulties involved in failure to make a living, such as feeble-mindedness, insanity, physical handicaps, and occupational maladjustments, as well as lack of harmony between members of the family, and bad habits where no abnormalities are indicated.

(b) Administering relief and providing for the care of dependents, such as orphans and the aged.

(c) The prevention, as far as possible, of divorce or separation, of irregular sex relations, through the effecting of harmonious adjustments within the family and the community.

(d) The prevention of juvenile and adult delinquency by securing the treatment of physical and mental difficulties as well as by improvements in environmental conditions, both family and community. This prevention involves work with pre-delinquents and the exercise of the probationary function in connection with courts handling domestic relations and delinquency.

(e) Enlisting family coöperation in plans for clinical or institutional treatment of members whenever such treatment is desirable.

(f) Enlisting the help of state and local agencies concerned with the above problems, especially for clinical service, and for police or other community control of commercialized vice and harmful forms of recreation.

5. Community Recreation: Community recreation involves the service to homes through the development of wholesome community interests and activities of a recreational nature, and includes:

(a) The fostering of the better forms of native recreation, eliminating or controlling so far as possible any bad features; the development of local interests in order to set up competition with camp life.

(b) Encouragement of the recreational features of the native handicrafts, particularly as a relief from the monotony of chronic illness.

(c) The study and improvement of the recreational features of home life, especially the encouragement of forms of short period entertaining to take the place of the protracted visiting now prevalent.

(d) The developing of the recreational programs of community centers, usually in coöperation with the schools. The work includes the providing of play facilities for children of school age or younger; the developing of libraries and story hours, and the organizing of groups in the community for musical, athletic, and dramatic activities.

(e) Coöperation with missionaries and other private agencies in planning comprehensive programs of recreation.

(f) In mixed Indian and white communities the encouragement of community forms of recreation to promote inter-racial acquaintance and understanding.

6. Specialized Types of Social Case Work: In some parts of the Service certain special conditions may be so acute in form or so common that some of the more specialized kinds of social work will be necessary. Of these specialized forms of case work the following are examples:

(a) Medical social work, which "is based upon a medical need and is so integrated with the hospital organization and the practice of medicine that it cannot exist of itself as a separate entity. Its method is similar to that of family case work but it must utilize a particular content of medical and social knowledge and it is on a consideration of the medical problems that the social plan is initiated." [a] The medical social worker acts as interpreter between doctor, patient, the patient's family, and the different social agencies of the community, initiating and helping to put into effect a plan whereby the patient is enabled to carry out the recommendations of the physician. Such service is peculiarly needed among the Indians in view of the prevalence of tuberculosis, a disease which usually necessitates temporary, and frequently permanent, economic adjustments.

(b) The re-education of the adult blind either in their homes or in classes with a view to making them self supporting and useful members of the community. This involves an equipment of social case work training combined with technical training in the teaching of the blind. It is partly vocational, partly recreational, and may involve a variety of social adjustments in the family group and the community.

(c) Occupational therapy in tuberculosis sanatoria. It supplies training in a variety of handicrafts as well as an understanding of the symptoms of the disease and the mental states accompanying it. The objects to be attained by such work among Indian patients would be to lessen their discontent under sanatorium existence, thus prolonging their stay and promoting a cure; and to develop for chronic cases a means to full or partial self support.

[a] From a bulletin of the American Association of Social Workers: "Vocational aspects of medical social work."

(d) The placement of orphan or otherwise homeless children in foster homes where they may have the advantage of wholesome family life. Child placing involves an expert type of investigative work and supervision of the homes and the children. It is only one of several specialized lines of social case work with dependent or neglected children.

Positions Necessary to Performance of Services. A class of positions for each one of the four major types of service should be created in order that specially qualified persons may be available for communities with outstanding problems of a specialized character. It is hardly likely, however, that an employee of each class would prove the best local arrangement, even in a large and backward community covering large territory. In many jurisdictions the duties of adult education and the promotion of economic efficiency could be combined under a single employee, while on small reservations these duties could be shared by the public health nurse and the family case worker, in addition to their own specialized forms of work. In a small locality with flourishing day schools, recreational activities for adults as well as children might be centered in the schools if the teaching staff were able to assume the extra duties involved. Two women workers to any given area should be considered a minimum, for no one person can have the wide variety of training and experience necessary for the proper performance of all the essential services to women and homes.

The qualifications for these positions should be:

For the public health nurse: (1) Graduation from a training school of recognized standing; (2) one year's course in public health; (3) at least one year's successful experience under supervision in a regularly organized public health nursing association.

For the home demonstration worker, the vocational adviser, the general family case worker, and the recreation leader: (1) The equivalent of a B. A. or B. S. degree; (2) at least one year's technical training for social administration; (3) two years of successful experience with an organization of recognized standing.

The positions of family case worker and recreation leader should be open to both men and women.

Duties and Qualifications of the Girls' Matrons in Boarding Schools. In either a reservation or a non-reservation boarding

school each matron should be responsible for not over twenty-five girls if she is to perform the following duties satisfactorily:

1. Creating as far as possible a family atmosphere with unobtrusive protection and chaperonage.

2. Supervising or helping to supervise the spending of money and otherwise encouraging the formation of habits of value to future homemakers.

3. Counselling with girls on personal problems of all kinds. This includes vocational guidance.

4. Coöperating with teachers in the study of girls whose school work is poor or who present other personality difficulties.

5. Coöperating with teachers and others in supplying the recreational needs of girls and boys.

6. Encouraging contacts between the girls and their homes.

7. Interpreting the ways of white people to the girls and creating useful points of contact between them and whites.

8. Serving as a local representative of the central employment service for girls. Girls' matrons might constitute a local committee on placement headed by the superintendent of the school.

The educational qualifications for girls' matrons should be the same as for teachers in a school system having a recognized guidance program, and in addition: (1) A least one year's successful experience as vocational adviser in an accredited high school; or (2) at least one year's successful experience as a teacher in an accredited Indian high school; or (3) at least one year's successful experience in some form of personnel work or recreational work with young women or adolescent girls.

Salaries and Conditions of Work. Higher standards for salaries and working conditions must be set up and maintained if the Indian Service is to secure and retain competent workers on reservations. Employees who value their own efficiency will not tarry long in the Service under conditions that tend to impair their ability as workers.

Salaries should be equivalent to those paid for similar services by the best state and private organizations. If deductions for living quarters must be made they should be proportionate to the values received, and no discrimination should be made against Indian employees in the assignment of quarters. On many reservations

more and better living accommodations for employees are much needed.

Either closed cars should be furnished for field workers or they should be allowed to provide their own cars and be paid mileage sufficient to cover the full expense of operation.

The recreational life of employees should be provided for, at least by supplying comfortable club rooms equipped with radios, magazines, and books. First class work cannot be done by persons suffering under the ill effects of long continued isolation from the outside world. Employees should have at least one day in seven entirely free from the duties of the Indian Service. As a rule evenings should be left free from routine duties unless equivalent time is allowed during the day. Employees should be allowed their full annual leave.

Incompetence of employees should be a cause for dismissal rather than for a long series of transfers. Transfers should be infrequent, especially since tribal customs and attitudes and other local conditions vary so widely that an employee is a considerable time in reaching the maximum of usefulness in a given situation. The employee who fails to do good work after two or three trials at the most has usually demonstrated sufficiently that he does not belong in the Indian Service. Under the conditions of isolation typical of the Service, the incompetence of one is almost sure to lower the morale of the local group. The dislike of Indians or a lack of sympathetic understanding of the race should be considered incompetence.

APPENDIX

TABLE 1.—*Number of homes studied by five members of the survey staff,[a] by reservation or locality*

Reservation or tribe	Total	Number of homes visited by	
		One person	Two or more persons
Total	519	363	156
Blackfeet	19	9	10
Cass Lake	23	16	7
Cheyenne River	16	16	...
Consolidated Ute	4	4	...
Crow	6	6	...
Five Civilized Tribes	88	33	55
Flathead	7	7	...
Ft. Belknap	12	9	3
Ft. Berthold	10	10	...
Ft. Hall	16	16	...
Ft. Peck	9	...	9
Hopi	10	9	1
Hualapai	9	9	...
Jicarilla	7	7	...
Keshena	9	9	...
Kiowa	28	17	11
Klamath	8	8	...
Laguna	3	3	...
Leupp	5	5	...
Mission	13	8	5
Osage	16	9	7
Ponca	5	4	1
Potawatomi	5	5	...
Nevada Industrial Colonies	9	8	1
Rocky Boy's	10	10	...
Rosebud	17	10	7
Sacaton	4	4	...
San Carlos	8	8	...
Schurz	30	11	19
Shawnee	5	5	...
Sisseton	4	2	2
Skokomish	2	2	...
Tomah	7	7	...
Tongue River	13	13	...
Tulalip	22	12	10
Umatilla	4	4	...
Warm Springs	7	7	...
Western Navajo	3	3	...
Winnebago	10	7	3
Yakima	11	11	...
Zuni	5	5	...
Scattered families	20	15	5

[a] This table includes only family visits made by Mr. Cloud, Dr. Dale, Dr. Edwards, Miss Mark, and Mr. Meriam which are recorded in their field notes in some detail. Many other homes were visited where it was impracticable to get much information because of absence of members of the family, language difficulties, reticence of the Indians, or limitations of time. The practice was not to attempt to get information from Indians who appeared really ill at ease.

It does not include the farms and homes visited by Dr. Spillman in his study of agriculture or the homes visited by Miss Duke in studying the migrated Indians. Dr. Ryan and Dr. McKenzie also visited homes as an incident to their work but these visits are not included here.

TABLE 2.—*Number of houses of various sizes, classified according to the number of occupants*[a]

Number of persons in household	Total	Number of rooms in dwelling[b]							
		1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8 or more
Total..	366	97	98	83	40	19	14	8	7
1	13	5	5	1	1	1	..	..	..
2	49	13	13	10	7	..	2	3	1
3	49	9	19	10	4	2	2	1	2
4	57	14	15	10	10	3	3	1	1
5	56	16	15	12	7	4	2	..	..
6	48	12	12	18	4	1	1	..	..
7	36	10	5	10	4	4	3	..	..
8	17	7	4	2	1	..	..	1	2
9	17	6	4	3	1	1	..	1	1
10	13	3	3	4	1	..	1	1	..
11 or more.	11	2	3	3	..	3	..	..	..

[a] Only homes visited for which both number of rooms and number of members of the household were secured are included in this table.

[b] A household occupying two wickiups is enumerated as having two rooms. A tent or tepee alongside a house is counted an extra room if occupied by the household. Arbors are not considered rooms.

TABLE 3.—*Number of homes of each size*

Number of rooms	Homes	
	Number	Per cent distribution
Total	366	100.0
1	97	26.5
2	98	26.8
3	83	22.6
4	40	10.9
5	19	5.2
6	14	3.8
7	8	2.2
8	3	0.8
9	1	0.3
10	1	0.3
11	1	0.3
12	1	0.3

TABLE 4.—*Number of households of each size*

Number of persons	Households	
	Number	Per cent distribution
Total	366	100.0
1	13	3.6
2	49	13.4
3	49	13.4
4	57	15.6
5	56	15.3
6	48	13.1
7	36	9.8
8	17	4.6
9	17	4.6
10	13	3.6
11	7	2.0
12	2	0.5
13	2	0.5

TABLE 5.—*Amounts spent for different classes of foods by Apache and Pima families with no other source of food supply but the trader's store* [a]

Tribe and family number	Amount spent for						Per cent spent for					
	Vegetables and fruits	Milk and cheese	Meat, fish, and eggs	Bread and cereals	Fat, sugar, and food adjuncts	Total	Vegetables and fruits [b]	Milk and cheese [b]	Meat, fish, and eggs	Bread and cereals	Fat, sugar, and food adjuncts	Total
San Carlos Apache												
1	$2.20	....	$5.00	$2.55	$6.15	$24.90	8.8	....	32.1	34.3	24.7	100.0
2	5.90	$ .55	8.35	8.90	8.95	32.65	18.1	1.7	25.6	27.3	27.4	100.0
3	.65	....	2.45	6.00	5.45	14.55	4.5	....	16.8	41.2	37.5	100.0
4	1.65	.15	9.20	4.50	3.65	19.15	8.6	.8	48.0	23.5	19.1	100.0
5	2.55	....	14.55	7.05	7.30	31.45	8.1	....	46.3	22.4	23.2	100.0
6	7.45	.25	10.95	7.10	8.55	34.30	21.7	.7	31.9	20.7	24.9	100.0
Sacaton Pima												
1	2.11	.97	6.10	4.35	9.02	22.55	9.4	4.3	27.1	19.3	40.0	100.0
2	6.08	1.75	8.43	9.30	7.55	34.01	20.5	5.1	24.8	27.3	22.2	100.0
3	5.89	1.00	8.99	5.32	12.88	34.08	17.3	2.9	26.4	15.6	37.8	100.0
4	9.20	1.55	6.50	6.82	11.50	35.57	25.9	4.4	18.3	19.2	32.3	100.0
Gillette percentage distribution [c]	....	....	....	....	....	....	17.0 to 22.0	20.0 to 30.0	20.0 to 30.0	17.0 to 27.0	12.0 to 15.0	....

[a] Store accounts were obtained from several merchants in order to get some definite idea of the food consumption of Apaches and Pimas. Each trader was asked to furnish at least one month's account for families who bought only from him and only on credit. This, of course, involves a selection, for some families are too unreliable to be allowed credit, and their buying habits are likely to be poorer than those of the families with accounts. None of these families had gardens or domestic animals. Each trader furnished the account of one family with good living conditions and one with poor conditions, choosing no family in which either husband or wife was lacking. Preferably families consisting of father, mother, and children were selected. Each account covers approximately a month in the fall of 1926.

[b] Professor Sherman of Columbia University gives the following rules of safety governing expenditures for food: "(1) At least as much should be spent for milk (including cream and cheese if used) as for meats, poultry and fish, and (2) at least as much should be spent for fruits and vegetables as for meats, poultry, and fish."

[c] The distribution based upon the experience of Miss Lucy Gillette in her work upon family nutrition problems for the New York Association for Improving the Condition of the Poor.

TABLE 6.—*Age of matrons in boarding schools* *

Age	Number
Total	110
Less than 25	4
25 but less than 30	1
30 " " " 35	10
35 " " " 40	9
40 " " " 45	29
45 " " " 50	17
50 " " " 55	12
55 " " " 60	14
60 " " " 65	6
65 and over	1
Not reported	7

* This information is from questionnaires filled out by employees reporting as "Matrons," "Head Matrons," and "Girls' Matrons."

CHAPTER XII

THE MIGRATED INDIANS

General social and economic forces will inevitably operate to accelerate the migration of Indians from the reservations to industrial communities. For two major reasons the Indian Service should keep well informed regarding the conditions confronted by these migrated Indians. The first reason is that the evidence thus secured will furnish the basis for the modification and development of educational resources, such as schools and the other activities maintained by the government, to fit Indians to meet life in the face of white civilization. The second reason is that the Indian Service can render an invaluable service to migrated Indians in aiding them to become established in and adjusted to their new environment. In the case of reservations possessed of meagre economic resources and opportunities, it may even prove advisable for the government deliberately to adopt a policy looking toward expediting this movement to such industrial communities as afford fullest opportunities for labor and development.

The nature of the activities which the government itself will undertake in aiding the migrated Indians should be determined upon the basis of a thorough study of the facts in each particular situation, because as the present brief survey discloses, conditions are far from uniform. A policy and program applicable to one set of conditions would be entirely inapplicable to a different situation.

The Indians living in camps on the outskirts of Needles, Kingman, Globe, and Miami are obviously just reservation Indians, more or less temporaily industrially employed in these communities. Their needs with respect to the promotion of health and the raising of social and economic conditions are virtually the same as those of their fellows still on the reservation, though the problem of rendering these services is somewhat complicated by their immediate proximity to the white towns. It is eminently desirable that insofar as possible they should participate in the normal life

of the white community. More general attendance of their children in public schools, for example, is much to be desired.

Obviously, these camp Indians have not yet so far advanced that the white communities will receive them without discrimination. In these communities the objections of the whites may be based less on really racial feeling than on grounds of health, sanitation, and mode of life. These white communities are not yet prepared themselves to assume the responsibilities for the social and economic advancement of Indians. They regard those responsibilities as belonging to the national government, and they leave them largely to that government. In all probability certain elements in these communities are far more interested in the Indians as a supply of cheap mobile unskilled labor than in the Indians as future productive, skilled workers, capable of maintaining themselves at a reasonable American standard of living. The national government must, therefore, be prepared for some time to devote special attention to Indians in these camps. The present conditions give rise to a close association in the public mind between the Indian race and low standards of health and manner of living, which is in itself unfortunate. The feeling will tend, naturally, to become stronger unless the national government exerts itself vigorously to raise the standards at these camps. Because these Indians are in direct contact with the whites, they should if anything be given more specific attention than their brothers on the reservations. If real progress can be made with them the way will be made easier for other Indians coming from the reservations, and as they come they will be influenced by the higher standards of these industrial Indians. At present one gets the impression that standards at the camps are no better than those on the reservations, except that earnings may be a little higher and that the children may get the more normal contacts of public schools.

The interest of the Santa Fé Railroad in the Indians about Gallup and Winslow would seem to afford a real opportunity for close cooperation between the railroad and the government schools in the vicinity. In several white communities schools and larger employers have been able to establish relationships which are mutually helpful. The larger employers find in the schools a source of supply of trained employees, and the schools can to some degree direct their training toward meeting the needs of the employers

in their immediate vicinity. The present survey has made no effort to determine whether any plan of part time service could be arranged whereby advanced students, divided in alternating groups, could work for a given period for the company and then attend school for an equal period while their places with the company were filled by the other group. Such a plan is sometimes used effectively in white communities. One of the activities of the recommended Division of Planning and Development would be to see to what extent arrangements of this kind could be perfected so that the industrial training of the schools could be freed from a certain element of artificiality and be more directly pointed toward the economic life of the community where the pupils are to find their places.

The evidence from the cities where the Indians have been absorbed into the white communities likewise tends to emphasize the need for better general education and industrial training in the government schools, a subject more completely covered in the chapter of this report relating to education. It brings out, too, the facts previously noted that the Indians on coming to a city are handicapped in getting positions commensurate with their ability because of timidity or shyness, lack of aggressiveness, and lack of contacts and experience. The almost universal testimony as to the integrity and faithfulness of the Indians as workers and the evidence of their mental capacity leads to the conclusion that an improved educational system, accompanied by some well-directed aid in placement, would be effective in adjusting Indian youth to modern industrial conditions.

The evidence further suggests that the efforts of the national government in the larger cities to which the Indians will naturally migrate should be directed not toward building up an independent organization in such cities for aiding the migrated Indians, but rather toward establishing coöperative relations with existing agencies which serve the population as a whole. Such coöperation will not only be economical; it will also tend to lessen the racial distinctions. To effect this coöperation the Indian Service should have well qualified specialists who are thoroughly familiar with their respective fields and have high enough standing to merit recognition among those engaged in like work. Such specialists will have greater vision as to what is practicable than would a

person experienced only as a general administrator, just as they will be more effective in establishing the necessary relationship with local organizations.

The friendly attitude of the migrated Indians toward the public schools of the communities in which they reside is particularly noteworthy and suggests several conclusions. In the first place it is an Indian indorsement of the recent policy of the Indian Service insofar as possible to place Indian children in the ordinary public schools. This policy should be continued and pressed as rapidly as it can effectively be done, or, in other words, as rapidly as the ordinary public schools are ready to receive the Indian children and give them at least as good an education as the national government schools. Insofar as this enthusiasm for public schools is based on the defects of the government schools, it suggests the remedying of these defects. The criticism of the migrated Indians regarding the half-time plan in the government schools, the quality of the teaching personnel, the long day, the excessive amount of labor required of the children, the insufficiency of food and care, and the comparatively low standards of the industrial training and academic schooling are reasonably justified by the facts as ascertained by the present survey. So long as it is necessary for the government to operate special schools for Indians they should be on at least as high a standard as the better public schools.

Although special schools for Indian children maintained by the national government will be necessary for many years to come, the policy of the government should look toward their gradual elimination. With this object in view it should progressively modify them so that more and more they will dovetail into the general educational system of the nearby communities in order that the Indian youth may without serious difficulty in adjustment transfer from the government Indian school to the public school or go directly from the Indian school to higher educational institutions without academic difficulties. Both on the reservation and in the cities, the evidence shows a growing realization on the part of the Indians of the importance of education and training in making a satisfactory economic adjustment. It is believed that the Indians are ready to take advantage of any material improvement in the educational facilities afforded them.

The fact that the migrated Indians are often bitter in their criticism of the field employees of the Indian Service is both understandable and regrettable. So far as the survey staff can judge, the feeling is much more bitter among the migrated Indians than among those on the reservations. Several explanations may be offered of this fact. Doubtless many of the migrated Indians left their reservation homes because of difficulties with government employees or because of government policies which were to them objectionable. They are probably, too, the more resourceful, energetic, and better educated of the race. They are not so fearful of what may result from frank outspoken criticism. They have had more opportunity to contrast what the government does for the Indians with what the ordinary city does for its citizens. Not unnaturally, they emphasize the defects and are not appreciative of the merits of government administration.

Certain of their criticisms should, however, be given serious consideration. The frequent charge that government employees will not discuss with the Indians matters that vitally concern them, reflects the failure of many Indian Service employees to regard their positions as primarily educational. The fact that the Indian wants to know about his affairs and is anxious to participate in the management of them is distinct evidence of progress. It indicates that the Indian is ready for promotion to a higher class where the lessons will relate to the management and control of property. The present field organization of the Indian Service is weak in persons capable of giving this instruction. As has been discussed more at length in the chapter on organization and management, the need is great for a very much stronger personnel in immediate contact with the Indians. Provision of skilled, well trained leaders in agricultural instruction, in industrial training and guidance, and in general health and social education would in a large measure overcome these difficulties, which may have been due, in part, to a wrong attitude among some government employees, but which might be accounted for solely by the smallness of their number, their multitudinous duties, and their lack of training and equipment as educators and leaders for the more advanced Indians.

Complaints regarding the methods used in investigating cases of friction and irregularities on reservations are similar to those voiced by the reservation Indians. In the chapter on organization

and management it has been recommended that these investigations be conducted openly and publicly by specialists from the Washington office,[1] that all interested persons be given an opportunity to be heard, and that the procedure be in the nature of formal, quasi-judicial hearings. It is of course recognized that such hearings will take more time than the present procedure, but in the long run they will save time because they will tend to settle difficulties.

The present situation, unfortunately, leaves the migrated Indian in a frame of mind which leads him to follow almost anyone who will vigorously attack the Indian Service. The only apparent remedy for such a situation is to set up official machinery which will afford these and other Indians full and free opportunity to voice their complaints with assurances that what they may say will be given full consideration and that insofar as their criticisms are well founded corrective action will be taken.

Their attitude with respect to claims and other legal rights gives further emphasis to the recommendation that these matters be settled definitely at the earliest possible date. The question of claims is considered more at length in the chapter on legal aspects.[2] Here it is only necessary to point out that the problems tend to become more difficult of settlement as they drag along. Many mixed bloods among the migrated Indians remain a problem to the national government only because their claims and rights remain unsettled. If the government would adopt a vigorous policy for the settlement of these old matters, the way would be open for these mixed bloods to be completely absorbed into the general life of the white population and, insofar as their immediate civic and economic interests are concerned, largely to forget their Indian blood. If the claims are not settled the difference in attitude and point of view between the full bloods and other reservation Indians and the migrated Indians with a modicum of Indian blood will become more serious. Intermarriage with whites is apparently rapidly taking place among the migrated Indians, and each such marriage complicates the settlement of the legal rights of the Indians. Prompt settlements are therefore essential.

Fortunately, the evidence secured in the larger cities shows little real racial discrimination against Indians. The tendency, apparently, is to accept them and let them have what they can secure through their own social and economic abilities. If the government can improve their training and better fit them for skilled productive labor its efforts apparently will not be seriously impeded by race discrimination.

[1] See pages 146 to 148.
[2] See pages 805 to 811.

Adjustment to White Civilization. The primary duty of the government in dealing with its Indian wards is to aid them in adjusting themselves to white civilization. To judge of the success or failure of this work as a whole and more particularly of the different methods and activities pursued in its prosecution, it is essential that detailed information be systematically secured and recorded regarding the Indians who have definitely made up their minds to follow the white man's road and are actually attempting to compete with white men in white communities. In the absence of such definite information, legislative and administrative decisions regarding policies and activities must frequently be based on theory or opinion rather than on definite facts. One of the obvious duties of the present survey of the general social and economic conditions of the Indians of the United States was, therefore, to gather information regarding what may be termed "the migrated Indians," or the Indians who have gone to white communities and are making their living or attempting to make it, in the ordinary occupations of an industrial community. To what extent are they succeeding from both the economic and social standpoints?

Governmental Methods of Keeping in Touch with Indians. The survey staff early discovered that the Indian Service has comparatively little specific detailed information regarding the migrated Indians. Although the problem of the "returned student" has long been recognized as one of the most difficult human problems the Service has to face, and although it has been perhaps dimly realized that, after all, the success or failure of the pupils from the Indian schools is the real measure of the efficiency of the schools, yet the Service has never put into operation an effective system for getting reliable information regarding the graduates and former pupils of its schools.

General instructions have been issued from the Washington office to the field directing the promotion of alumni associations and the maintenance of records of graduates or former students.

but the personnel to follow the instructions has not been available. A tendency is too often apparent thus to issue general instructions without detailed plans as to how the work is to be done and without provision of the funds and the personnel necessary for its accomplishment.

The field employees have four great obstacles to overcome in attempting to comply with such instructions: (1) The great difficulty of the task itself; (2) the lack of adequate records regarding all Indians under their jurisdiction; (3) the lack of funds and personnel; and (4) the high turnover among the employees at any jurisdiction resulting from resignations and transfers. In other chapters of this report attention has been repeatedly called to the fact that the employees in direct contact with the Indians rarely if ever maintain adequate current records of the social and economic conditions of the individual Indians and Indian families in their jurisdiction or specific records of the work done in their behalf. A request for detailed reports regarding graduates and former students, even at the time residing on the reservation, cannot be met by consulting the records. At best only fragmentary material can be secured at the agency office. The schools have little, if any, systematically collected data regarding former students.

Limited Data Available. The general experience of the survey staff, both at agencies and at schools, was that the best available information regarding graduates and former students is in the heads of some of the employees who have been at a jurisdiction for some time and have taken a real interest in the Indians. Such information is inevitably fragmentary and is likely to deal with extremes, the outstanding successes and the outstanding failures. Various school employees have kept some track of the progress of their pupils, usually of their more promising pupils, with whom they have established friendly relations. Some reservation superintendents are dubious as to the success of non-reservation boarding schools as training schools for Indians who return to the reservation, and are quick to recall several instances of conspicuous failure. Thus the question of unconscious bias is always to be considered in connection with such testimony, although many employees interviewed on this subject seemed entirely fair-minded in giving such information as they had.

Methods of Survey in Locating Indians. The early plan of the survey for a specific study of returned students on a sampling basis had to be abandoned, partly because of the lack of records and partly because of the difficulty of reaching the selected returned students on the reservation and finding them at home. An impossible amount of time would have been required for the prosecution of the plan. The only practicable course because of distance, time, and frequent absences of Indians from home, was to take the Indian families as they came, returned students and others.

In studying the migrated Indians, the same general course had to be pursued. From various sources it would be learned that a number of Indians were living in or near certain white communities. In many instances Indian Service employees could supply addresses of Indians at a given place and some data regarding them. Officers were helpful and coöperative in supplying these leads.[5] The representative of the survey staff who was studying the migrated Indians would then visit such communities as seemed to offer reasonable prospects of evidence sufficient to warrant the time and expense involved. With such leads she would visit those Indians named and all others she could find in the community, either through her initial contacts or through other information gathered in the locality. By this method a total of about one thousand contacts with Indians were made and somewhat extended interviews were secured from over eight hundred men and women living in the various cities.

Time limitations did not permit of visits to all of the cities to which Indians have migrated in comparatively large numbers. Selections were made of large cities and industrial centers in locations which have drawn Indians from the various Pueblos and other reservations of the Rio Grande Desert region, from the tribes of the Pacific Coast, and from the tribes of the Lakes and Plains.[6]

[5] The superintendents not only consulted the records; they called in clerks, cooks, teachers, doctors, and other employees long in the Service to search their memories for additional names and addresses not only of former students but also of any other Indians who had gone away from a given jurisdiction.

[6] Chicago, Detroit, and other cities reported to have considerable Indian populations could not be reached within the time allotted to the study. Nor were Oklahoma cities included. In Oklahoma cities Indians are not "migrated" as the term is used here, that is to say, they are not recent

The cities thus studied may be classified according to the manner of life of the Indian residents as: (1) White industrial communities with camps of Indian squatters on their outskirts; (2) cities with industrially housed Indians; and (3) cities with Indians not colonized; that is, living independently in the ordinary life of the community and scattered through many kinds of neighborhoods, more or less absorbed into the several social classes in which their labor and economic standing have placed them.

Locality	Both sexes	Men	Women
All cities	821	413	408
Cities with Indians in squatter camps	135	83	52
Needles	53	31	22
Kingman	28	21	7
Globe and Miami	54	31	23
Cities with industrially housed Indians	99	54	45
Winslow	68	37	31
Gallup	31	17	14
Cities with Indians not colonized	587	276	311
Cities of the desert	*113*	*58*	*55*
Phœnix	60	29	31
Albuquerque	36	19	17
Santa Fé	17	10	7
Pacific coast cities	*131*	*55*	*76*
Los Angeles and Torrance	105	41	64
Sacramento	10	5	5
Salem	4	2	2
Tacoma	12	7	5
Cities of the lakes and plains	*343*	*163*	*180*
Minneapolis	100	45	55
St. Paul	66	32	34
Duluth and Superior	40	17	23
Milwaukee	88	43	45
Sioux City	49	26	23

accessions to the city populations, but, on the other hand, belong in the cities of their present residence. In various prominent families of the Five Civilized Tribes the process of amalgamation has gone so far as to leave few characteristics that are distinctively Indian. The processes of adaptation studies elsewhere seem to have no counterpart in Oklahoma.

Extent of the Study of Migrated Indians. The table on p. 676 shows the cities visited, grouped according to the different conditions of living, together with the number of Indian men and women personally interviewed in each.[a]

At least forty-five tribes are represented in this group of 821 persons. The following list shows the number of men and women of each tribe who were visited:

Tribe	Both sexes	Men	Women
All tribes	821	413	408
Apache	57	35	22
Brotherton	6	3	3
Chemehuevi	4	2	2
Cherokee	2	1	1
Chippewa	137	59	78
Choctaw	4	2	2
Hopi	22	14	8
Klamath	2	...	2
Maricopa	3	...	3
Menominee	4	...	4
Mission[a]	20	12	8
Mojave	52	29	23
Navajo	22	12	10
Oneida	55	24	31
Onondaga	2	1	1
Paiute	6	...	6
Papago	14	6	8
Pima	42	14	28
Pueblo	122	67	55
Puyallup	8	5	3
Sac and Fox	2	...	2
Sioux	35	16	19
Skokomish	2	...	2
Stockbridge	7	3	4
Walapai	28	21	7
Winnebago	31	16	15
Yakima	2	2	...
Yuma	4	1	3
Zuni	3	3	...
Other tribes reported[b]	16	7	9
Tribe not reported	26	6	20
Non-Indian[c]	81	52	29

[a] Not otherwise reported.
[b] One person in each of the following tribes: Aleute, Assiniboin, Delaware, Hoopa, Mohawk, Mohegan, Omaha, Ottawa, Pauma, Pit River, Quinaielt, Rogue River, Seneca, Tuscarora, Ute, and Winnebago.
[c] Non-Indian husband or wife of an Indian.

[a] Many other Indians met in small groups or in large gatherings are not included in this enumeration.

Mixed Marriages. The last line of the preceding table shows eighty-one mixed marriges in the Indian families visited involving fifty-two non-Indian husbands and twenty-nine non-Indian wives. These non-Indians are mostly white, although two Hawaiian husbands are included. Proportionally and actually marriage with whites was found more frequent among the Chippewas in the Minnesota cities than elsewhere. The majority of persons in these cities who claim to be Chippewas are persons whose Indian blood is so diluted that its presence would never be guessed from their personal appearance. Naturally their children tend to marry whites, or at any rate the Indians, so called, who appear to be white. A distribution of non-Indian husbands and wives according to city of residence follows:

Locality	Total mixed marriages	Non-Indian men married to Indians	Non-Indian women married to Indians
All cities	81	52	29
Los Angeles	10	8	2
Sacramento	4	4	..
Needles	1	1	..
Phœnix	2	1	1
Albuquerque	1	..	1
Sioux City	1	1	..
Minneapolis	24	14	10
St. Paul	22	13	9
Duluth and Superior	8	6	2
Milwaukee	8	4	4

Educational Level of Migrated Indians. It would be of interest to test the assumption that Indians in cities are as a rule the better educated of their race. Those who migrate are largely of the younger generation, for often the returned students who find that the reservation offers no means for advancement economically or otherwise try their fortunes in town. In short, it would be desirable to be able accurately to answer such a question as: Among Indians aged from 20 to 35 years, what is the difference in educational level

between those on the reservation and those in the cities? Such a comparison of the relative amount of schooling of reservation and migrated Indians could only be made after an extensive inquiry, both on the reservations and in the cities, which of course was not possible in this survey.

Among city Indians visited inquiry was made as to the grade completed in the last school attended.[6] The majority of them had attended Indian rather than public schools, especially those who reported the last grade attended as the eighth or lower. This is not a wholly satisfactory measure of their education, because the several grades in Indian schools do not necessarily represent the same levels of education or schooling as are represented by like grades in the public schools of the country. A tabulation of the replies of the 226 men and 294 women who responded, showing the percentages completing specified grades, follows here:

	Men	Women
Never attended school	5.3	3.1
First grade	0.9	...
Second grade	1.8	0.3
Third grade	4.9	1.4
Fourth grade	4.4	7.5
Fifth grade	10.6	7.1
Sixth grade	12.4	11.6
Seventh grade	11.0	16.7
Eighth grade	28.3	26.2
Ninth grade	5.8	8.5
Tenth grade	7.6	11.6
Eleventh grade	0.9	1.4
Twelfth grade	3.5	2.4
Normal school or college	2.7	2.4

If it be assumed that those who went to normal school or college completed the 14th grade, then the last school grade completed, in terms of the average, was 7.2 for men and 7.5 for women.

Indians Living in Squatter Camps. Communities visited where groups of Indians are living as squatters in camps on the outskirts of cities are Needles, California, and Kingman, Globe, and Miami,

[6] Information on this point was not sought of the fifty-two white husbands and twenty-nine white wives in Indian families visited, although these whites are generally included in the other tabulations presented in this chapter.

Arizona. A distribution by tribe of the men and women visited in these places is given in the following table:

Tribe	Number of Indians visited in											
	All camp cities			Needles			Kingman			Globe and Miami		
	Total	Men	Women	Total	Men	Women	Total	Men	Women	Total	Men	Women
All tribes	135	83	52	53	31	22	26	21	7	54	31	23
Apache	51	30	21	1	..	1	..	..	..	50	30	20
Chemehuevi	4	2	2	4	2	2	..	..	..	..	..	..
Mojave	45	26	19	42	24	18	1	1	..	2	1	1
Walapai	27	21	6	1	1	..	26	20	6	..	..	..
Other tribes reported [a]	5	3	2	4	3	1	1	..	1	..	..	..
Tribe not reported	2	..	2	..	..	..	..	..	..	2	..	2
Non-Indian [b]	1	1	..	1	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..

[a] One person in each of the following tribes: Paiute, Papago, Pima, Pueblo, and Sioux.
[b] White husband of a Mojave woman.

Needles, with a population of 2807[1] is in California across the Colorado River from the Fort Mojave Reservation in Arizona. On the city's outskirts is an Indian camp made up of about a hundred Mojave and two Chemehuevi families, comprising in April, 1927, about three hundred persons. Some of these families shift back and forth from Needles to the Fort Mojave Reservation in Arizona. The principal migratory movement occurs at about the time the river overflows, when they go to the reservation to plant gardens, often to remain until what they have planted has been consumed, when they move back to Needles. The minimum number of families there is probably never less than seventy-five and the maximum never more than 125. Four additional families and one detached young man were living within the city proper at the time the survey was made.

At Kingman, Arizona, with a population of 1908,[1] live fifty-four families of the Walapai tribe, with approximately 150 members. The superintendent of the Truxton Canon Reservation reports their make-up as follows: Nine widows and single women and ten single men reported at the Census as heads of families, twenty-six families consisting of husbands, wives, and a total of fifty-seven children, and nine families consisting of men and their wives without children.

[1] Population according to United States Census of 1920.

Globe with a population of 7044[1] and Miami with 6689[1] are the industrial centers for the Apaches from the San Carlos Reservation. The two cities lie but a few miles apart. About forty Apache families live in four separate colonies on the outskirts of Globe and about twenty-five more such families on the edge of Miami. The reservation is only a few miles away, and visits back and forth are frequent.

Living Conditions. The extent to which a minority and alien group may participate in the life of a community is determined largely by the group characteristics and habits of life of such minority. A discussion of certain characteristics and habits, as reflected in standards of living, may therefore precede a consideration of the part the camp Indian plays in the general community life.

Habitations. The habitations of the Mojaves at Needles, the Walapais at Kingman, and the Apaches at Globe and Miami in each case follow the same general type or style that prevails on the reservations of these respective tribes. Needles is the flat river valley, but in Kingman, Miami, and Globe the land is somewhat rolling and the homes are usually located on sloping ground.

The Needles camps are made up principally of one or two-room box-like houses, the house covering an area of about 20 x 30 feet. They are built with double frames of cottonwood poles, covered by a sort of network of brush. The walls are made solid by packing in mud dug from the land beside them, and the hole from which earth has been taken to build the house generally remains beside it after the house is finished. The roofs are usually thatched loosely or covered and patched with scraps of tin or of tar paper, generally picked up from waste material.

The homes of the Walapais at Kingman are generally of boards, although many of them are built partly of old pieces of corrugated metal. Old oil cans are sometimes flattened out and tacked over miscellaneous pieces of lumber to give additional security to wall or roof. Less uniformity of type exists here than in Needles.

Most of the Apaches' homes at Globe and Miami are wickiups built with a frame of saplings so bowed that the home has the

appearance of a rounded dome or old-fashioned bee hive. This framework is covered thickly with brush or mats, which are sometimes covered in turn with canvas, sacking, and pieces of tin. Some of the younger and more progressive Indians have put up houses built of a single thickness of board, rarely painted and papered on the inside, and never painted on the outside. Only in rare instances does a house have as many as two rooms. Nearly all the homes, whether of board or of brush, are without floors. Some Indians object to board floors, even in board houses, because the floor would burn if one had no stove and cooked in the usual Indian way over a fire built in the middle of the room.

Near the wickiup or the occasional one or two-room board house, a shed with one, two, or three side walls is commonly erected. These sheds are usually roofed with twigs, mats, saplings, tin patches, black tar paper, and mud. Two or three houses and sheds clustered together constitute a "camp" in which two or three related families live. During the long dry season these families do their cooking in common out of doors on the ground, but in rainy weather sometimes though not always they prepare the meals indoors.

Rent and Tenure. For the most part camp Indians pay no rent. At Needles and Kingman the Indians are said to be squatters, although they claim a right to the land. Their claim is challenged by the railroads and other interests and is not confirmed by the government. Recently whites have put in formal claims for some of the land and now some Indians have been ordered to pay one dollar a month as rent or to vacate. Some are resisting these demands, claiming settlement prior to the coming of the white man, but a few are paying. One family, rather than pay rent, bought land near by and built a pretty good board house.

Water Supply and Waste Disposal. Water for domestic use is secured by the Indian camp dwellers from occasional hydrants of city water placed at distances ranging from forty feet to about a quarter of a mile from the several families. The water is commonly carried in tightly woven baskets or pottery jars swung over the women's backs, and in some instances must be brought up hill. A customary charge of $2.50 a month per hydrant is made at each of the four cities. The several families that make up the amount do not deprive non-paying families of the water.

City sewer systems do not extend into the camps. Waste water is thrown everywhere. A number of families have not even provided themselves with privies. In all of the places excepting Needles, Indians' horses, grazing where they can, roam about at will and constitute a source of insanitation and uncleanliness if not of soil contamination.

Furnishings. The Indian families in these camps rarely own a bed, a chair, a table, or any other furniture or household goods, such as is found in white homes, excepting perhaps a sewing machine or occasionally a cook stove. Sometimes a few pots, pans, or dishes supplement the pottery and baskets of native make used for cooking, eating, and occasionally tin cans are shaped into eating or cooking utensils. Among the younger Indians an improved economic condition is generally followed by the addition of a few comforts and better housekeeping.

Dress. In all city camps the Indian women and girls are garbed in much the same way. Their calico skirts, gathered on a narrow band at the waist, are fully four yards wide and almost touch the ground. The calico blouse is a short-skirted basque hanging in gathers from a square yoke over the outside of the skirt and stopping a little below the waist line. Even tiny girls of pre-school age are thus clad. Whites among the town folk refer to this as the "Indian style" of women's dress. The older girls come home from school in modern dress, but in a day or two they are wearing the Indian costume with the long wide skirts. On being asked about the change to the Indian dress, the girls reply, "Well, what can we do? Don't we have to mind our mothers?" Many stories are told of the old Indian women tearing off the girls' up-to-date garments when they return from school.

Bare feet are not uncommon in the camps. When shod, the Mojaves at Needles and the Walapais at Kingman generally wear store shoes in camp. The Apache women in Globe and Miami frequently wear moccasins which they make themselves, although on visits to the business section of town they wear store shoes far more often than moccasins.

Cleanliness. Crowding and disorder and lack of cleanliness within and about the wickiups or shacks are the rule. Rare exceptions are found, usually where a young wife has had domestic arts as part of her school work. To attain and retain cleanliness of

home and person in the camps, with their loose sandy soil and limited water supply, is no easy task.

A few Mexicans at Needles and Globe have their homes beside or within the Indian camps. Most of the Mexican houses are of the same general style as those of the Indians. They are, however, readily distinguishable from Indian homes by greater tidiness in surroundings, by gardens, and by the presence of white curtains and other evidences of effort to beautify or decorate the home. Mexicans living near or among Indians were occasionally found doing their washing, but no camp Indian was found so engaged. Yet the blue chambray shirts generally worn by the Indian men nearly always look clean unless soiled by the oil and dirt of the day's work. The calico dresses of the women and children are generally not dirty, even though rumpled, but spic and span dresses freshly washed and ironed are not often seen in Indian camps.

Food Preparation and Selection. Cooking, as has been noted, is almost invariably done over a fire on the ground outside the house. Food preparation is poor according to white standards. Much of it is obviously dirty. Food is exposed to dust and flies and is not guarded from stray dogs, although dogs are very seldom owned by Indians and are not numerous around the camps.

Primitive methods are in use for crushing grain. Beans and tortilla or other similar flour or corn-meal cakes form a large part of the diet. When the Indians have money to buy meat, an excessive amount is used. As long as they have any credit they will buy beef daily, preferably the chuck cut, though they will eat whatever they can get, even going to the slaughter house and getting the entrails. If cattle die in the nearby country, they skin and cut them up and eat them. Bacon is bought with a certain amount of regularity; chickens or eggs, very rarely. "Five years ago not a single Indian had ever bought an egg in this shop," said one trader.

According to the Indians themselves as well as the traders, Indians working steadily tend to buy a better grade of food than do whites of the same type of occupation. The merchants state that more and more Indians are buying canned goods, including corned beef and other meats, and also that they have a sweet tooth and buy sugar, candy, cakes, and pie, often to the exclusion of wholesome vegetables. They use high grade coffee in large quantities, sometimes purchasing in five-pound tins. They buy much flour but no baker's bread. They scarcely ever buy cow's milk and seldom get condensed milk. Babies are breast fed far beyond the first year of life.

The details concerning home-making and family life on reservations* are, in general, applicable to Indian camp life at the cities visited and need not be repeated here in any further detail.

Attempts to Raise Standards of Living. The living conditions just described may seem to indicate that migration from the reservation to localities in contact with white civilization has not tended to elevate the Indians. It is true that these special segregated groups have not yet attained planes of living much if any better than those on the reservations from which they come, although steady work for the men and schooling in domestic science for the women have in some families undoubtedly resulted in improvement. The attempts so far put forth by the Indian Office in these camp cities to raise standards of living have not met the issue and have failed to produce results.

Needles is the only city visited where a field matron is maintained by the Indian Office. She is under the Colorado River jurisdiction, but is charged solely with the responsibility of caring for about fifty-five family groups at Needles. She calls at some homes each day, reporting some calls as "friendly visits" and others as "investigation visits," but keeping no adequate records of conditions or findings. She prescribes medicine for minor illnesses and gives out monthly rations. Apparently little is done in the nature of home demonstration or guidance in better living.

No consistent attempt has been made to raise the standards of living with respect to sanitation or health. Indians at Needles, Kingman, Globe, and Miami may be sent without charge to reservation hospitals, or the several superintendents may have them cared for in local hospitals by paying the charges from the funds of their respective tribes, but in their homes it is difficult for them to get medical and nursing service or instruction. The physician from the Mojave Reservation makes occasional visits to sick Indians at Needles. No systematic work for the prevention of illness or for the adequate care of the sick in homes is undertaken, either

* See chapter on Family and Community Life and the Activities of Women, pages 547 to 666.

by the physicians from the reservations or by any trained public health nurse. Formerly a nurse was assigned to work among the Indians at Kingman, which is close to Valentine, the agency office of the Truxton Canon Reservation of Walapais. Now, however, the Indians camped at Kingman have no special employee. A truck from the agency distributes the monthly rations to the indigent. The public health nurse from the San Carlos Reservation comes into Globe and sometimes into Miami, but it is impossible for her to give any considerable amount of care or instruction to these Indians on the fringe of a large territory.

Participation in Community Life. Camp Indians are largely restricted to the following activities in the cities where they live: (1) Employment of men in local industries or labor projects and, to a slight extent, of women and girls in private families; (2) sale of native craft work along the streets or at railroad stations; (3) purchasing from local dealers; (4) public school attendance of some of the younger children; (5) occasional attendance at moving picture theaters or other places of public amusement.

Occupations, Wages and Attitudes of Employers. Indian men are employed to a considerable extent by the larger industrial firms of the towns where they camp, but more often in the lower paid jobs than at processes requiring a high degree of skill. They are usually considered satisfactory workers. Some men hold the same positions for several years and are steady workers, except that at intervals they must take a few days off to go back to the reservation. The majority of the camp Indians, however, belong to the class of casual labor, working as a rule at a very low wage. Workers in Globe and Miami, and to a lesser extent in Needles and Kingman, shift in and out of the industrial center to which they have migrated in the hope of finding work.

One of the duties of the agent at the San Carlos Reservation is to find jobs for the Indians of Globe and Miami. The matron at Needles is charged with a like responsibility for the adults in her territory. The Indians, however, say they generally find their own jobs in the cities in which they live. But it should be noted that although these camps have existed for years, the movement back and forth between the cities and the reservations goes on continually; hence an Indian may go back to the reservation to join a labor gang being recruited on the reservation for a big labor project.

Complaint is made of the meager compensation for such jobs as are secured through the Indian agency. An example was cited by a number of Apaches: They stated that they had gone back to the San Carlos Reservation to be in line for a job of which the labor agent from the reservation had told them. They were loaded on trucks and taken to camp to start work on the day after arrival. Although the superintendent had said that the wages would be about $2.50 a day, the gross pay proved to be at a daily rate of $2, from which $1 was deducted for board and five cents for hospital fees, leaving them ninety-five cents a day net. Many had been accompanied by their wives and children, and having no money for railroad fare they all had to walk back.

Needles. Men in camps in Needles have at various times been employed in unskilled jobs in the shops of the Santa Fé Railroad Company and in the ice plant which the railroad company formerly operated. More recently they have filtered into other projects, such as road building and odd jobs in the building and other industries.

In April, 1927, the industries or occupations of the 201 men living in Needles Indian camps were reported as follows:

Santa Fé railroad shops	36
Ice plant	6
Delivery or truck men	5
Lumber company	2
Bottling works	1
Watchman for city water works	1
Butcher in slaughter house	1
Garage mechanic	1
Laborers shifting from one enterprise to another	50
Idle, disabled, or aged	98

All the railroad employees were unskilled laborers except eight in the round house. Of these, one was a drop-pit machinist, one a tool passer, and the other six helpers, two being in the machine shop and four in the drop pit. Two of the Indian round house employees earn 79 cents an hour, or about $160 per month; the others 54 cents an hour. It will be seen from the following summary that

the tendency is to use the Indians as helpers to the machinists of the other races employed.

Kind of occupation	Total employees	Indian	White	Negro, Mexican, Japanese
All railroad shop occupations..	59	8	16	35
Tool passers	3	1	..	2
Drop pit machinists.....	3	1	..	2
Other machinists	27	..	9	18
Helpers: Machine shop.....	3	2	..	1
Drop pit	4	4	..	..
All other	19	..	7	12

In its store house the Santa Fé Railroad Company has twenty-two workers, of whom five are Indians. The Indians who "measure out oil" get 51 cents an hour; the other Indians 40 cents. Indians working at the ice plant get from 45 to 50 cents an hour. Generally they ice cars in which fruit and other perishable goods are shipped. One of the Indians here is referred to later as living apart from the camp. He is taking correspondence courses in engineering and refrigeration and has a better position than the others.

The five delivery and truck men work for stores about the town and two of them wait upon customers. In the other industries or plants, work by Indians is mostly unskilled labor. The men in the group of fifty reporting themselves as laborers shift back and forth from such jobs as street paving, road building, odd jobs for the railroad company and in the building trades, and farming. The wage most frequently reported by unskilled laborers is $1.50 a day and, as the Indians themselves say, one man's wages must support two, three, and sometimes four families.

Among the ninety-eight men classified as idle, disabled, or aged, are some with tuberculosis, trachoma, or other diseases. The majority are obviously disabled. Two of the men who cannot do active work engage in bow and arrow making.

Comments of Needles employers of Indian labor include the following statements:

The ex-school boys are quicker and better than Indians who have never been to school. The ice plant does not get so many of them because they are sought by the railroad shops. We have worked both Indians and Mexicans. One is as satisfactory as the other. Care is taken to select the best of each. If they want to quit or lay-off, the Indian and Mexican both do so without notice. The Mexicans drink more.

Indians are generally superior to Mexicans, but one of our Mexicans is superior to our best Indian. We have never found Indians a special problem on account of lost time.

It is fifty-fifty between Mexicans and Indians. The liquor problem is no worse among Indians than among other workers. Japanese, however, are invariably sober. The Indian is a low working person and lacks initiative. He must have guidance. From one to three Indians lay off a day or two a month to go back to the reservation for sickness, funerals, etc. If we had to choose between various classes of non-white help we would choose Indians, as they are easier disciplined and more reliable.

Kingman. Mining is the major industry in and about Kingman and is generally referred to in that section as the industry employing Indians. Inquiry of the several mining companies with offices in this section, however, indicated that at the moment less than a score were in the mines operating close to Kingman. Among the two dozen Indians interviewed only one was a mine worker. He earned $5 a day and worked a 30 or 31-day month.

The other Indians were found doing various kinds of work. One is a chaffeur. The railroad company employs a capable Indian in the baggage department at $160 per month. The power and water company has an Indian as a general laborer and caretaker. An Indian is employed in the slaughter house, said to be steady and "as good a beef skinner as any white man"; he gets $7.50 a week, upon which he supports a wife and seven children. A department store, a drug store, and a hotel each have an Indian employee for such work as errands, cleaning, odd jobs, and occasional waiting upon customers.

Most of the other Indians seen worked on nearby cattle ranches from time to time and sought odd jobs as laborers in the interim. The water works occasionally employs Indians on jobs of several days' duration at from 25 to 50 cents an hour, the range of rates usually paid for common labor in Kingman.

A young Indian, formerly a restaurant worker and later a pool room attendant, was taken by a mining engineer into his office. This engineer found that the boy had great talent as a draftsman, but he felt that he could not afford to pay him wages during a necessary period of apprenticeship, and the boy had such family responsibilities that he had no choice but to go back to the pool room where he could earn $80 a month. This boy's connection with the mining engineer was the most friendly in intention and the closest in personal contact that was encountered between employer and employee in any camp city.

Kingman employers' comments on Indian labor follow. The first concerns the baggage handler, the second a clerical worker, and the third a group of miners.

He loads baggage and makes out complicated receipts. He makes intelligent reports, records, and computations. His writing is grammatical.

He is a little set and insists on literally following all instructions. He is bothered if slight changes are made in routine or if new procedures are started. Indians can always be trusted to work without supervision but the Mexicans will loaf on the job if no one watches. Indian workers drink no more frequently than white, but are susceptible to smaller amounts. On the part of many Indians a tendency exists to refuse jobs when they can get food without them. This man earns $160 a month, but his wages feed some Indians who do not work.

Indians are too slow to use to any great extent on underground work. They can be used better in loading concentrates. At present we have only two Indian workers, one a crusher and one a roust about. The difficulty is Indians cannot be speeded up. They are, however, reliable, and if given a thorough explanation will carry out instructions and work steadily without being watched. Mexicans must be watched. The company gets around that by putting one or two Mexicans in an Indian gang. The Mexicans then have to keep up with the Indians. Some whites object to working with Indians, but the Indians will do a class of wet work that whites refuse to do. Indian never ask what wages they will be paid. They just go ahead and make no complaints, their wants are so limited. In the concentrating plant or mill, about six Indians are employed at $5 per day, and thirteen more at less. The I. W. W. objects to Indian labor because the Indian works to relieve his immediate wants, and his wants are so simple. Indians take longer than whites to load and unload. It takes a white man two hours and an Indian two hours and a half at 50 cents per hour.

The company is required to insure the lives of the men and it pays 8 per cent of a miner's salary, and from 2½ to 3 per cent of a laborer's salary for insurance. In addition this company is assessed 10 per cent extra because their mine is more than 10 miles from a railroad. Whites cheat and bluff on insurance matters, but the Indians never do.

Globe and Miami. Globe and Miami, especially Globe, are referred to as industrial centers for the Apaches of the San Carlos Reservation. The Indians camped in either city work sometimes in the other. Mine, railroad shop, and road building work all employ Apaches.

A mining company at Globe was found to have in its employ in April, 1927, nine Indians working as "muckers" at $4.40 a day. Two had been there eighteen months; one, twelve months; one, ten months; one, nine months; two, eight months; and one each for six and three months.

In a foundry force of twenty-six men, five were Indians employed at $21 a week, one as a cleaner of castings, one as a molder and transferer of iron, one as a molder (a third class mechanic), and two as molder's helpers. The first three have been employed in this plant for periods of two, five, and six years, respectively. The two helpers were recently laid off when the force was reduced by one-third, and both returned to the reservation to raise cattle.

The Southern Pacific Railroad employs Indians as follows:

One machinist's helper, who will be Class B machinist in a few months, at 55 cents an hour.
One boiler washer at 55 cents an hour.
One boiler washer and helper at 50 cents an hour.
One machinist's helper at 48 cents an hour.
One engine wiper at 34 cents an hour who substitutes as machinist's helper at 50 cents an hour.
Three engine wipers at 34 cents an hour.
One helper at 34 cents an hour.
One laborer who cleans cinder pits and works about the round house at 34 cents an hour.
Several more working as hostlers at $6.02 a day.

Few Indians are working at steady jobs except with these companies. One employed as the court interpreter does some farming

and has cattle interests, another is working as a painter, and a third works as a carpenter. All the other Indians of Globe and Miami may be classified as laborers. Several report themselves as skilled blacksmiths, carpenters, and so on, but their personal records show a variety of jobs. Some work on roads and on big engineering projects, securing their jobs through the San Carlos agency.

Many San Carlos Apaches leave the reservation and seek industrial centers for the express purpose of accumulating money to buy implements and stock, without which they cannot make a living on their lands. The sojourn of a year or two for such purpose away from the reservation has resulted in the loss of the right to work certain locations (not allotments) previously allowed them.

Reports from employers in Globe and Miami are on the whole rather favorable to their Apache employees. Three statements are quoted, the first from a foundry manager, the second from a railroad shop foreman, and the third from the manager of a mine:

> Indian labor is very satisfactory and preferable to Mexican. Mexicans are a little more skilled, but lazier. The Indian is more reliable and trustworthy, but doesn't comprehend as quickly as the Mexican. No Indian has been given a chance to master a skilled trade.

> Indian labor is greatly preferred to Mexican labor. The Indians are intelligent and can read and write. The Mexicans are ignorant and do not comprehend as thoroughly as Indians. I have only one Mexican worker now. I have employed Indians 25 years. We have no special Indian problem or Indian policy. White men are in our better jobs. It so happens that we have no whites as boiler wipers. Indians are notional. The call of the wild comes to them and they want time off to go to the reservation for a little spell but they always return on the date promised. If you refuse a lay-off, they say: "All right: I quit," and they will quit.

> Indians and other miners work about 120 hours a month. Indians are a bit slower than whites on a given task, but steadier, and hence do about the same amount of work. Mexicans do about the same class of work as Indians and are about equally efficient. In fact, no employee is kept who does not come up to a certain grade of efficiency, regardless of race.

Occupations of Women. Only three or four young Indian girls and none of the married women engage in domestic service at

Needles. Two of these girls attend the public school. Although their positions were secured through the Needles field matron, the girls are in no sense "on outings" so called. They control their own wages and are not required to submit to any regulations governing their leisure time. No laundry work is done by Indian women for the whites of Needles.

At Kingman, on the other hand, Indian women and girls of the camps are regarded by a number of white families as potential servants. In perhaps half the camp families girls and women go out to do laundry work or domestic labor by the week. Their personal honesty and industry while employed were universally commended by the six or eight white families found to be employing them. The complaint is, however, that they tend to remain in regular jobs for only comparatively short periods.

Domestic service was not found to have attracted the Apache women at Globe and Miami. Apache girls on leaving school sometimes go into service in these towns, but early marriages usually occur to end their employment after a few weeks or months.

Nearly all the native craft work is done by the women. At Needles they do bead work, which they sell at the railroad station at train time. This bead work is truly a community enterprise. The women in almost all the families do the bead work at times, but not all of them go every day to meet the trains and sell their wares. The women who go take not only their own handiwork but also the articles produced by others, who because of age, sickness, young babies, or some other reason cannot go to the station. The women at the station display each lot separately, allowing the prospective customer to select what he will. No complaint is made of unfairness or cheating or unwillingness to render this community service. Only at Needles can native craft work be considered as an important source of the family income.

At Kingman basketry predominates among the crafts, although some bead and pottery work are also done. Here the women sell a little about the railroad station and streets, but they also take their wares to the local stores to trade for groceries or clothing. At Globe and Miami only a few women are engaged in native crafts as a gainful employment. These make baskets and once in a while get an order for a pair of moccasins.

Purchasing from Local Dealers. Shopping is done as frequently by the men as by the women; in fact it is often a family affair, and if the children express preferences these are usually respected by the parents. Both men and women select the articles of food bought but men usually shop for their own clothing, while more often the women buy the calico or percale that they use for their own and the children's dresses. Shoes and other articles of clothing for both sexes and all ages are usually of the cheapest variety, although some of the men have a liking for hats, shirts, and large colored handkerchiefs of good quality. Cheap coats, blankets, and quilts are purchased for extra protection in winter. Beads are bought in great quantities where Indian women engage in this kind of work. Articles of furniture and equipment are rarely bought, excepting cook stoves, sewing machines, and cooking utensils. Sewing machines are particularly numerous at Globe and Miami among the Apaches.

On the whole these Indians of the camps tend to develop greater variety of tastes both in food and clothing through their contacts with the whites. It cannot be said, however, that the tendency toward variety is altogether wholesome. Reference has been made to their liking for sweets and their neglect of milk and green vegetables.

Credit is extended on weekly grocery books, and Indians are reported good pay. If laid off from a job, they often leave unpaid bills but return months or years later and pay them in full or in part. A canvass of local banks in the four cities revealed the fact that about a dozen Indians had at one time or another put money in bank, but as a rule had drawn it out after a few weeks or months. Only one camp Indian was reported to have over five hundred dollars in bank and to have been a steady saver for several years.

School Contacts. In all the camps visited the small number of children in the homes was noticeable. The explanation proved to be that many of the boys and girls were away at boarding schools, usually at Fort Mojave, Truxton Canon, or Rice. In all the cities but Kingman, however, a few of the children were living at home and attending the public schools. Kingman Indians assert that the superintendent of Truxton Canon, their reservation, will not permit them to send their children to the public school, but that employees

of the agency gather them up, put them in a truck, and take them to the government Indian school at Valentine, despite the parents' wishes or the children's state of health.

In the matter of public school attendance, Indians in all the camp cities as elsewhere resent the fact that Indians are put upon a status different from that of other bona fide residents of the same school districts. Children of Mexican or other resident families, who are also squatters here and pay neither rent nor taxes, are not only given free access to public schools, but the parents are actually penalized for keeping their children out of school. Yet for each Indian pupil in public schools in the camp cities, tuition is paid from tribal or government Indian funds.

The superintendent of schools at Needles disavows Indian segregation or separation from white children. An Indian is in high school, and half a dozen others are scattered throughout the several grades in another building. Ten of the younger children, however, are in a school given over to "dark races." The basis of separation was stated by the superintendent as "language difficulty"; the principal of the building had understood that it was racial, as the school is almost exclusively given over to Mexicans.

In Globe schools Indian segregation from whites is fairly complete. A public school teacher there, unusually interested in and sympathetic toward Indians, believed that more educational progress would be made if the Indians were given a room of their own and had recess apart from other children. In this exclusively Indian room, established three years ago, are twenty-two children.*

The teacher prides herself on the fact that she has been able to break down among these children much of the customary shyness of the Apache. They responded readily to all advances made by the survey staff members who visited this school and recited all lessons without trace of embarrassment. At a recent meeting of

* These children are distributed by age and grade as follows:
Pre-primary, 3 children, ages 6, 7, 8.
First grade, 4 children, ages 7, 7, 8, and 8.
Second grade, 3 children, ages 8, 8, and 9.
Third grade, 4 children, ages 10, 10, 11, and 15.
Fourth grade, 1 child, age 13.
Fifth grade, 3 children, ages 13, 13, 14.
Sixth grade, 1 child, age 14.
Sixth plus, 3 children, ages 15, 15, and 17.

the Parent-Teacher Association one of the boys in this room responded without hesitation when called upon and did a rapid free hand blackboard illustration with great skill. Three of the boys and two of the girls were entered in the city track meet. Last year at an afternoon program of the Y. W. C. A. for the Women's Club, Indian children read, sang, and did clay modelling and rapid blackboard illustrating. Notwithstanding the obvious and immediate successes of the Globe experiment, the long-time effects of segregation may prove unsatisfactory.

In Miami all the Indian children are in the same building, but they are scattered about through the various grades with other children, all of whom are Mexicans, the Negroes being in a separate building.[*] The children in the opportunity rooms are placed there, either because they are unable to speak English when they enter school or on account of irregular attendance. Indians are reported to be slower than Mexicans to learn English and it is difficult to get either Indian or Mexican children to speak English on the playground. Indian children often enter late in the school year and leave before the close of the term because of their fathers' work on temporary labor projects.

The principal states that she must "spur and push" Indian parents on school matters. Unlike the loquacious Mexicans, the Indian parents are non-committal, and one cannot always tell whether their confidence has been won. Problems of pediculosis and general cleanliness are more serious among Indians than among Mexicans. Two Indian children have serious eye trouble.

At all the public schools Indian children were found playing at recess with their fellow pupils among the whites. Out of school, however, scarcely any contacts seem to have been made by Indians

[*] A distribution of these children by grade age, and date of entering school follows:

First grade, one child, age 14, entered in September, 1926. Left March, 1927.
Second grade, three children, ages 11, 12, 13. Entered September, 1926.
Third grade, five children, ages 10, 12, 12, 13, 15. Entered from August 31 to October 4 (15-year old left March, 1927).
Fourth grade, two children, ages 11 and 12. Entered in September, 1926 (11-year old left February, 1927; 12-year old left December, 1926).
Low opportunity, two children, ages 9 and 11. Entered in August and September, 1926.
Upper opportunity, one child. Entered in August, 1926.

with white children. Indian parents dress their children for school neatly in prevaling styles, yet the moment they come from school in the afternoon and on Saturdays, Sundays, and holidays, the little girls put away their school dresses and put on the Indian costume. Teachers have stated that when they meet little Indians on the streets so garbed, the children frequently hide because of their embarrassment.

Recreational Contacts. Occasional attendance at the motion picture theatre is about the only social or recreational activity by which camp Indians touch elbows with whites. Such attendance is limited by lack of means and general lack of interest excepting when the film depicts Indian life. Only rarely are Indians seen loitering about the streets of the camp cities at night; generally speaking "the camp goes to sleep early."

In Needles an Indian band is the one spontaneous expression of recreation, or what might be called "culture" that was noted among camp Indians anywhere. This band sometimes plays at the motion picture house or at the white dance halls. In this city a year or more ago a "Forty-niners'" celebration took place, and Indians of the band and other Indians participated in the street pageant.

Automobiles are not generally owned by camp Indians. Although a means of transportation to and from the reservation whenever owned and to some extent a source of recreation, yet they of course provide little contact with whites.

Religious Contacts. No camp Indian was found to be an attendant of any of the city churches, nor was any missionary work carried on among the Indians of Kingman, Globe, or Miami. At Needles, however, a Presbyterian missionary has had a church for Indians for thirty years. He states that the work does not flourish; that frequently when he appoints a time for a church service, not a single Indian is present; and that only two or three families send their children to Sunday school even irregularly.

Forms of Organization Among Camp Indians. The form of "group expression" found in city Indian camps is similar to that found on reservations.[*] The Mojave tribal council as a whole

[*] The modes of "group expression" of Indians in association differ somewhat in the several localities, that on the reservation and in the pueblos being primarily through tribal councils. The domination of these councils

created a "Welfare committee," and in 1925 designated one of their number to act as chairman. Recently the Walapais have also created such a committee and designated the same man to act as their spokesman. He is paid a salary and traveling expenses and takes orders from these two councils. His headquarters are at Needles.

This chairman was born in 1888 and graduated from the eighth grade of an Indian school in 1905, but remained at that school until 1907 to study printing. He states that the principal teacher at the Indian school taught him that his highest duty was to look after the welfare of his people. He supported himself by his labor in various cities, but at the same time he constantly took up the grievances of his people, appealing to the Indian agents, the Indian Office, various state officers, the railroad company, or any person or group concerned with Indian claims. He thus earned the designation of agitator and at first did not seem to win the complete confidence of his people, one reason assigned being that he helped the government to abolish gambling among them. Now he is paid by his people to represent their interests aggressively and he seldom engages in any other labor. Around him centers the "group expression" not only of the camp Indians at Needles and Kingman but also of the Mojaves and Walapais on their respective reservations. Their major concerns are tribal grievances and property rights. Their meetings are conducted with all the formality of the old tribal council. The Kingman Indians have no other formal association, but in Needles the Indian band before mentioned is not only a source of interest and recreation for its own members but also a matter of pride, interest, and entertainment for other Indians in the Needles camps.

At Globe and Miami a leader conspicuous in a more or less indefinite organization and several other intelligent Indians meet at one or another wickiup to discuss grievances and to decide upon what action should be taken to deal with the Indian Office, to reach Congress, and to give publicity to Indian conditions.

by the old and frequently illiterate Indians is beginning to be challenged, if not lessened to some extent, by the younger educated Indians. No example was noted where the younger group had completely wrested the control from the older Indians.

Indians Living Apart from Camps. A few Indians live apart from the camp in each of the four camp cities, but it was only in Needles that they could be found and interviewed. One of the four families found in Needles freely associates with whites. The husband is a half breed, the wife is white, and the children show but little trace of Indian blood. The children attend the public schools and at the time of the visit, one had just graduated from public high school and was to enter college next year. They are members of a local church. The father is the successful proprietor of a restaurant and the owner of several parcels of real estate. Because the full time of both father and mother is devoted to their business, they at one time sent two of their children to the government Indian school. The father and mother met at an Indian school where both were formerly employed.

In another so-called "Indian family" the father is a fairly well-to-do white man and the mother is a full blood. The two little boys freely associate with their white neighbors. The principal of their public school states, "They do not pass as Indians." Their white father is utterly opposed to all Indian contacts, even restricting his wife therefrom.

The other two Indian families within the city limits of Needles are joint tenants in a house rented from the employer of one of them. They live according to white standards. They cook on stoves inside the house, have regular furniture, eat at a table, and maintain satisfactory standards of cleanliness of house, person, and dress. They have no white contacts except those afforded by their respective jobs and by shopping. All their social contacts are with camp Indians.

Industrially Housed Indians. The camp conditions described in the preceding section are not found in any of the other cities visited, for Indian migration to the other places has developed in an entirely different manner. Two of the other cities, Winslow and Gallup, present conditions peculiarly their own and constitute the group referred to as "industrially housed." Years ago the Santa Fé Railroad brought Pueblo Indians to Gallup and Winslow to work in the round house and shops. With the exception of a small number of Hopis, the Indians at present employed are prin-

cipally Rio Grande Pueblos, mainly from Laguna. The tribal distribution of the men and women visited in these two cities follows:

Tribe	Number of Indians visited in								
	Cities with industrially housed Indians			Winslow			Gallup		
	Total	Men	Women	Total	Men	Women	Total	Men	Women
All tribes	90	54	45	68	37	31	31	17	14
Hopi	11	5	6	11	5	6	..	..	..
Navajo	4	2	2	1	1	..	3	1	2
Paiute	1	..	1	1	..	1	..	..	..
Pueblo	80	44	36	55	31	24	25	13	12
Zuni	3	3	..	..	..	..	3	3	..

Living Conditions. To house the Indians the railroad company placed rows of box cars within the round house yards at each city. A partition divides each car into two rooms. At Winslow the railroad company has forty-three cars in a colony near the round house. Nineteen cars are occupied by one family, twenty by two families, and four by single men. At Gallup twenty-three box cars are occupied by twenty-eight families, numbering ninety persons in all. Here a whole car, or two rooms, is in the majority of cases occupied by a single family.

Unquestionably a box car of one or two rooms is inadequate for a family of any size. Japanese railroad employees at Winslow were formerly housed in the same manner, but the railroad company has recently erected a rather attractive modern apartment house for them within the railroad yards.

Sanitary facilities are wholly lacking for the individual houses or cars, but the company provides toilet and bathing facilities in a separate building for each sex. Water for domestic use and waste water are hauled in little hand wagons by the several families for a distance in no case much more than five hundred feet. In the bath and laundry houses plenty of hot water is always available. The company furnishes each family free scrap wood for heat and cooking and also for heating the several large community ovens located close to the homes. A community house in the railroad yard is also provided by the company and it is much used. No other "welfare work" is undertaken by the railroad company.

The railroad company exacts orderly living and cleanliness of surroundings and the homes are clean within. In many instances they are tastefully decorated, largely through the application of Indian arts and crafts. Several have oil paintings of real merit done by members of the family. All these families have beds in their homes, with sheets and pillow cases, as well as attractive bedspreads made by the women, but if the family is large some members sleep on the floor. If the Indians at either Winslow or Gallup are ever provided with more spacious and sanitary quarters, unquestionably they can and will develop their standards of housekeeping to compare favorably with the standards maintained among the wage earners of the white race.

The difference in standards of housekeeping between the Indians in Gallup and Winslow and those in squatter camps reflects the differences in standards of living in the villages and on the reservations from which they have come. The Pueblos and Hopis in Gallup and Winslow belong to a culture far less primitive than that of the camp Indians from the large reservations. Even more important, however, is the fact that in both Gallup and Winslow, the men are getting good pay in steady jobs which most of them have held for years. The economic status of the families is such that unlike the housewives in the camps, these women have the means to be, as they are even in their limited quarters, good home makers.

In addition to the families in box cars, at least a dozen others live in working class residential districts in each of these towns. Most of these families have one-story frame houses of from two to four rooms. Structurally and from a sanitary standpoint they are reasonably satisfactory. Water and toilet facilities are generally within the dwellings, which have proper sewer facilities. The rooms in these little houses are larger than the rooms in the box cars.

The homes are generally meagerly furnished, but they are reasonably clean. A few are rather well furnished in a simple way. Some housewives attempt to make the home attractive with brass bedsteads and occasional pieces of good furniture, as well as with curtains and with specimens of their native pottery and baskets. Sheets are used in every home visited.

Food and Clothing Habits. The Indians of both cities do their shopping near the round house or in the town proper. Meat and

vegetable wagons from the town come into the round house yards. Relatives and friends who drive in from the pueblos bring dried meats. Like all Pueblo dwellers, these Gallup and Winslow families tend to use much pepper, chile con carne, and tortillas, as do also the Mexicans and the whites in this section. With these exceptions, if they are exceptions, their diet is similar to that of whites in the same economic groups. When they attend the annual picnics of the railroad employees, they put up attractive picnic lunches, using waxed paper to wrap sandwiches and cakes, taking salads and glasses of jelly, and carrying table cloths and napkins of cotton or paper. Food is generally well prepared. Many of the women speak with pride of their courses in domestic arts, either at government or mission schools, and a few have profited from outings in families who were interested in them. The training thus received has been utilized and is reflected in their cooking, cleaning, and home furnishing. At the same time it should be noted that the Pueblo women, especially the Lagunas, are in their native villages good housekeepers, perhaps the best to be found among the Indians.

In Gallup and Winslow the purchasing power of the Indians is not so limited as in the camp cities; hence they are pretty well dressed and move about shops and street with more confidence than the self conscious, isolated camp Indians from the more primitive tribes. They dress mainly according to current white styles, especially the men in the railroad shops, although occasionally they wear gay head bands or bits of silver jewelry. Some of the women wear the attractive Pueblo dress and jewelry, but the young girls and children dress the same as whites.

Government Health Service. The government furnishes a traveling nurse to visit Indians in three states. She reaches Winslow and Gallup about once a month. This nurse is not under the supervision of the railroad company, but the company permits her to use a room for treatments and other office purposes. All her medicines and first aid equipment are furnished by the government. A doctor from the Indian Service is given the use of a room by the railroad company whenever he comes to Winslow or Gallup to look at the Indians' eyes.

Occupations and Wages. Santa Fé Railroad officers state that on an average ninety Indians are employed by the railroad at Winslow.

Many are in skilled jobs. They work 240 hours a month and "lay off" every other Sunday. The principal Indian, an assistant foreman, receives $265 a month. The pay of the others averages 54½ cents an hour. The ninety Winslow Indians reported are paid at the following hourly rates:

1 welder	84	cents
1 blacksmith	84	cents
7 machinists and carpenters	79	cents
28 car inspectors and repairers	72	cents
1 babbit man	67	cents
8 machinists' helpers	54	cents
11 machinists' helpers	39½	cents
33 laborers	37½	cents

At Gallup fewer Indians are employed by the railroad. Their pay averages, for the twenty-three reported, 64¼ cents an hour, with hourly rates as follows:

1 air brake test and rack man	79	cents
1 electrician	79	cents
1 boilermaker	79	cents
5 car inspectors	72	cents
2 car repairers	72	cents
1 car oiler	72	cents
1 stationary fireman	71¼	cents
3 boiler washers	67	cents
1 stationary fireman	65	cents
1 cellar packer	56	cents
1 machine helper	56	cents
1 boilermaker's helper	56	cents
1 supply man	41	cents
2 coal chute men	41	cents
1 laborer	37½	cents

Attitude of Railroad Company. The railroad company finds that Indians compare very well with white men doing the same class of work. They are far better than Mexicans as common laborers, for the Mexican is slow and easy-going. Five Indians now with the company have been granted the privilege of a course in the railroad apprenticeship school; two of these have already completed their courses.

The railroad company in its years of Indian employment has found that drunkenness is no special problem among the Indians, although two highly skilled men have been dismissed recently on account of drink. In the past year drinking is reported to have

increased very much among all classes of the population in Winslow and Gallup. Regardless of race, road men have always been more inclined to drink than shop men.

Occupations of Women. The wives of Indian railroad employees at Gallup and Winslow almost never engage in any outside gainful work, with the exception of half a dozen who make pottery and bead work, some of which they sell at the city railroad station. The importance of this work as a source of family income was not ascertained.

Recreation. These Indians turn out in full force to attend the annual picnic of the railroad employees. Motion picture attendance is rather moderate. At nine o'clock at night the families in the box cars have as a rule gone to bed. The men work too steadily to have time to participate otherwise than as spectators in the annual ceremonials staged at Gallup. They claim that these are commercialized, and that the meaning and value of the real ceremonials are lost in the adaptations made for tourist audiences. In so far as their work permits, men go back to their own Pueblos at ceremonial times, but the women and children are freer from work obligations and go with greater frequency. The Pueblo celebrations still mean much to the Indians, even after several years of city residence. Trips back to their villages are also made at other times, such as Sundays or holidays, for nearly every family owns an automobile. These range from used cars which cost as little as $15 or $25 up to new cars of expensive makes.

The Indians in each city assisted and encouraged by the railroad company have their own brass band. One family in ten has either a phonograph or a piano, and two families in the Winslow railroad yards have radios. Books and newspapers were often noted in the houses in these two cities, a contrast to the camp houses, where they were seen only upon three or four occasions.

Religious and Educational Contacts. The Indians in these cities attend the white Roman Catholic churches with more or less regularity, but they do not mingle socially and recreationally with whites or Mexicans in church or elsewhere.

Some of the older children are away in Indian boarding schools, but generally the younger children attend the public schools, upon which the Indians place high value. At the same time, some of the parents have tried to secure coöperative action by the Indian Office and the local school board so as to establish within the round house yard a special public school building exclusively for Indians. The government wisely declines to participate in this plan for Indian segregation.

City Indians Not Colonized. No Indian camp, colony, or quarter exists in any of the other cities visited. Indians have not been brought into any of them in groups or gangs, but have themselves more or less independently sought out on their own initiative such cities as are not generally too remote from their respective reservations where a general demand for labor exists. The success of two or three in finding work spurs others to come.

Conditions of Indian life in the several cities where Indians are not segregated are not all alike, yet few striking contrasts are offered and the cities may be discussed as indicated on page 676 in geographical groups, designated for convenience as Cities of the Desert, Pacific Coast Cities, and Cities of the Lakes and Plains.

The cities where the Indians are scattered or not colonized were generally found to absorb the individual Indian or family into the several social or economic classes to which the Indians would naturally belong by virtue of the kind of work and earnings his talents and personality have made available to him. The Indians in these cities maintain friendly relations with their white neighbors, but naturally their closer friendships are made with their former classmates in the Indian schools. Some Indians are members of masonic orders.

Away from camps the Indian families are unable to maintain that hospitality which the Indian code seems to require. In city life the "sponging" permitted by this traditional Indian hospitality in its most aggravated form is rapidly disappearing. An occasional relative or friend, however, still tries to secure a foothold during periods of voluntary idleness, but the steady working Indian who rents a home and tries to survive in the presence of white civilization is more and more resisting this pressure to furnish food and shelter to drones.

Cities of the Desert. Phœnix, Albuquerque, and Santa Fé are railroad and trade centers near the heart of the Indian country of the Southwest. Because government Indian schools are located within their limits or on their edges, these cities are places of inter-

est to Indian boys and girls. Boys frequently get Saturday jobs in town while at school and thus establish contacts sometimes leading to permanent ties with white employers. The Santa Fé Railroad Company seems to favor Pueblo Indians in its employment policy and has Indian employees in the cities it serves in Arizona and New Mexico.

The three cities just named are commonly referred to as "colorful." They are all easily accessible to the Indian country, both by railroad and by automobile, and all are tourist centers. The Indian men frequently encountered on the streets wearing gay head bands and much silver and turquoise jewelry, and the women with jewelry and other touches of color in their costumes make their contribution to the picture, especially in the New Mexico cities. The visitor thus gets an exaggerated impression of their numerical importance. The fact is, some do not live in the town at all but walk or drive in daily or come for several days or weeks to sell stocks of jewelry or pottery made up for the tourist trade by their own and neighbors' families in their respective Pueblos. Parents occasionally come in to see their children at the government and mission schools for Indians.

In Phœnix a list of forty Indian families was furnished by the outing matron who has been maintained by the government at this post for some years past. Careful search revealed only two other families to be added to this list, and they were new arrivals. In addition about thirty girls were found to be either "on outing"[a] or in domestic service. From such information as the Albuquerque and Santa Fé school authorities, other local persons interested in Indians, Indian traders, and Indians themselves could furnish, it would appear that about twenty Indian families live in Albuquerque and about twelve in Santa Fé. Roughly estimated the resident Indian population is probably 250 in Phœnix, one hundred in Albuquerque, and not over fifty in Santa Fé. The tribes represented among the 113 Indians visited in the three cities, arranged according to city and by sex, are as follows:

[a] The outing system is described on pages 627 and 628.

Tribe	Number of Indians visited in											
	Desert cities			Phœnix			Albuquerque			Santa Fé		
	Total	Men	Women	Total	Men	Women	Total	Men	Women	Total	Men	Women
All tribes	113	58	55	60	29	31	36	19	17	17	10	7
Apache	4	3	1	3	2	1	1	1	..	..	..	..
Hopi	9	9	..	4	4	..	2	2	..	3	3	..
Maricopa	3	..	3	3	..	3	..	..	..	..	..	..
Mission[a]	4	3	1	4	3	1	..	..	..	..	..	..
Navajo	8	5	3	1	1	..	4	2	2	3	2	1
Papago	3	1	2	3	1	2	..	..	..	..	..	..
Pima	32	12	20	32	12	20	..	..	..	..	..	..
Pueblo	39	21	18	3	3	..	27	14	13	9	4	5
Other tribes[b]	5	2	3	5	2	3	..	..	..	..	..	..
Tribe not reported	3	1	2	..	..	..	1	..	1	2	1	1
Non-Indian[c]	3	1	2	2	1	1	1	..	1	..	..	..

[a] Not otherwise specified.
[b] One person in each of the following tribes: Chippewa, Delaware, Hoopa, Oneida, and Yuma.
[c] Non-Indian husband or wife of an Indian.

It will be noted that Pimas predominate in Phœnix and Pueblos in the other two cities, while some Hopis and Navajos were found in each of the three cities.

In none of these cities is there an "Indian quarter." The families are scattered about, generally comparatively remote from each other. The houses themselves can seldom be criticised on grounds of insanitation or insufficiency.

Phœnix Indian households maintain a higher scale of living than those of Albuquerque or Santa Fé. Phœnix is larger than either of the other two cities named and offers not only greater industrial opportunities but also more reasonably priced sanitary homes. In Albuquerque and Santa Fé, Indians are less numerous and live in the cheaper working class neighborhoods, and although their homes are generally clean, comparatively few are really prosperous. Well kept homes are the rule. Uncleanliness of home or person is rarely seen.

Observation and inquiry when visiting the Indians in these three cities and detailed inquiries at the stores where they trade disclosed no peculiarities of diet characteristically Indian excepting the dried meats sometimes brought in by relatives and friends from the home village, or ash cake, corn soup, and other native dishes prepared on special occasions. The food prepared by these Indian women seems to be of comparatively high grade. Their selection of food is prob-

ably little different from that of whites at the same economic levels, for with some exceptions they had domestic arts in the Indian or mission schools and before marriage were "on outings" or in domestic service. The excess of starch and the preponderance of meat noted among camp Indians is not found here. Meat is sometimes used twice a day. Salads are eaten rarely, but fresh green vegetables usually have a place in the diet and fruit constitutes an important food in summer. Some pastry and pie is made and some is bought at the store.

It will have been noted that Pueblos, who were found principally at Albuquerque, were the most numerous among the Indians visited and that Pimas were second. The good housekeeping qualities of Pueblos have been mentioned before. Missionaries and others testify to the ready adaptability of the Pimas to the appliances and modes of civilization. Whether the Indians in these cities are superior members of their tribes who have been influenced by the better Indian schools or whether the general steadiness of their gainful employment is the impelling force in their creation of pleasant wholesome homes, they definitely contribute to city life and definitely gain by their residence in these cities.

The majority of the men in these cities have a much better grade of employment than that of a common laborer, as will be seen from the occupations of the fifty-eight interviewed:

Occupation	Number of Indians interviewed in			
	Desert cities	Phœnix	Albuquerque	Santa Fé
Clerk or salesman	7	4	3	..
Trucker	7	4	2	1
Domestic or restaurant service	7	3	3	1
Railroad employee	6	1	5	..
Janitor or porter	5	3	1	1
Silversmith	4	..	2	2
Laborer	4	4	..	..
Building trades	3	3	..	..
Printer	2	1	1	..
Factory operative	2	2	..	..
Other occupation*	8	1	2	5
Student	2	2	..	..
Unemployed	1	1	..	..

*One person in each of the following occupations: Motion picture actor in Phœnix; fireman for telephone company, and farmer in Albuquerque; lawyer, artist, meter reader, tailor, and stationary engineer in Santa Fé.

In Phœnix the occupations are strikingly diversified. A printer, a painter, and a plumber are working on their own account. The printer is the president of an important and high grade corporation in Phœnix, the other officers of which are white men. Four other Indians are shipping clerks and salesmen in mercantile establishments of Phœnix and one is a porter who has some clerical duties. The express company employs four Indians on its auto-delivery trucks, one of whom is sometimes assigned to clerical duties. Three other men are engaged in domestic service, acting as gardeners and outside men in families where their wives are also employed.

In Albuquerque and Santa Fé all the men are doing work requiring more skill than common labor. A Navajo law graduate at Santa Fé is on the staff of one of the leading lawyers of the state. Some of the Indians at Santa Fé maintain themselves as artists. At least two, one of whom was interviewed, have produced pictures purchased by the Museum at Santa Fé and exhibited in New York. Two skilled silversmiths and turquoise workers were also seen.

A few employers gave information concerning the amounts paid their Indian workers. In railroad shops the hourly rates were as follows for the twelve men in the occupations indicated:

5 machinists	76 cents
1 boilermaker	76 cents
1 blacksmith	76 cents
1 machinist's apprentice	61 cents
1 blacksmith's helper	53 cents
1 boilermaker's helper	53 cents
2 laborers	38 cents

Other employers reporting on a monthly basis say that they pay the following wages: A porter, $145, three truck drivers, $127, $137, and $150 respectively, a clerk $90, and a salesman $55 plus sleeping quarters. A tailor says he gets $30 a week for repair work; a salesman in a store reports $20 a week. The two silversmiths both say they net an average of $5 a day. A printing concern has three Indian employees. One, a journeyman pressman at $42.50 a week, is a member of the American Federation of Labor; another feeds the press at $24 a week; and the third is a helper and driver at $20 a week.

Employers in these cities commented on the satisfactory services rendered by Indian employees. A manager of a book and stationery firm which has had Indians as porters from time to time says:

The average Indian worker is happier and steadier in his work than a white man, but lacks initiative. Indians seem to have no ambition to advance and are satisfied always to be porters if they come as porters. They are, however, ambitious for their families and want their children to go to the regular public high school. The daughter of our present porter expects to be a teacher. The Indians cannot save because they take care of each other. Our present porter, a Mission Indian with a Papago wife, gets $115 a month and takes care of his wife and six children, one brother, a sister and her husband, and, usually, one or more visitors. These people live on him much of the time.

The Indian just referred to, it might be added, had several years ago tried to work his land, upon which he had built a shack for his family. The lumber and other material cost him $195, which he had saved for the purpose. While working his farm he had, at the same time, a job in a hardware store and rode horseback four miles to and from the store. After six months in the hardware store at $15 a week the book store asked him to return to his old job at a higher wage. Because city work offered a surer income and more advantages for the children, the family returned to town. They leased their land, which is the wife's allotment, for one-third of the crop. Last year their share was $70, but they say that they have received only $20 because the agent took out "charges," for what they do not know and cannot ascertain; for, they say, "You know Indians are not allowed to investigate their own affairs."

Another firm has four Indians in its employ. One is on clerical work and the others are on motor trucks. These men all have good, clean homes and children in the public schools. Two are world war veterans. Their employer says:

I would not employ any more Indian labor because it is our policy to advance our people to clerical work. The Indian we have on clerical work is perfectly satisfactory, but I'd rather not have Indian clerks. They enjoy their work on the wagons and are satisfactory. Clerical work takes more skill than Indians can muster.

The proprietor of the printing firm employing Indians says:

The Indians will not go far in the white man's community for some years. They are not trained to assert themselves and are timid. They never presume, but they are never servile. They are always dignified and never discourteous. The Indians have stolid expressions, but are not stolid. They are sensitive to all the details of the job and to the personal feeling that people extend to them. They usually reply to a salary raise with a broad grin.

Married women are not gainfully employed to any great extent in any city of this group. The exceptions are a practical nurse whose white husband is a plumber, a woman who has three boarders, two who do char work, and one who irregularly goes out as a domestic servant. Six work on the same jobs as their husbands, three of these couples being in regular service together in families where the men tend garden and do outdoor work and the women cook; two couples are in the Indian Service, one of the women being a cook and the other a matron; and the sixth couple acts as caretakers of a country club. The single or widowed Indian women employed in these cities are engaged in domestic service. In one of the hospitals at Santa Fé, six Indian girls educated in private convents and Indian boarding schools are in training as nurses.

Forty of the women interviewed reported their occupations as follows:

Occupation	Indian women interviewed in			
	Desert cities	Phœnix	Albuquerque	Santa Fé
Domestic service	13	8	3	2
Indian service[a]	4	1	2	1
Nursing[b]	2	1	..	1
Other occupation[c]	3	3	..	..
No occupation	33	18	12	3

[a] Two teachers, a matron, and a cook.
[b] One graduate and the other still in training.
[c] One person in each of the following occupations: Charwoman, laundry worker, and boarding-house keeper.

Among the thirty Indian girls reported by the outing matron to be in service in Phœnix, are some "on outing" from the Indian schools. They are paid from $4 to $6 a week, one dollar of which is retained by the girls, the rest being sent back to the government school from which they have come, where it is placed to their credit to be drawn upon for spending money, as for example, for such

extra clothing, shoes, or food as the girls desire. Out of the one dollar per week retained they are urged to save money. The other girls working in service at Albuquerque and Santa Fé generally get $5 to $8 a week. They have no contact with an outing matron.

Wages in Phœnix range from $16 a month for Indians girls to $60 a month for older women in service. Only one Indian woman is known to receive $60, and she has quarters for herself and husband. The places of most of the women in domestic service here have been secured through the Indian outing matron.

Indians girls at work on their own account at places apart from the reservation cannot be brought strictly under the direction of Indian Service employees in the handling of their earned income or the utilization of their leisure time. The field matron at Phœnix states, however, that she tries to use persuasive measures in helping them.

In these three cities the patrons of the girls in service without exception expressed general satisfaction. The girls are reliable, industrious, and kind to children, and "make better servants than the class of whites available."

The Indian residents of Phœnix generally send their children to the public schools, and twenty-one Indian boys and girls are scattered through the various buildings, several being in high school. If Indian children of resident families are placed in the Indian schools, it is usually for economic reasons, as in the case of an intelligent widowed mother of nine children. The children had always attended public school until the death of their father six years ago. Much as the mother values the free contacts to be had in the public schools, she finds it impossible with her wage of $30 a month as a servant to clothe and maintain the children at home in order to keep them in public school. As it is, she has to buy some shoes and clothing for the five older children in the government Indian school and for the four, aged from six to nine years, who are with her relatives on the reservation.

Several Indian students at the University of New Mexico at Albuquerque have done satisfactory work. In the high school at Albuquerque are five Indian students, only one of whom does work which is below the average. Principals and teachers in the grade schools here find that Indian children hold their own in their studies and mingle freely with other children.

In Santa Fé the Indian couples visited had only children of preschool ages, but stated their intention to send them to private convent schools or to public schools in the city.

The recreational life of the Indians of Phœnix, Albuquerque, and Santa Fé is not notably different from that of their white neighbors. The motion picture theaters attract them as they do other people. A few of them have automobiles. They return for ceremonials to their respective pueblos and reservations less often than do the Indians at Winslow and Gallup. They are interested as spectators in fiestas of any kind held in the cities where they live.

In Phœnix the Cook Bible School and the Presbyterian Church have a club for employed girls, which meets weekly. Other Indian women and their children also attend the meeting, which is principally religious, with talks on foreign mission work in which the girls participate. Tea and cakes prepared by the girls are served. The white women identified with this work are intelligent and interested. They deplore the loneliness of the employed Indian girls and the paucity of real recreation for them. This same sentiment was expressed more than a few times by Indian matrons at Phœnix, Albuquerque, and Santa Fé. In each of these three cities the Indians have talked of having a social club, with one of its objects the recreation of the young Indian girls working in service.

Many of the Papago and Pueblo Indians in Albuquerque and Santa Fé are members of the Catholic Church, which they attend with more or less regularity. No social or recreational activities seem to attach to church connections, except in Phœnix where such activities are identified with the Y. W. C. A. and with the Cook Bible Institute and the Presbyterian Church.

Pacific Coast Cities. Five cities are included in the group designated Pacific Coast cities, namely, Los Angeles and Torrance in Southern California, Sacramento in the northern part of the state, Tacoma, Washington, and Salem, Oregon. In Los Angeles and Torrance 105 Indians were seen. In the three cities farther north only a few Indians could be located. In Sacramento ten persons were visited, in Salem four. Of the twelve persons seen in and near Tacoma, the majority were Puyallups. The tribal and sex distributions of the Indians interviewed in this group of cities are as follows:

Tribe	Number of Indians visited in								
	Pacific coast cities			Los Angeles and Torrance			Tacoma, Salem, Sacramento		
	Total	Men	Women	Total	Men	Women	Total	Men	Women
All groups	131	55	76	105	41	64	26	14	12
Apache	2	2	..	2	2	..	..	..	..
Cherokee	2	1	1	2	1	1	..	..	..
Chippewa	4	2	2	1	1	..	3	1	2
Choctaw	4	2	2	4	2	2	..	..	..
Hopi	2	..	2	2	..	2	..	..	..
Klamath	2	..	2	2	..	2	..	..	..
Mission [a]	15	8	7	15	8	7	..	..	..
Mojave	7	3	4	7	3	4	..	..	..
Navajo	10	5	5	10	5	5	..	..	..
Onondaga	2	1	1	2	1	1	..	..	..
Paiute	4	..	4	3	..	3	1	..	1
Papago	10	4	6	10	4	6	..	..	..
Pima	9	1	8	9	1	8	..	..	..
Pueblo	2	1	1	2	1	1	..	..	..
Pysallup	8	5	3	..	..	..	8	5	3
Sioux	2	2	..	2	2	..	..	..	..
Skokomish	2	..	2	..	..	..	2	..	2
Yakima	2	2	..	1	1	..	1	1	..
Yuma	3	..	3	3	..	3	..	..	..
Other tribes [b]	14	4	10	7	1	6	7	3	4
Tribe not reported	11	..	11	11	..	11	..	..	..
Non-Indian	14	12	2	10	8	2	4	4	..

[a] Not otherwise specified.
[b] One person in each of the following tribes: Aleute, Assiniboin, Mohawk, Oneida, Pasma, Tit River, Quinaielt, Rogue River, Seneca, Sac and Fox, Tuscarora, Ute, Walapai, Wintun.

Los Angeles is credited by Indians and others concerned with Indian affairs with an Indian population of from 800 to 1000. This estimate seems to be roughly confirmed by an official record of thirteen births registered where both parents were reported Indian and of twenty more births with one parent so reported. Visits in and near Los Angeles included more than one hundred Indians. Full blood California Indians predominated among those visited, but members and descendants of tribes living in New York, Oregon, the Dakotas, and other distant states have some representation, as appears in the foregoing table.

As a place of residence Los Angeles appeals to Indians in Southern California for various reasons. It is fairly accessible to Sherman Institute at Riverside, one of the largest Indian schools in the country, of which the Indians or their friends are in many cases graduates or ex-students. More Indian girls are placed "on outing" in and near Los Angeles than in any other place. Los Angeles offers many industrial opportunities and is the seat of the motion picture industry, which employs Indians.

About fifteen Indian families live in Torrance, a few miles south of Los Angeles. Several hundred Indians were brought to Torrance during the world war to work in the steel industry. They were allowed to settle as squatters on land of one of the steel companies. A few years ago the camp was broken up for sanitary reasons, industrial needs and conditions of the town changed, and only a few Indian families remain.

Indians are scattered all over the enormous area that is covered by the city of Los Angeles. Their homes show complete adaptation to white American standards, but almost as great a range as do the homes of white families selected at random, with probably comparatively fewer examples at the extremes of wealth and poverty. They are scattered about in every type of neighborhood, including expensive residential sections and poorer working class neighborhoods. Neighborhood segregation is slight. Once in a while an individual landlord is reported to have refused tenancy to an Indian on the grounds that he bars all "dark races," but plenty of good homes are available and occupied by Indians, homes as attractive as those which well-to-do educated whites of the business and professional class would desire in the good residential sections of any city. Books, ancestral portraits, oriental rugs, and other high-grade furnishings were found in a few such homes.

The Indians remaining in Torrance are families of skilled intelligent workers ranging from 25 to 35 years of age, who, without exception seem ambitious to succeed in their work and to secure a permanent foothold in civic and industrial life apart from their reservations. They are well housed in attractive bungalows which they rent or have bought in pleasant working class sections. In addition, a few detached Indian men and one married couple live in a row of half a dozen rooms in a sort of box-car-like structure. Charges of carousing in this little group are made by other Indians.

The Torrance Indians mentioned discrimination in the past in the matter of securing homes. They attribute this to the fact that some years ago the Indian employees of the steel mill were huddled in a camp devoid of sanitation, police protection, and other services necessary to maintain any semblance of decency and health. This camp was abolished, it is reported, because Indians from Los Angeles exerted pressure on health and other authorities at Tor-

rance. Some of the whites, made aware of unfavorable conditions by the publicity incidental to the breaking up of the camp, were alarmed over the prospect of persons with low standards of life coming into their neighborhoods and into the public schools. The Indians then had difficulty in buying or renting suitable places on account of the state of public opinion and could no longer tolerate in the newly acquired homes the idle Indians who had formerly "sponged" on the camp dwellers. Torrance Indians say the sentiment against them as neighbors has practically disappeared.

Not a single Indian family visited in Los Angeles was found to be living at a standard definitely below the level of health and decency, or in the primitive Indian style typical of homes on reservations or in the Indian camps heretofore discussed. Housing is satisfactory in all cases, and well built homes are in some instances owned by the Indian occupants. All houses indicate permanent residence in a white civilization. Every home has furniture of some kind, and most of them are furnished with taste, though with little display of Indian arts and crafts. Every family eats from a table while seated on chairs; all have beds and bed linen; all cook indors on regular stoves. Some poverty was found, but no slum conditions. Good housekeeping is general and in only one case was extravagance or reckless living indicated. Food habits and food preparation revealed nothing peculiarly Indian, excepting an occasional Indian dish as a treat for friends from the reservation or upon some special occasion.

None of the men interviewed is engaged in the learned professions, but some are in mercantile and clerical pursuits, and about the same number work in skilled trades or occupations. The occupations of the forty-one men interviewed are:

Skilled steel workers	5
Building trades	5
Clerks[a] and salesmen	4
Drivers and baggage handlers	4
Motion picture actors	3
Factory and laundry workers	3
Laborers	3
Printers	2
Proprietors of curio shops	2
Other occupations[b]	6
Students	3
Retired	1

[a] The two clerks are a stenographer in a bank and a draftsman with the city engineer.

[b] One person in each of the following occupations: Tailor, policeman, motorman, gas station helper, gardener, and boy "on outing."

An "Indian motion picture colony" is sometimes referred to in Los Angeles, but, according to the casting directors of the motion picture industry, scarcely a dozen Indians are engaged exclusively in this work. Motion picture work has as much lure for the Indians as for the younger whites in and near Los Angeles, and they like to claim the occupation even though by their own statements and the official records of employment, only a few days' work a year is available. Having had a taste of motion picture work, Indians, like whites, want in some instances to do nothing else. An Indian from New York refuses everything except motion picture work, even though he has long periods of idleness, because, as he expresses it, "It would be a come-down to take laboring work when all my friends know I am a motion picture artist." His hard working friends finance him between jobs.

Non-employment for an extended period was rarely encountered, owing no doubt to the fact that in the cities visited unskilled laboring jobs of short duration could nearly always be found as stopgaps between jobs of greater permanence. Furthermore, the Indians in town with no job prospects and no credit, are likely to take their families and drive back to their reservations in their own or their friends' cars.

Industrial discrimination against Indians is charged by some who have been refused jobs with the statement: "We hire Americans only. We don't employ dark races." Others say that because they are Indians promotion does not come. Still others, however, contend that if the Indian has skill he can find a market for it, and that while such statements as "Many an Indian carpenter is forced to do pick and shovel work" may be true, it is true also of whites The difficulty sometimes results from the fact that the vocational training in Indian schools is not a real apprenticeship; that schools do not make this clear to the boy, and so he places false evaluation on his skill; that the school has no means of really teaching trades, and the Indian gets a jolt when he discovers the truth.

Two Indians who were taught printing in the Indian schools have achieved printing offices of their own in Los Angeles, and several more are reported working as journeyman printers. Their experience, however, appears to be rather exceptional.

A successful journeyman painter and decorator, a Papago, asserts that the methods of Indian school teaching in his craft were

archaic and inadequate, and that he was much discouraged at the outset because he had to learn the trade all over again when he tried to take it up in Los Angeles.

A young Mission Indian aged 23, who had never lived on a reservation, attended public schools through the eighth grade and then went to a large Indian school for two years, where he studied painting and baking. He found himself unable to qualify in either job after his graduation from the tenth grade in 1920, and so entered upon a four years' apprenticeship in plastering. He is now just beginning to work at the plastering trade in Los Angeles.

Another young man, a Papago, aged 27, maintains himself by jobs in plastering. He had two years of this work at a non-reservation school which he left at the age of 21 in the eighth grade. He is not a skilled artisan, and takes any laboring job available.

An Indian layer-out in a steel construction plant finished eight grammar grades and then one year in public high school. Because he wanted to be an engineer, he then took vocational work in engineering in a non-reservation Indian school, from which he graduated. He states that this school failed to give him what he wanted in mechanics. Nevertheless, he got a job in a boiler shop and eventually became a skilled mechanic. For twenty-five years since leaving school he has constantly been taking correspondence courses in mechanical drafting, gas engineering, structural engineering, and similar lines. He has retained his several jobs for periods of from two to twelve years. He now earns $2500 a year, but it was his own selection of studies and not the Indian school, he states, that helped him.

Employers without exception pay tribute to the integrity and industry of their Indian employees. The Indians on their part, suffer from a timidity and lack of aggressiveness which prevent them from seeking special recognition. As one employer puts it:

> X, who came as a laborer, would have been perfectly satisfied to continue pouring sand, but I wanted to give him a chance for something better and am making a molder of him. People do not understand how to give Indians a chance. The Indian cannot sell himself into a job. He applies with quiet dignity—does not praise himself and does not cringe. He lacks initiative in his dealings with the white man. There is no feeling or discrimination against the Indian but the Indian holds back.

In a steel plant several Indians are employed to do highly skilled work. One of them regularly earns from $10 to $14 a day, his annual earnings being well over $3000 a year. Their manager says:

> I started in with a prejudice against Indians, but they have won my admiration and respect by their skill and their integrity.

Among the women at least six are known to be graduate nurses, even more than holding their own. Three of these were visited. One is the supervising nurse in charge of a floor in the large county hospital in Los Angeles, one is on the staff of another large hospital, one is attached to a physician's office, and the others engage in private practice at the call of Los Angeles physicians. Approximately a hundred women are employed in domestic service, but about half of these are "outing girls" attending school at the same time. A dozen or more women, although married to men getting along fairly well, are charwomen in office buildings, several go out to do day's work in private families, two are saleswomen, one is assistant in a soft drinks shop, and one a government employee. Several women visited had formerly worked in canneries. Some married women with motion picture experience not aggregating more than a month in a year, felt justified in mentioning it as their occupation. The present occupations of the sixty-four women interviewed are:

Girls "on outing"	24
Domestic servants	5
Charwomen	4
Graduate or student nurses	3
Other occupations*	9
No gainful occupation	19

* One person in each of the following occupations: Government clerk, motion picture actress, minister, writer and lecturer, merchant, saleswoman, factory worker, laundry worker, janitor.

Motion pictures, automobile trips to nearby beaches and elsewhere, and visits to friends, mostly Indian, are outstanding diversions of Los Angeles Indians. Trips back to the reservation are not reported with great frequency. Some are from reservations far away and others are "landless Indians," who have never lived on reservations, but come from sections where Indians are scattered through the general population.

In Los Angeles an important form of recreation is afforded by two Indian clubs or associations with a definite recreational purpose; namely, the Wigwam Club and the American Progressive Indian Association. Each gives an exclusively Indian dance once a month, the two clubs alternating so that the dances fall bi-weekly on Saturday nights. For these dances a hall is rented, and an admission fee of twenty-five cents is charged; soft drinks are sold. Visits to these dances gave the impression that not even the strictest principal of a high grade white school could object to anything in the behavior or dress of any of the Indians in attendance. A club member active in the dances, says:

> They have more than a strictly recreational purpose. They are to teach Indians how to behave. The only other public dances open to them are "tough" and are attended by the lowest classes of whites and of the "dark races." Unless Indians have nice manners they can't progress. If the Indians don't have nice dances of their own in the cities where they live, then their young people will go off to other dances that may be "tough."

"Outing girls" who work in domestic service and attend school are not permitted by the Indian Office to go to these or any other dances. Other Indians deplore this because, as they say, these dances afford about the only frequent, regular, and thoroughly enjoyable recreation that is available for Indians. The substantial Indian residents of the city frankly say they are anxious for these school girls to meet and perhaps later marry from the group of nice intelligent young men to be met at the dances.

Los Angeles has four exclusively Indian clubs. Only one, the War Paint Club, is purely local. Membership in the other three is extended to all Indians in the United States, but club activities are practically confined to Indians in Los Angeles.

1. The American Progressive Indian Association is a dues paying organization concerned with presenting, studying, and trying to understand the problems of all American Indians. Its educational work consists of setting forth the value of citizenship and of exercising the rights thereby implied, such as voting and taking part in civic and social affairs. Its membership is made up principally of Southern California Indians, especially those in Los Angeles. The overwhelming majority have the appearance of being full bloods.

Younger educated Indians are the most active in this group. The older Indians in some instances tend to dwell much upon past Indian history and particularly upon the methods by which the race has been robbed and otherwise wronged. The younger people contend that this is a useless procedure, and that the only thing to do is to "forget that you are Indian"; to "get away from the reservation and take your place alongside the white man in his own stronghold." They say, "If the Indians on the reservation are starving, why don't they get off it and come to town?" They are committed to the ideals of the self-made, and are impatient of lack of aggressiveness in the economic fight to make a living and find a place in the community. Some, however, want more than the assurance of a steady wage in their newly acquired type of life; they would like to live on their own native lands. Although those with this point of view are represented in this Association, yet the most obvious activity is in meeting local recreational needs and developing personality.

The leaders are ethical, intelligent, and far seeing. They are race conscious in a fine sense and are interested in group action looking toward an equitable solution of many peculiarly Indian problems. They realize that a knowledge of the causes of present problems and of the various methods of dealing with them in the past, together with the dishonesties and unfairnesses on the one hand and benefits and gains to the Indian on the other, is essential in dealing with conditions as they exist today and in preventing waste and futility in the future. They concern themselves with bringing Indian life up to a higher plane and breaking down abnormal race consciousness. One of the officers says:

> The Indians can secure recognition only if they are articulate and organized. Every Indian has the problem of re-education of himself after he leaves the government school, which is merely a refined extension of the reservation where he is always made to feel "Indian." While he is race conscious he can't compete.

Another of the officers says:

> I never got away from being *Indian* until I made the first payment in buying my home. Before then I never could approach a white man and put out my hand and say "How do you do."

This association definitely works to break down race consciousness and to have the Indians put behind them customs and practices that bar them from the benefits available to the dominant race. This attitude is criticized by a white "friend of the Indians," who deplores their "losing their picturesqueness," and adds: "I don't care for the Los Angeles Indians; they want to be like whites."

2. The Wa-tha-huck (Brings Light) Club is affiliated with the General Federation of Women's Clubs and is said to be the first club organized for American Indian Women in the world. It is still in its infancy, but has high hopes for promoting culture among Indian women.

The articles of incorporation state its purpose as follows:

1st. To establish and maintain a non-profitable association and to encourage the progressive development and education of American Indian Women.

2d. To coöperate with such constructive movements as have for their purpose the obtaining of the proper social and political status of the American Indian Woman as a citizen of the United States of America.

3d. To supervise and conduct all of the business and financial affairs of the Club and other incidentals thereto.

4th. To raise and receive money by contribution or by any other legitimate means.

5th. To purchase, take in exchange, or to lease, hire, or otherwise acquire any estate or interest in any building, lands, easements, concessions, privileges, real and personal property of any kind wheresoever situated, necessary or convenient for the carrying on of the Club's business.

3. The Wigwam Club of America, in one of its circulars, is described as follows:

The Wigwam Club of America is a social and beneficial organization, composed of American Indians. Motto: "Friendship—Morality—Brotherly Love."

It is founded on the principles of looking to the welfare of Indian boys and girls, supplying all aid within its means to worthy Indians, and to assist in the education of Indians of rare talent.

The Club's only means of raising funds is through giving socials and dances and supplying talent for various entertainments at all times, so long as it is Indian talent desired.

This can be accomplished through the Wigwam Club of America.

This organization is financed by one or two Indians. Its most obvious activity is announced in hand bills as "a great Indian summer picnic, held on the last Sunday of October" at a municipal picnic park of Los Angeles.

Indians of all tribes are specially requested to attend. No admission fee. Monstrous program of speaking and music. Free coffee. Free green corn. Bring your lunch and cup. Picnic starts early in morning and lasts all day.

This picnic draws nearly a thousand Indians from Los Angeles and vicinity, and is participated in by whites who flock in large numbers to the festivities. Native costume and adaptations of Indian dances are given. Some Indians work for months ahead, making curios and objects of Indian art to be sold at the picnic. Orators of the day include not only Indian leaders but other men prominent in public life.

4. The War Paint Club is an organization of Indians who work in the motion picture industry. It serves as a sort of registry or employment agency, and the several studios at Hollywood look to it as a source of supply for Indians to serve as "extras" or to play "bits." It is a dues paying organization, and is concerned with guarding Indians from exploitation in their work and with trying to supply a large number of genuine Indians to play Indian parts that are now often played by Orientals, Mexicans, and others in Indian costumes.

The Indians generally here as elsewhere are opposed to strictly Indian schools conducted by the government or missions. Some, however, choose Indian schools, mainly for economic reasons, but in some instances because they believe in vocational training. The training in athletics and in domestic arts in the larger non-reservation schools was commended.

No public school discrimination whatever was reported. The comments of several principals in schools attended by outing girls generally indicated interest in Indian pupils:

We have three Indian girls in this building. I have never been disturbed by what passes as stolidity of Indians when they enter a group which is strange to them. When they first came to our school I instructed teachers not to push them as I knew they would

soon thaw out. They did and are willing and cheerful in all their school duties. The Indians freely mix with the other girls on the playground, but the terms of the government supervision do not permit of their visiting white homes. The Indian girls here recently gave a tableau as part of a school program. They worked without direction and created a perfect atmosphere for their subject which was "Indians in Arizona."

The two Indian girls here constitute no problem. They stay together a good deal. Both are well adjusted and have no school problems.

The three Indian girls in this school chum together, but the other pupils do not at all discriminate against them. The little Indian girls taught the others an Indian dance. Our Japanese girls are quicker, more alert, and less timid than the Indian girls. But the Indians are steady and their performance is more uniform.

The two Indian girls in this building fit well into the school life. Their adaptation is good, they mingle freely with others, and they are good members of the school community. If we had twenty Indian girls assigned to this school I would not object, but would first wish to have them work as a special group.

By way of contrast, a principal of a school in a fashionable section of Los Angeles says:

This school does not fit Indians at all. We have no opportunity room, but try to give Indian girls easy work. No racial discrimination is apparent on the playground, although the Indian girls tend to gravitate toward one another. One of them fits in with the life of the white girls perfectly. None of the others do. I do not see how they get much out of our school. They may be getting something, however, as they are sent here among white families primarily to be with white people to get something from white homes. From an educational standpoint, however, they get little from our school. The Indian girls are never impudent and some of their apparent sullenness may be stolidity or timidity.

Probably a dozen Indian families live in Sacramento, but several were absent from home, and in some cases addresses were so indefinite that the families could not be located. The five men and five women interviewed were married couples. One Indian woman had a Hawaiian husband, three Indian women had white husbands; and the fifth a half-breed, the son of one of these three couples, was married to a full-blood Indian girl.

In all cases these families lived up to the standards of whites in the corresponding economic classes. In one family the white husband of a half-blood wife who had been educated in public schools was for years unaware of his wife's Indian blood. They lived in accordance with the best standards of comfort. Only one home suggested an Indian origin. This family had been in the carnival business, and its several members still made and sold bead work, arrows, and war bonnets, and occasionally joined Indian shows and carnivals. In all cases these Sacramento families participate in the social and civic life generally available to others in their own economic group. The belief was expressed by both Indians and whites that Indian blood in itself is no bar to any industrial or civic opportunity. The few Indians visited said they knew of no Indian associations or clubs in or near Sacramento. Separately they were interested in general problems affecting Indian rights, and had resorted to the individual employment of attorneys to handle their relations with the government. By this procedure they said they had secured property rights previously denied by Indian agents.

In Salem, Oregon, fewer Indians were found than reports had indicated. Only four were visited. An Alaska Indian, who was trained as a tailor in a government school, is successfully working on his own account and mingles socially with whites by reason of his pleasing personality and through his trade union and fraternal society connections. Another Indian interviewed was a cabinet maker; he showed no trace of Indian blood, and was completely assimilated into the city life. The two other families seen were both indigent. One showed no trace of Indian blood.

It is stated that Indians pass through Salem from time to time and get jobs. The United States Employment Service in this section of Oregon places about fifty Indian agricultural workers a year. Aside from the statement of employment agencies and lumber companies that the Indians of this section "are not built for logging," Indians seem to have as free a chance as whites in all phases of industrial, civic, and social life, unless individual educational and economic limitations create a barrier.

Reservations have been broken up in the section around the city of Tacoma, and Puyallup Indians are scattered throughout the Puyallup Valley, working the lands. Closer to the coast, some engage in fishing and in selling dog fish oil, a lubricant, to corporations. Of nine Indian families located near Tacoma, only one lives within the limits of the city. No Indian segregation or camp life exists about here, although some tendency may exist for Indians to locate where a few others are already in the neighborhood.

Seven of the twelve Indians interviewed were Puyallups. A successful merchant, a couple of rich land owners, a steel worker, and a dairyman were visited. Three of the families enjoyed a good measure of prosperity and even prominence because of the position they have made for themselves, their interest in public school matters, and their membership on rural school boards. Their homes are well kept according to modern American standards. They include in their furnishings examples of Indian crafts, such as baskets and bead work. In three of the nine families visited it was asserted that race prejudice bars the Indian from certain occupational opportunities. But others who had had a little more education denied that their race is a bar to economic progress and cited Indians in the State of Washington who not only had been successful but had attained a certain prominence, two being in the legislature, one the mayor of Aberdeen, one a county commissioner, and one a bank officer. They cited also an Indian woman rural mail carrier, who was president of the rural carriers' association. One of the successful and intelligent Indian women near Tacoma said:

> Indians properly educated have pretty nearly, if not wholly, as good chance as whites. I would go without bread to give my children an education in public schools, for otherwise they will have to take a back seat. If the Indians secure the same education as whites they can compete with whites, but not otherwise.

Relief amounting to about $330 a year is extended to aged indigent Indians outside of Tacoma by the County Welfare Association. The Charity Commissioner says he has tried to avoid aiding Indians, but the State Attorney General has ruled that indigent Indians are as much entitled to aid as any other indigent citizens. The Family Welfare Association in Tacoma reports that only one Indian family has ever applied for aid, and that no relief was given

because its needs were finally met by relatives. The Tacoma City Visiting Nurse Association has had in the last two years among the Indians one sick child and three expectant mothers. The Indians listed on the County Tuberculosis Records all live outside of Tacoma.

The Superior Court Judge, who also sits as Juvenile Court Judge, has not had an Indian case in two years of incumbency. He has been for twenty years a resident of Tacoma and is interested in Indians. He believes that they have less tendency toward delinquency and crime than whites.

Cities of the Lakes and Plains. According to the most reliable local estimates available, the Indian populations of these northern cities are as follows: Minneapolis and St. Paul, about 300 each, Duluth and Superior, from 150 to 200 each; Milwaukee, about 200; and Sioux City, from 100 to 150. Verification of these figures is impossible, but Indian birth and death reports in these cities are at least not out of harmony with these estimates.

The tribal distribution of Indian men and women visited in the cities of this group is as follows:

Tribe	Number of Indians visited in														
	Cities of the lakes and plains			Minneapolis and St. Paul			Duluth and Superior			Milwaukee			Sioux City		
	Both sexes	Men	Women	Both sexes	Men	Women	Both sexes	Men	Women	Both sexes	Men	Women	Both sexes	Men	Women
All tribes	343	163	180	166	77	89	40	17	23	88	43	45	49	26	23
Brotherton	6	3	3	..	..	..	..	..	..	6	3	3	..	..	..
Chippewa	132	57	75	94	41	53	31	11	20	7	5	2	..	..	..
Menominee	4	..	4	2	..	2	..	..	..	2	..	2	..	..	..
Oneida	53	24	29	..	..	..	..	..	..	53	24	29	..	..	..
Sioux	32	14	18	19	8	11	..	..	..	..	..	..	13	6	7
Stockbridge	7	3	4	..	..	..	..	..	..	7	3	4	..	..	..
Winnebago	31	16	15	..	..	..	..	..	..	2	2	..	29	14	15
Other tribes[a]	5	3	2	2	1	1	..	..	..	1	1	..	1	1	..
Not reported	10	5	5	3	..	3	1	..	1	2	1	1	4	4	..
Non-Indian[b]	63	38	25	46	27	19	8	6	2	8	4	4	1	1	..

[a] One person in each of the following tribes: Mission, Mohegan, Omaha, Ottawa, and Sac and Fox.
[b] Non-Indian husband or wife of an Indian.

In Minneapolis, St. Paul, Duluth, and Superior, and to a lesser extent, in Milwaukee, there are many mixed bloods. In fact one

gets the impression in St. Paul and Minneapolis that most of the persons claiming to be Indians have but a slight degree of Indian blood. From "lists of Indians" furnished by the several reservations, many were reached whose personal appearance indicated French or Scandinavian blood rather than Indian. In a number of cases a claim of only one-sixteenth, one-thirty-second, or one-sixty-fourth Indian blood was made, yet great insistence was put upon the right to be designated "Indian." Some of the so-called Indians were found to be persons generally believed to be white, who were living in the type of home that fairly prosperous young professional or business folk generally enjoy. In Sioux City the Indians have an essentially Indian appearance and were mostly full bloods.

At Sioux City the Indian population is in one sense less permanent than in the other cities of the group. The Winnebago Reservation is within easy reach by trolley, bus, train, automobile, or horse, and the cost of transportation is small. Some Indians make brief sojourns with a certain frequency, but the nearby reservation is home. One woman said: "We don't live here; we just stay in the city because the men can get jobs here." Most of the men engage in labor of a transient character about the packing houses and other Sioux City plants, and when out of a job go back to the reservation. The Indians live exclusively in the poorer working class and cheap lodging house sections. Structurally their houses are secure and city water is in the house or yard. But time and again their beds were found to be without linen; at times members of the family sit on the floor because they have an insufficient number of chairs; and frequently an ugly bareness prevails in the home, traceable less to poverty than to the impermanence of their residence or a lack of training for home-making. In several instances the homes indicate standards of life not much above those prevalent on reservations and in Indian camps.

Settlement in the Wisconsin and Minnesota cities indicates a much sharper break from the reservation and involves an adjustment to the need for making a permanent home. Minneapolis, St. Paul, and Milwaukee are likewise within comparatively easy access of several reservations, but have a number of industries that constantly call for large numbers of unskilled laborers. All varieties of economic condition are therefore to be found, from the poverty of the newly arrived unskilled worker to the comparative affluence of the successful old resident.

The range in standards of living follows economic rather than racial lines. Indians newly arrived are found in cheaply furnished rooming houses with rents comparatively high, or scattered through low rent neighborhoods in cheap flats of one, two, or three rooms in buildings where conditions are somewhat below a reasonable standard of living. Numbers of other well established wage earners are rather attractively housed in pleasant one- or two-family dwellings in better sections. Some of the more successful have attractive homes in the less expensive suburbs.

Indians with much white blood, or to state it in another way, whites whose dash of Indian blood permits their enrollment as Indians, have as a rule spent their childhood or youth in the city where they now reside or in some other white community and usually have been educated wholly or partly in white schools. By academic education and personality development they are stronger in the industrial struggle than recent arrivals from the reservations. Their homes generally show their economic and educational superiority. In some cases they live in homes of some luxury, even exceeding the best homes visited in Los Angeles.

The majority of wives visited are not gainfully employed, but remain at home to care for their households. Excepting in Sioux City their homes were as a rule reasonably well kept.

The occupational distribution of Indians in this group of cities is somewhat similar to that of a new group of foreign immigrants in any of the large cities of America. Many Indians, particularly full-bloods, are "alien" to the white civilization of their native land, and hence are on the lowest rung of the industrial ladder when they first move to the city. A few, however, are climbing up from the bottom. A lawyer, a physician, and a dentist were found living in the cities visited. Several men are high grade salesmen, insurance agents, and the like. Others are draftsmen, stenographers, and clerks. One is a contractor, a few own their own printing or paint shops, some are skilled machinists, and others have been employed for several years in skilled and semi-skilled occupations in large industries. Some, however, even though equipped to do higher grade work, are still unskilled laborers.

Among those interviewed nearly one-eighth were in professional, clerical, and mercantile pursuits. The occupations of the Indians visited in these cities are presented in the following statement:

Occupation	Indians visited in				
	Cities of the lakes and plains	Minneapolis and St. Paul	Duluth and Superior	Milwaukee	Sioux City
All occupations	163	77	17	43	26
Laborer	31	9	5	13	4
Factory operative	30	10	1	5	14
Carpenter	12	6	2	3	1
Other building trades	8	6	2	..	..
Auto mechanic	7	3	..	4	..
Merchant	6	5	1	..	..
Railroad employee	6	5	1	..	..
Clerk and salesman	5	5	..	..	..
Electrician	4	1	..	2	1
Stationary engineer	4	2	..	1	1
Trucker	4	2	..	2	..
Tailor	4	4	..	..	..
Lawyer	3	1	..	2	..
Janitor	3	2	1	..	..
Medicine manufacturer	3	1	..	2	..
Pharmacist	2	1	1	..	..
Baker	2	2	..	..	..
Farmer	2	1	..	..	1
Other occupation[a]	11	6	1	4	..
Not reported	5	4	1	..	..
None	11	1	1	5	4

[a] One person in each of the following occupations: Auditor, barber, chef, machinist, machinist's helper, molder, motorman, policeman, printer, stationary fireman, taxi owner.

The term laborer covers many industrial workers who have been for years in the employ of city departments; telephone, gas, or electric light companies; and other concerns which require steadiness and intelligence as well as brawn.

In the Twin Cities factory operatives included workers in packing houses and several other kinds of manufacture. In Milwaukee the factory operatives were in automobile plants, as machinists, assembling man, and so on. In Sioux City all factory operatives were in the packing houses. In each city of this group some of the men were doing highly skilled work.

In the packing houses rates of pay range from 42 cents to 50 cents an hour, and monthly earnings run from $110 to $130 a week.

In the occupation of laborer, regular wages as high as $25 a week were reported in a few cases. Several laborers reporting this amount said they earned high wages because their work digging trenches for a gas company was dangerous. Skilled workers in the automobile industry earn up to 90 cents an hour. Information on earnings and steadiness of employment is not available.

An Indian in Milwaukee characterized the industrial prospects of his people as follows:

> Indians never have trouble to get work in Milwaukee. The Oneidas all know from childhood that they will have to work to support themselves. Most Indian reservations have no work for Indians better than digging ditches, so those of all tribes who want to be anything must go to cities.

Seventy of the 180 women visited in this group of cities, or nearly four out of ten, were found to be gainfully employed. Their occupations are:

Factory operatives	14
Domestic servants	13
Charwomen	10
Clerks or stenographers	6
Seamstresses	4
Laundry workers	4
Saleswomen	3
Graduate nurses	2
Merchants	2
Telephone operators	2
Boarding house keepers	2
Bead workers	2
Other occupation[a]	6

[a] One person in each of the following occupations: Practical nurse, high school teacher, food demonstrator, manager of beauty parlor, manager of cafeteria, and janitor.

In the cities where mixed bloods are relatively numerous, the Indians like other people develop their recreational activities in accordance with their own tastes. Apparently they are not isolated nor are they barred from participation in the social or recreational life that their economic condition permits. They frequent amusement parks, beaches, motion picture theaters, and other commercial amusement places as freely as they desire. Bridge parties and other evening gatherings in Indian homes are sometimes exclusively Indian, but not always. Home entertaining is facilitated by pianos, phonographs, and radios, which are not uncommon in these city homes.

In all these northern cities a very considerable proportion of the Indians visited are automobile owners. Used cars are bought for as little as $25. Repairs and tinkering by the owner keep them going for a time, but fairly frequently one sees broken parts, such as radiators, seats, and even motors, lying about yards. Good new cars, however, are in many cases bought as soon as money for a first payment is secured. In cases where a too optimistic view is taken of the steadiness of a job, the car is lost for non-payment of monthly installments.

Since most Indians hold to old friendships with the Indian associates of their childhood and youth, the ownership of cars is necessary to free intercourse with friends in remote neighborhoods of the same city. Automobiles also make possible to the owner and his friends the frequent visits back to the reservation at holidays and on other occasions.

Associations designed to deal definitely with enrollment rights and property rights have been formed by the Indians in Minneapolis and St. Paul. The Indians in the other Minnesota cities are interested in the Twin Cities councils, but have their separate groups, less formally organized.

Milwaukee Indians show their interest in civic and political matters in groups of a less formal character. Two or three leaders occasionally summon others of their respective tribes to confer on these matters and sometimes appoint one or more of their number to call upon the superintendents on their respective reservations or even to go to Washington and ask to be heard at congressional hearings. Upon such occasions the city Indians generally work in harmony with one or another of contending groups on the reservation.

Attempts have been made by the Protestant Episcopal and the Roman Catholic churches in Milwaukee to foster associations among Indians, the membership following denominational lines and affording such recreation as is inherent in the meetings themselves. Friendships or friendly feelings between individual Indians and whites active in the Indian associations have been thus generated.

Associations created by Indians themselves for religious expression were not found. The religious expression of the Indians of these northern cities is to some extent involved in Indian ceremonials participated in once a year and also by occasional attendance at Christian churches, generally of the same denomination as that most closely identified with Indian schools or missions previously attended. But the religious activities of schools or missionaries do not always result in the Indian's continuance as a member of the denomination with which he was identified in school. Active church membership is more generally continued among Indians in Minnesota cities and Milwaukee than in Los Angeles. In the two eastern cities both Catholic and Protestant white church folk are active in fostering the clubs and associations along denominational lines. No complaint, however, was ever heard of coercion in religious matters on the part of any denomination.

Roman Catholic Indians were found to cling more firmly than Protestants to their denomination and to send their children to day and Sunday schools of that faith, although even here neighborhood conditions sometimes have their effect and Catholic children are sent to the nearest Protestant Sunday school. Discussions concerning old Indian beliefs and ethics indicate a slight leaning toward the older faith and customs of Indians, even among the better educated who were longest exposed to missionary activities in school.

The school records of Minneapolis show that some children recognized as Indians are in attendance at eleven of the thirty city schools. A total of twenty-nine Indian children were found enrolled. Two of these children are in high school, six in one of the grade school buildings, five each in two other buildings, four in another, two in still another, and one each in the five remaining buildings. Records of Indian school attendance in the other cities of this group were not available excepting in Sioux City, where the enrollment varies from about twelve to twenty-five, fourteen being in attendance on the day the inquiry was made. In all these cities excepting Sioux City some children attend Catholic parochial day schools. Sioux City families resort to Indian boarding schools to a greater extent than do those in the other five cities of this group. In no place were Indian children reported as creating any scholastic or behavior problems.

Migrated Indians as Citizens. The number of Indians in cities and industrial centers is comparatively small, the number represented by this brief study still smaller, but from it the significant fact appears that Indians, full-blood members of primitive tribes,

have been found demonstrating the ability to compete in the modern industrial world successfully. They work alongside white men in various occupations and hold their own.

Employers in the several localities, even where the Indians live in camps, testify that they have the solid qualities of dependability and honesty and other characteristics of satisfactory performance. They lack aggressiveness, however. They are even timid. Anyone familiar with the Indian schools would expect to find this disability, for these schools do not cultivate the qualities of leadership. Few Indians were found in the professions or in positions of large responsibility, but not many can be expected to travel the long road from reservation life to a prominent place in white civilization in a single generation.

Primitive Indian ways, except in the squatter camps, are seldom found in cities. The Indians have houses and furniture like those of the whites in the neighborhods where they live. They sleep in beds, sit on chairs, eat at tables. They eat much the same selection of food as whites. They generally clothe their children like white children and send them to the public schools if possible. They seek much the same kinds of recreation as white people in corresponding economic positions.

Only when their migration to industrial centers is artificially stimulated do they tend to live in colonies. The significance of this fact is great. In nearly all our large centers of population we have Little Italys, Chinatowns, and similar cities within cities where alien language restricts social intercourse to the colony and constitutes an effective barrier to the adoption of American ways. The government schools have to a great extent broken down the language barrier for the younger Indians. Many speak English more freely than their native tongue. Like whites, they can choose their place of residence for its convenience and depend upon the automobile or other conveyance for keeping them in touch with Indian friends in distant neighborhoods. Their children are growing up habituated to the ways of modern life followed by the general population.

Community Reaction to Indians. In not a single city visited did representatives of civic, social, or industrial agencies look upon the Indians in their midst as a special problem to be dealt with in any sense apart from other races. Excepting in Sioux City accessible

records of arrest either did not generally specify the race of the offender, or Indian arrests were said not to have been made. General testimony was that Indians do not tend to become criminal. The worst said of them was that they might become disorderly when drunk. The Indian arrests at Sioux City were practically all for drunkenness or disorderly conduct, and rarely if ever for anything more serious. In other places arrests, even for drunkenness were comparatively rare. Never a bootlegger himself, the Indian is reported to buy liquor with somewhat less frequency than other workers, but to be peculiarly susceptible to the influence of small amounts.

Social and civic organizations in the cities visited expressed an interest in Indians and a willingness to extend to them their respective services. Some county agencies dispensing public funds attempt to deny to Indian citizens in their midst the benefits granted other citizens, under the mistaken impression that "the government supports the Indian." It was reported in California and Washington that legal decisions had been rendered requiring county officers to provide for the wants of indigent Indians as well as indigent whites. In St. Paul and Minneapolis official and private agencies recently considered the advisability of creating organizations especially to minister to the social needs of Indians. After several conferences, representatives of civic, social, and religious organizations decided that special work for Indians would tend to emphasize "differences" between them and others, and that Indian families needing material relief and detached Indian boys and girls at work or seeking work and in need of recreation, all face hazards no different fundamentally from those which confront whites.

Public schools in some cases deny the children of Indian residents and citizens the freedom of public school privileges, privileges that Mexican and other foreign-born groups are penalized for refusing when temporarily or permanently residents of a community. In cities where public schools deny these rights to children of Indian citizens, the government often takes money from tribal funds to pay tuition for children of Indians who live and work in a community. This denial of a right accorded other citizens and this use of tribal funds is bitterly resented by the Indians concerned, especially when they pay land tax.

Education in public schools is the goal of the majority of families visited in cities, excepting the Indians in the camp cities. Educational discrimination against Indian children, which took the form of segregation with Mexicans and other "dark races," was the reason for one family moving to Los Angeles from the city in which they had at first settled. In some cases children are for economic reasons sent to Indian school, even when the parents prefer public schools and such schools are accessible. Approval of or preference for Indian schools was met but rarely. Bitter complaints were made against the system of discipline, the limitation to a half day for academic work, and the requirement of heavy labor by children in the government school. On the other hand, praise of athletics and the teaching of domestic arts was heard on every side.

Reasons for Migration. Inquiry into the reasons for migration from the reservation was almost invariably met with the answer, in one form or another, from every migrated Indian man questioned: "No way to make a living on the reservation." The alternative was starvation or pauperism. Sometimes extreme aridity made reservation farming impossible; sometimes it was said the Indian Office denied to Indians the right to work their own land because it was to be leased to whites. The Indians, even if inclined to enjoy such enforced idleness, often found it impossible to live on the lease money. In some cases the lessor would hire the Indians to work their own land, many times at a compensation inadequate to meet the cost of reservation living. Their motive in migrating is almost wholly economic. Returned students, even though little more than children themselves, and despite the best will in the world to "uplift" their race, in many cases see the hopelessness of attempting self support when handicapped by the limited opportunities on their reservations. These former students sometimes over estimate the value of their vocational training or general education in trying to market their ability in a white civilization. The Indian increasingly seeks opportunities away from his people and away from the land granted him by the government in exchange for other lands and other privileges which he and his people have relinquished.

Girls who had worked under the outing system or who had been trained in domestic arts in the Indian schools often found themselves unable to stand the mode of life of the reservation or to improve it. They "didn't want to stay home and have to marry an ignorant reservation Indian," or "didn't want to be forced to wear the ugly Indian dress," or "had girl friends working in the city." Marriage to an Indian already in the city of course brought some girls from the reservation.

Permanence of City Residence. Many Indians look upon their city residence as temporary. They hope to maintain themselves and their families in the city only until such time as they may secure a fee patent to their lands or a permit to work them, or until they realize on pending claims, or until they can save enough capital to go back and operate a farm on the lands of their own people. Some still hold rights or titles to their lands, which are in many cases worked by relatives and friends or to which they return from time to time to put in crops, acquire stock, and so on. Such Indians look forward to the time when they will have enough money to put the land in good shape, buy implements, build homes, and some day retire to the enjoyment of these homes. Love for the lands of their forebears is often expressed. Were it possible to do so, many would create homes for themselves and their families on the reservation, but they assert that the apparently arbitrary and unreasonable restrictions upon the development of farms and homes imposed by employees on the reservation has proved intolerable. Once in the city for an extended period, nearly all Indians regard public school facilities for their children as an urgent reason for their staying there.

The majority of Indians visited, however, are definitely committed to city life and its better economic and educational opportunities and greater comfort in living as well as its freedom from reservation or Pueblo restriction.

They purchase city homes; they acquire furnishings; they find their friends in cities and satisfy their social needs; and they educate their children in the public schools. Especially do they appreciate the city schools, since they wish their children to be better fitted for self support than were they themselves.

Evaluation of Educational Facilities. The educational needs of his people probably have as great a place in the migrated Indian's thoughts as economic needs or property rights. In the face of white civilization and competition he considers his own background and the training he has received and finds it inadequate. He has his

children with him in his home, and he recalls that his own family life was practically destroyed and that for many years he was deprived of association with other members of his family. He compares the teaching and rate of progress of his children in public schools with that of children in government or mission schools and finds the government schools lacking. He recalls his experience when he and other Indians attempted to market their skill in competition with persons differently trained, in positions as unskilled, semi-skilled, or skilled laborers. An Indian who has successfully made his way in the city says:

> For children like mine, raised with high standards of civilization, the Indian schools do not fit. Schools should be schools and not just Indian schools. Only in this way can the Indian get rid of the terrible self-consciousness from which he suffers. While a man is self-conscious he cannot compete. The government should help the Indians get rid of this self-consciousness in early life.

The quality of the food and clothing furnished in the Indian schools, although supplied mostly without direct charge to the individual families of the recipients, does not escape the criticism of the Indians who have gone out into the world and have had a chance to exercise selection themselves. They claim that the food is often poor or inadequate and the garments unsuitable and unclean. Reference is often made to foot disorders produced by ill-fitting shoes worn in Indian schools.

School discipline and the type of personnel encountered in Indian schools are often recalled by parents with great bitterness and a determination is expressed that their own children shall have something better. They contend that since the government exercised its guardianship by seizing the children and placing them in institutions, it was under obligation to give full consideration to their welfare.

Social and Family Needs. The general social and family needs of their people on the reservation are matters of great concern to the migrated Indians. They are concerned either because they still retain homes on the reservation to which they may some day return, or because some of their children may still be on the reservation in the care of relatives, or because, although they themselves never intend to return to the reservation, they cannot relinquish interest in their own people. A successful city Indian says:

> The Indian Bureau concerns itself with the money and property of the Indian but gives no thought to his welfare. By welfare, I mean what the Indian feels, his loneliness, his isolation, and his morals in a real sense. An Indian girl was left without parents and no one was interested in her. She went from pillar to post on the reservation but could get no help or interest from the agent. Finally oil was found on her allotment and then the Indian Bureau said she needed a guardian.

The Attitude Toward Enrollment Policies. The right to be an enrolled member of a tribe has never been clearly defined for several tribes. Certain Indians in Minnesota and Wisconsin, born away from the reservation to which a parent or grandparent had some claim, contend that such parent or grandparent left the reservation to avoid starvation or in compliance with the injunction of government officers to give up their tribal life and take on white man's culture. On doing this the Indian and his children who were born away from the reservation, under the government ruling were not entitled to tribal lands or funds awarded Indians who had disregarded governmental injunction and remained on the reservation to accept doles and otherwise refuse to obey the government and accept civilization for themselves and their children.

Many Indians recognize that the right to enrollment is a nice legal question and that requirements for enrollment differ among the several tribes because old customs provide that the tribes themselves establish requirements. They contend that, such being the case, the government should years ago have rendered an authoritative decision that would have settled this question once and for all.

Some Indians characterize the enrollment problem, upon which so many property claims rest, as "fights between full bloods and mixed bloods," charging that their reservations were invaded by whites who secured land and timber rights and developed industries there. Full bloods state that many mixed bloods claim Indian descent only for selfish reasons and that many have secured enrollment right through fraud. Descendants of mixed bloods in cities reared wholly under white auspices sometimes claim their rights as Indians but ask that their Indian descent be concealed.

Personal Contacts with Agency Employees. City Indians generally complain that agency officers deny them the right to explanation of uncomprehended procedures; that policies are subject to

arbitrary reversal; and that discourtesy and an utter lack of sympathy are often in evidence when an Indian as a ward seeks to present his views and discuss his problems with his guardian. These things, they state, sometimes force them to organize associations through which they may make conditions known to the public.

Most Indians believe that connivance of Indian Service officers in exploiting and cheating Indians is now a thing of the past, but, because of certain past lapses in integrity and because of the present refusal of several agency officers to give adequate explanation to Indians on matters of importance to them, they still have feelings of suspicion and resentment, even though they have left the reservation and have become city dwellers.

Lack of Confidence in Agency Personnel. Press disclosures of dishonesty of federal and state officers and the failure of the courts to punish those in high positions are constantly commented upon and cited as a justification for the despair of the Indians in their hope for final justice. They do not believe that the matter of broken treaties and broken promises on the part of the government should be of interest only as an historical fact, but that such obligations as the government entered into with the Indians should never be outlawed. They look to some sort of future organization or association of Indians to open up these matters.

Migrated Indians state that the agency seeks to prevent them from presenting an Indian viewpoint to officers of the Indian Office and other visitors to the reservation, even though they have been requested by their less sophisticated reservation brethren to speak for them. Refusal is made on the ground that they "do not belong on the reservation any more" or that they are "agitators," and often, they say, the superintendent bars them, even if the reservation Indians wish them to act, because they refuse to side with the agency. Whenever government officers visit the reservation, city Indians in Minnesota and Wisconsin send representatives as hearers and speakers, and for this reason claim that they need organizations and associations of their own.

Susceptibility to White Leadership. The migrated Indians have on the average more education than the reservation Indians, but they are not immune to the influence of glib talkers who attempt to secure their support for plans to submit statements of Indian rights to magazines, newspapers, or the League of Nations. They are at

the mercy of all kinds of attorneys who assure them of the validity of various apparently fantastic claims.

City Indians even with some education are as susceptible as are reservation Indians to any leadership which offers itself with expressions of kindliness or partisanship. As one expressed it, "the Indians have confidence in those who damn the people they damn, and the people the Indians damn are those in the Indian Bureau." Because they play upon past wrongs in the handling of Indian affairs and can cite present instances of injustice, unscrupulous persons without intention to deal with present problems, or incompetent persons who can get no further than talk and agitation have practically as much chance to secure leadership as have intelligent, interested Indians and whites with the intention, ability, and resources for the study and prosecution of legitimate claims through proper channels.

Indian Theories for Speeding Up Civilization. Many who are race conscious in a fine sense, spiritually tied to their people back on the reservation or in the pueblo, realize that it is a confession of indifference or blindness to a very big economic and social problem to offer the crystallized solutions implied by such statements as: "Give all Indians their fee patents"; "Pay them all off and let those who haven't sense enough to hold their money lose it right away"; "Abolish the Indian Bureau." They claim that Indian problems have their present complexities and dimensions because in the past they have been met by considerations of expediency and haste without regard to terms of treaties and other facts, as well as because guardianship has been exercised largely on the power principle, enjoining restraint in property and other matters, while seldom if ever affording intelligent guidance, discussion, and participation in personal, social, or economic problems.

Some, however, impatient of the initial delay for a well thought-out program, urge the compulsory removal of children from reservation life so that the next generation may go forward with less strain. To the query: "Would you break up the home?" the reply was often in effect, as it once was actually: "The homes that are broken up are either unfit or practically non-existent. Some have dirt floors. There is no alternative to a ruthless breaking away, although the Indian who successfully makes the break should feel an obligation to help those left behind."

Many Indians mentioned that Congress designates a certain portion of the Indian appropriation "for civilization purposes." They have their own theories as to how the not-yet-achieved end may be hastened. Their pessimism as to the acceptance by the government of any Indian ideas which involve real innovation or reconstruction makes them contend that in coöperation with their brothers on the reservation they must seek by group action and expression to correct certain existing wrongs. The objectives most frequently set forth may be listed without discussion of their merits:

1. Set aside the present denial of the Indian's right to a dignified means of presenting to the agency or department his views and problems on matters affecting his welfare.

2. Prevent the very general discourtesy, harshness, and unsympathetic attitude on the part of agency employees.

3. Break down the refusal to explain to Indians the uncomprehended procedures and inconsistent policies subject to arbitrary reversal.

4. Secure a determination of general or individual enrollment rights, without Indians being saddled with court costs, and with such decisiveness that the arbitrary charges and reversals of the government in the past may not reoccur, and this by some other means than the government's present proposal that Indians incur the expense of legal counsel so that the government may ascertain the Indian's legal status and the accuracy of government solicitors' opinions heretofore accepted by the government and sometimes later set aside.

5. Do away with the present practice of forcing the Indians to lease land they desire to farm; or at least prevent leases and grazing permits at less than current rates in the same locality.

6. Demand reliable bondsmen of lessors and provide for adequate procedures to collect bond for breach of contract.

7. Secure the restriction of non-Indian cattle to the designated leased area so as to prevent devastation of Indian ranges, and authorize the sale of predatory horses that consume Indian ranges.

CHAPTER XIII

LEGAL ASPECTS OF THE INDIAN PROBLEM

The study of the legal aspects of the Indian problem has been confined to broad matters having an important bearing on the social and economic conditions of the Indians. The major findings and recommendations will be briefly presented at the outset and will be followed by the more detailed considerations.

The present situation with respect to the maintenance of order and the administration of justice among restricted Indians on the reservation is unsatisfactory. The United States courts have jurisdiction over them with respect only to certain crimes specifically designated by Congress. Other crimes and misdemeanors if punishable at all are under the jurisdiction of the Courts of Indian Offenses or of the superintendent if no such court has been established. In some instances the state courts have assumed some jurisdiction over restricted Indians, but generally they have withdrawn when their jurisdiction has been challenged. The situation has been briefly characterized by an Idaho court as "government in spots."

The subject of marriage and divorce has been left without statutory regulation, except that children of marriages by Indian custom are declared legitimate for purposes of inheritance. The old Indian tribal forms and tribal morality have apparently largely disappeared, and the present situation among the younger Indians seems to be one of freedom which may at times lead to license. At present the main restraining influences appear to be the Courts of Indian Offenses and the superintendents, who use such powers and persuasion as they possess.

Such great differences exist among the several jurisdictions with respect to such vital matters as the degree of economic and social advancement of the Indians, their homogeneity, and their proximity to white civilization, that no specific act of Congress either conferring jurisdiction on state courts or providing a legal code and placing jurisdiction in the United States courts appears practicable. The law and the system of judicial administration, to be

effective, must be specially adapted to the particular jurisdiction where they are to be applied, and they must be susceptible of change to meet changing conditions until the Indians are ready to merge into the general population and be subject like other inhabitants to the ordinary national and state laws administered by the United States and state courts exercising their normal jurisdiction.

The questions of how far the Indians in a given jurisdiction have advanced, of what body of law relating to domestic relations and crimes and misdemeanors is best suited to their existing state of development and of what courts can best administer these laws are too minute and too subject to change to warrant a recommendation that Congress attempt to legislate in detail for each jurisdiction.

The situation is clearly one where the best results can be secured if Congress will delegate its legislative authority through a general act to an appropriate agency, giving that agency power to classify the several jurisdictions and to provide for each class so established an appropriate body of law and a suitable court system. The power should also be given that agency from time to time to advance the classification of any jurisdiction and to modify either the law or the court organization insofar as they are made by the agency and not by state law or act of Congress. The actions of the agency with respect to this authority should be given full publicity by suitable proclamations, orders, or regulations.

The officer with final authority to promulgate the decisions should probably be either the Secretary of the Interior or the President of the United States. The detailed study and investigation and the recommendations should originate in the Indian Service. The perfecting of this system should be one of the major projects of the recommended Division of Planning and Development.

Many Indians have so far advanced that they safely may be made subject to the law of the states wherein they reside with respect to crimes, misdemeanors, and domestic relations. Where the local courts would be impartial, open to the Indians, and easily accessible, there is no reason why justice should not be administered for Indians in such courts. Even among these Indians the national government may still have to provide for law and enforcement officers, either by coöperation with the states, or by supplying its own, and it will also have to arrange for legal aid for Indians

so that the requirements of law will be observed in matters such as divorce. After a group has once been placed fully under the state jurisdiction, it should remain there.

But even where the Indians of this class have so far advanced that the laws of the state wherein they reside may be applied to them, conditions may be such as not to warrant the placing of jurisdiction in the state courts. Investigations may disclose one or more of the following reasons for not placing the administration in the state courts: (1) The state is not willing to assume the responsibility; (2) the state courts are so remote from the Indians that the procedure is impracticable; or (3) the local sentiment toward Indians in the communities where the state or county courts are located is so hostile or so indifferent to their social and moral conditions that Indians would either get an unfair trial or no trial at all. In this class of jurisdictions, serious cases should be brought before the regular United States courts and minor offenses before such special inferior courts as may seem best adapted to the conditions in the particular jurisdiction. The power to establish appropriate special inferior courts should be vested in the agency to which Congress delegates its authority. They might be either Indan courts or special justices appointed through the United States courts.

The second class should consist of those jurisdictions where the Indians have not advanced sufficiently to warrant the extension to them of the state laws. In these jurisdictions the Court of Indian Offenses should be continued much in the present form, but strengthened by better qualified social workers, industrial leaders, and others among the government employees. In a large measure it should continue to be a court of common sense, determining both the law and the fact and to a reasonable degree the penalty. Either the Indian offender or the superintendent, however, should have the right to have the case transferred to the United States court or to the state court if the state court is available. If the case is thus transferred to a United States court, it would seem that the court should apply federal law if the offense is one for which Congress has made special provision, but that if it is one not covered by federal statute the state law should be applied. If the case is transferred to a state court, the state law in its entirety should be applied. It is not believed that the Indian will often apply for a

transfer of a case. The superintendent should ask for a transfer in all cases where the United States court now has jurisdiction and in other cases where the offense is serious or where the defendant has often been before the Court of Indian Offenses and is not influenced by it.

In this class of jurisdictions the state law of marriage and divorce cannot well be applied in detail, but the effort should be made to educate the Indians toward its observance, since family continuity is a matter that is more effectively controlled indirectly by public opinion than directly by law. Marriages should be registered at the agency or one of its sub-divisions, a certificate of marriage issued and a marriage register kept. The Court of Indian Offenses should have jurisdiction to grant divorces on such grounds as it sees fit. The object should be not so much to change speedily and rigorously the Indians' customs and standards of morals as gradually to educate them to an understanding of the fact that these are matters in which the civilized state has an interest and that untramelled license means some trouble. In such jurisdictions the Indian Court might well impose a slight penalty for failure to comply with the simple, easily performed requirement to register marriage.

The Rio Grande Pueblos, and possibly some other special groups, on detailed study may be found to require peculiar treatment. The general law recommended should give the executive agency to which Congress delegates its power authority to establish a system of law and administration adapted to local conditions. Careful study will be necessary to determine the facts and to devise the system.

The survey staff found no evidence that warrants a conclusion that the government of the United States can at any time in the near future relinquish its guardianship over the property of restricted Indians secured to the Indians by government action. Although the staff believes in the transfer of the activities relating to the promotion of health, education, and social and economic advancement of the Indians to the several states as rapidly as the states are ready effectively to perform these tasks, it is of the opinion that the guardianship of property should be the last duty thus transferred if it is transferred at all.

The legal staff of the Indian Service charged with the duty of protecting Indian rights should be materially strengthened and should be authorized to act more directly. The Service should have one high position for a general counsel or solicitor who should be directly in charge of the legal work of the Service under the general direction of the Commissioner. It should have an adequate number of either full or part-time attorneys in the field in close touch with the several jurisdictions, who may give prompt and energetic attention to matters involving Indian rights. Although the United States district attorneys will doubtless still have to be generally responsible for the actual conduct of cases involving Indian rights, they should be aided and assisted by these local attorneys of the Indian Service, who should be held primarily responsible for the full and detailed preparation of the cases.

In cases where the Indian is poor and unable himself to pay court costs and attorneys fees, he should be aided by these attorneys and money should be made available to meet necessary costs. Indians who have sufficient funds of their own should be required to pay costs, and if they prefer to retain attorneys of their own choice in individual suits should be permitted to do so.

The attitude of the Indian Service as a whole, and especially of its legal department, should invariably be that its duty is to protect to the utmost the rights and interests of the Indians. Even if some of the officers believe that the Indian's opponent has in some respects a meritorious case, the Service itself should be extremely slow in effecting any compromise. As a guardian or trustee, its compromise should properly be acceptable to the court and subject to its approval. It would seem, as an almost invariable rule, much safer to carry the litigation through and to let a duly constituted court make the decision rather than for the Service itself to compromise without court action.

The facts apparently abundantly justify the present legislation which vests in the Interior Department the function of passing upon wills and the administration of estates of restricted Indians. In the main part of this report detailed suggestions are made regarding procedure which need not be summarized here.

The legislation releasing certain of the Indians of the Five Civilized Tribes of Oklahoma from restrictions and giving the Oklahoma courts jurisdiction over the administration of the estates

of deceased Indians and the power to appoint guardians was unquestionably premature and has resulted most disastrously. The restrictions still remaining should be continued after 1931 for a considerable period. Sufficient authority already exists to permit the department to release individual competent Indians from restrictions.

Fortunately evidence tends to show an awakening public conscience in Oklahoma, and the state courts are probably furnishing the Indians greater protection than in the past. The situation is, however, far from satisfactory. It is recommended that the duties and functions of the government probate attorneys among the Five Civilized Tribes be materially increased and made a strong organization for the effective protection of the rights and interests of these Indians and that further safeguards be provided for the Indians who lease their lands.

Many tribal claims are in process of adjudication, but some have not yet reached the preliminary stage of being approved by Congress for presentation to the Court of Claims. It is extremely important that all claims be settled at the earliest possible date. It is therefore recommended that a special commission be appointed to study the remaining claims and to submit recommendations to the Secretary of the Interior regarding their merits, so that those which are meritorious may be submitted to Congress with a draft of a suitable bill authorizing their settlement before the Court of Claims.

The Volume and Complexity of Indian Law. The law governing Indians in the United States is exceptionally voluminous and complex. The explanation of this fact lies in the history of the relations of the national government to the several Indian tribes.[1] In the colonial period and in the period of national government prior to 1871, the Indian tribes, or groups of affiliated tribes, were

[1] For a recently prepared brief history of the administration of Indian affairs, see Schmeckebier, The Office of Indian Affairs, pp. 1-60. This monograph also includes as Appendix 5 (pp. 397-508) a classified compilation of such laws as relate to the organization of Indian affairs, the duties of officers of the government, and the general rights, privileges, and restrictions of the Indians in force July 1, 1927. The full text of the appropriation act for 1928, insofar as it relates to Indian affairs, is included. No laws relating to particular tribes or reservations have been included.

treated as separate and distinct, though subordinate nations. Agreements were entered into with them through formal treaties, which were passed by the Senate of the United States in substantially the same manner as were treaties with foreign nations. In 1867, the House of Representatives gave notice of its objection to this procedure, which tended to limit its functions in respect to the administration of Indian affairs, and in 1871 the treaty period ended. Subsequently, legislative action was taken through the ordinary congressional procedure for public bills.

The treaty period had, however, laid a distinctive legal foundation for each of the several tribes or affiliated tribes which had to be recognized in subsequent legislation. Thus, even today, Congress has to consider many different bills relating to Indian affairs, some of them applying to only a few hundred Indians, and the annual appropriation act contains many sections which have fairly remote historical origins.

The treaties, laws, executive orders, and proclamations relating to Indians up to December 1, 1912, fill three substantial volumes in Mr. Charles J. Kappler's compilation entitled "Indian Affairs: Laws and Treaties." Several volumes and pamphlets are required to cover the subsequent legislation, executive orders, and regulations.

Serious question must be raised as to the wisdom of permitting all this diversity and complexity to continue indefinitely. It throws an enormous burden on all three branches of the national government, the legislative, the executive, and the judicial, and must be exceedingly confusing to Indians who seek to know their status. At present any effort at codification would doubtless be premature, as many Indian tribes still have outstanding unsettled claims against the government which perhaps generally have their origin in old treaties. The question of these claims is considered at length in a later part of the present chapter, where it is recommended that they be disposed of at the earliest possible date so that the Indians may know where they stand and settle down to a reasonably well defined economic situation, free from the uncertainties arising from the existence of material unsettled claims. An added argument in favor of early action is that it would pave the way for a great simplification in the administration of Indian affairs. With these claims

largely out of the way, it would seem practicable for a specially appointed commission, after considerable arduous labor, to effect a codification of law relating to Indians which will be at once reasonably simple and well adapted to modern conditions. Many archaic provisions relating to special tribes can be eliminated, and the whole problem placed on a more workable basis. Conceivably a situation might be created whereby Congress could confine its own work with respect to Indian legislation to broad matters of general policy, leaving to the executive branch of the government the matters of detail. To a certain extent such a procedure has already been followed, but an examination of a recent report by the chairman of the House Committee on Indian Affairs[2] shows clearly that Congress is at present called upon to consider a mass of detailed provisions regarding Indian affairs to which few Congressmen outside of the Committee on Indian Affairs can give much attention, and even the members of the committee must often depend for advice and information largely on the executive branch of the government.

The Scope of the Survey's Legal Work. The present survey has not itself attempted to give detailed consideration to this great body of existing law relating to the several Indian tribes. A commission to undertake such an examination and a codification would have to be almost as large as the present survey staff and would have to give more time to the work than the survey has spent in its entire program. Such a commission, too, would have to have authority to negotiate with the several Indian tribes to agree on a basis for terminating some of the existing rights of the Indians that are carried over from ancient treaties and are now of little value in a program for the advancement of the Indians. Some of these rights hark back to the days when the policy of rationing was at its height.[3]

[2] Congressional Record, March 2, 1927.

[3] An act of Congress, approved April 30, 1908 (35 Stat. L., 73), authorized the Commissioner of Indian Affairs to negotiate with the several tribes for the purpose of terminating the annuities agreed upon in the treaties by crediting a lump sum to the credit of the tribal funds, subject to approval by Congress. Some of the annuities have been paid but several are still in force. (See Schmeckebier, p. 195.) One of the oldest remaining is that in the treaty made on November 11, 1794, with the Six Nations of New York. The provision for an annuity in this treaty reads as follows:

> "In consideration of the peace and friendship hereby established, and of the engagements entered into by the Six Nations; and because the United States desire, with humanity and kindness, to contribute to their comfortable support; and to render the peace and friendship hereby established, strong and perpetual; the United States now deliver to the Six Nations, and the Indians of the other nations residing among and united with them, a quantity of goods of the value of ten thousand dollars. And for the same considerations, and with a view to promote the future welfare of the Six Nations, and of their Indian friends aforesaid, the United States will add the sum of three thousand dollars to the one thousand five hundred dollars, heretofore allowed them by an article ratified by the President, on the twenty-third day of April, 1792; (it appears that this treaty was never ratified by the Senate), making in the whole, four thousand five hundred dollars; which shall be expended yearly forever, in purchasing clothing, domestic animals, implements of husbandry, and other utensils suited to their circumstances, and in compensating useful artificers, who shall reside with or near them, and be employed for their benefit. The immediate application of the whole annual allowance now stipulated, to be made by the Superintendent appointed by the President for the affairs of the Six Nations, and their Indian friends aforesaid."

Other provisions regarding supplying special types of employees, such as blacksmiths and maintaining schools and teachers, are still in effect. In some instances blacksmiths may no longer be needed and the Indian children might be better and more economically educated in public schools. A commission to modernize the existing law would have to have an authority similar to that given the Commissioner of Indian Affairs in the effort to abolish annuity programs.

The policy of the survey has been to confine its activities in the legal field to those matters which affect primarily the general social and economic status of the Indians and throw light upon the broad general administrative problems of the service.

The first question to be briefly discussed will be that of citizenship, not because it is regarded as the most essential legal matter involving the social and economic conditions of the Indians but because the legal import of citizenship appears not generally understood. Much confusion appears to exist in the public mind and among the Indians as to what legally results from the status of a citizen.

The second subject to be considered is the highly important one from the social standpoint of the maintenance of order and the administration of justice among the Indians. Under this general heading will be taken up not only the criminal law and criminal

procedure, but also the closely related field of domestic relations, because a breach of the law relating to domestic relations is so generally under the American legal system a punishable offense. Since the Courts of Indian Offenses, established under the regulation of the Service and supported by appropriations by Congress, do not distinguish between the criminal law, and the law of torts, and the law of contracts, it has seemed simpler to consider these subjects more or less together, rather than to adhere to a more orthodox legalistic arrangement that would necessitate considerable duplication and would be largely artificial insofar as the majority of Indians under the jurisdiction of the government are concerned.

The third broad subject to be considered from the legal standpoint relates to the activities of the government as guardian and trustee of Indian property. Under this broad heading will be taken up the administrative questions of the conservation of Indian interests by legal action, the administration of the estates of deceased Indians, and the highly important immediate question of the taxation of lands purchased by the government for the Indians through the use of the Indians' restricted funds. Two matters relating to special groups of Indians will also be considered under this general subject, the administration of the property interests of the Five Civilized Tribes in Oklahoma and the work of the Pueblo Land Board in New Mexico.

The last broad subject to be treated is that of Indian tribal claims against the government. No effort has been made to determine the merits of the several claims, since such an undertaking is far beyond the scope of the present survey and would require years of work with an enormous mass of detail, as is clearly shown in the subsequent discussion of such claims. The question of these claims is considered only from the standpoint of legal administration.

Citizenship. Congress by the act of June 2, 1924 (43 Stat. L., 253), conferred citizenship on all Indians born within the territorial limits of the United States, so that at present all Indians born in this country are citizens of the United States. Many Indians had, however, secured citizenship long before that act. The general allotment act, generally known as the Dawes Act, approved February 8, 1887 (24 Stat. L., 338), had provided that complete

citizenship be conferred upon all Indians to whom allotments were made in accordance with the act and declared those citizen Indians subject to state and territorial laws. Citizenship was also conferred on any Indian born within the territorial limits of the United States, "who has voluntarily taken up, within said limits, his residence separate and apart from any tribe of Indians therein, and has adopted the habits of civilized life." On May 8, 1906, the Burke Act (34 Stat. L., 182) was approved which changed the provision of the Dawes Act respecting citizenship. Instead of becoming a citizen at the time an allotment was first made, the Indian became a citizen only after the fee patent was granted. By the act of March 3, 1901 (31 Stat. L., 1447), citizenship was conferred on all Indians in the Indian Territory. Thus it is apparent that many Indians were already citizens at the time of the passage of the blanket act of 1924 declaring all Indians born in the United States citizens.

Citizenship Not Incompatible with Guardianship and Special Legislation. Although prior to the passage of this recent act citizenship was often associated with the possession of a property right, a trust patent under the Dawes Act or a fee patent under the Burke Act, legally there is no intrinsic relation between the two. Citizenship is a personal and political right, whereas title to land either in trust or in fee is a property right. The Supreme Court of the United States has held, moreover:

> Citizenship is not incompatible with tribal existence or continued guardianship, and so may be conferred without completely emancipating the Indians or placing them beyond the reach of Congressional regulations adopted for their protection.[4]

This decision clearly is in accordance with the law as it is applied to white citizens. Among whites the fact of citizenship does not preclude guardianship, nor does it give unlimited control over any property the title to which is vested in the citizen. Children under legal age are citizens, but they cannot sell their property or enter into a valid contract. Many adult citizens are in different ways deprived of their control over their property either by court action or by the action of the persons through whom they received their

[4] United States v. Nice, 241 U. S. 598 (1916).

property. The status of the restricted citizen Indian with respect to his property secured through the government is like that of a citizen child with respect to his, except that under existing law the Indian may be declared competent and thereby be given full control. It should be noted, moreover, that this restriction applies only to property secured to the Indian by governmental action. It does not apply to property secured by the Indian for himself through his own efforts. He ordinarily has complete control of his own earnings and of any property purchased with his earnings. In this respect, too, the position of the Indian is similar to the beneficiary through the acts of others, unless through court action a person is declared incompetent to manage his own property.

This decision that citizenship and continued guardianship are not incompatible is not only sound law, it is also sound economic and social policy. In matters pertaining to the ownership and control of property many Indians are in fact children despite their age, and real friends of the Indians can best serve them by having guardianship continued until the Indians through training and experience reach a maturity of judgment which will permit them to control their own property with a reasonable chance of success.

Citizenship and Control of Indian Property by Courts. At this point consideration should perhaps be given the argument that since the Indians are now citizens, the function of administering their property held in trust should be taken away from the Indian Service and the Interior Department and be vested in the courts. The courts, it is argued, have power to appoint guardians for ordinary citizens and to review and, to a certain extent, to control the activities of trustees for such citizens, why should not the courts exercise the same functions for the restricted Indians, thereby releasing them from the guardianship of the Indian Service?

This argument, in the judgment of the survey staff, fails to give full consideration to the administrative problems involved.

The evidence, as has been said, abundantly justifies the conclusion that for thousands of restricted Indians trusteeship and guardianship are still necessary and will be necessary for many years to come. If the United States courts should attempt to deal directly with each individual restricted Indian and to appoint special guardians and trustees for him, they would be completely swamped by the volume of the detailed business. Many of the

estates involved, too, are so small that the expenses of guardians and trustees and of court action could not possibly be met from them. Then, also, the expenses of federal court action would be extremely heavy because the Indians and their property are so remote from the United States courts.

If this jurisdiction should be conferred on the United States courts, apparently the only practicable administrative device would be for the courts to establish a general machinery for guardianship which would closely resemble that now maintained by the Indian Service. Thus the courts would be performing administrative rather than judicial functions.

From the standpoint of economical and efficient administration such a course would be disastrous, because in many jurisdictions the primary difficulties of effective work with Indians are distance and isolation. The courts would either have to appoint the Indian Service employees as guardians and trustees or set up to some extent a duplicate organization, involving an enormous amount of duplication of work, such as travel about the reservation and the maintenance of records and accounts.

In the chapter of this report dealing with general economic conditions the point has been made repeatedly that the trust property of the Indians and their tribal property must be utilized by the Indian Service in advancing the Indians. The restricted property of the Indians and their tribal property are materials to be used in promoting their economic and social advancement. It would be extremely unsound to divide responsibility and authority on theoretical grounds, giving to one agency the guardianship and trusteeship of the property and to another the function of training and stimulating the Indian in the effective economic use of that property. The Indian problem, as has been repeatedly said, is fundamentally a great educational problem. Although for purposes of discussion and consideration it has to be divided into subjects such as health, education, economic conditions, family and social life, and property control, these subjects are only different aspects of the one educational task. The courts could not control one aspect and the executive branch of the government the others without duplication and confusion. The remedy for what is objectionable in the present situation lies not in giving the United States courts jurisdiction over something they are not organized and equipped

to handle but in strengthening the Indian Service so that it can better perform its functions as an educational agency.

The United States courts only have been mentioned in this discussion. Such experiments as have been tried in conferring jurisdiction over Indian property on the state courts have resulted in an exploitation of individual Indians that has no parallel in the administration of the Indian property by the national government. If evidence be required, let anyone contrast the present excellent federal administration of the property of the restricted Osages with the state courts' work among the Five Civilized Tribes or with conditions among the Osages before the passage of recent acts materially strengthening the power of the national government over guardians appointed by state courts.

Political Rights from Citizenship. Citizenship is, as has been said, primarily an individual and political right. It, however, does not carry with it necessarily the right to vote. Prior to the adoption of the Nineteenth Amendment to the Constitution, women in many states were citizens and yet they had no right to vote. The Indian who has been declared a citizen of the United States by statute does not by virtue of that act secure the right to vote in the state in which he resides. With respect to his right to vote he is subject to the state law and must satisfy the requirements of that law before securing the franchise.

In many states the Indians can and do vote. In some of the more sparsely settled Western states, where the Indians form a considerable proportion of the population, their vote is an important factor in closely contested primaries and general elections, and party leaders organize them. Some evidence tends to show that they are appreciative of their political power and are inclined to consider the attitude toward measures in which they are interested, such as tribal claims and water rights. The survey staff, however, made no effort to collect information as to their political affiliation and activities, merely noting what came to the members incidentally.

In at least one state, New Mexico, the state constitution denies to untaxed Indians the right to vote. The act of Congress declaring the Indians citizens of the United States raises sharply the question of the constitutionality of such a provision in any state constitution. Apparently it denies to a citizen of the United States the right to vote on the ground of race and if so it is in direct conflict with the fifteenth amendment to the Constitution of the United States.

Citizenship Does Not Affect Legal Jurisdiction. Making the Indians citizens of the United States automatically by virtue of the Fourteenth amendment makes them citizens of the state wherein they reside. Except where jurisdiction is conferred upon the United States courts of suits between "citizens of different states," and where the states require citizenship as a qualification for office holding, or sharing in the advantages of the state institutions, such as schools or charities, this fact has but little significance.[5] In Anglo-American polity civil rights have never been made dependent on political status.

Maintenance of Order and Administration of Justice. The original theory under which the national government proceeded in its relations with the Indians was that they were self-governing communities, with whom the United States dealt only as with nations or tribes and not as with individuals. Intra-tribal matters, including the maintenance of order and the administration of justice, were relinquished to the tribal authorities.[6] With the intrusion of white settlements, the breaking down of tribal organization, and the subsequent entry of the Indians into the economic and social life of the surrounding white communities, this theory became impossible, and Congress, in the exercise of its paramount authority, found it necessary to extend over the Indians the laws of the white man.

Criminal Law. Early in our history, as an initial step in providing a system of law for the vast domain then occupied by the Indian tribes, Congress extended the federal criminal laws applicable to territory within the exclusive jurisdiction of the United States to include the "Indian country." The theory of tribal autonomy was indicated, however, by excepting from this general extension of law "crimes committed by one Indian against the person or property of another Indian," and cases where the Indian had "been punished by the local law of his tribe."[7]

[5] See Piper v. Big Pine School District, 226 Pac. 926 (Cal. 1924).

[6] See Worcester v. Georgia, 6 Peters (U. S.) 515, 559, 561 (1832); United States v. Kagama, 118 U. S. 375, 381, 383 (1896); United States v. Quiver, 241 U. S. 602 (1916).

[7] Code of Laws of the United States, Title 25, Secs. 217-18.

The term "Indian country" has been defined by the courts to include both Indian reservations, whether created by treaty or executive order, and Indian allotments, so long as the title of the United States has not been completely relinquished.[6] On account of the principle of constitutional law, which emphasizes the equality of the several states and considers that the ordinary civil and criminal jurisdiction of the state extends over the Indian territory within its borders, the above statute has been construed as not to apply to crimes committed by non-Indians in the Indian domain, unless Indian rights and interests are in some way involved.[7] At various times the federal statutes also made express provision for a few specified crimes committed within Indian reservations, of which the most important had to do with the introduction of intoxicants.[8]

A decision of the United States Supreme Court in 1883 to the effect that under the statutes in force at the time the murder of one Indian by another within an Indian reservation was not punishable at all, if not punished by the Indians themselves,[9] was the occasion of the passage of what is now Section 548 of the Federal Criminal Code. This section provides that an Indian, who, within the limits of an Indian reservation, commits any one of the eight crimes of murder, manslaughter, rape, assault with intent to kill, assault with a dangerous weapon, burglary, larceny, and arson, shall likewise be subject to the federal statutes relating to such offenses, committed within the exclusive jurisdiction of the United States.[10] Here also the word "reservation" is construed to include unrelinquished

[6] Donnelly v. United States, 228 U. S. 243 (1913); United States v. Sandoval, 231 U. S. 28 (1913); United States v. Pelican, 232 U. S. 430 (1914).

[7] United States v. McBratney, 104 U. S. 621 (1881); Draper v. United States, 164 U. S. 240 (1896). In some instances the United States at the time of creating a state reserved to itself complete jurisdiction over Indian reservations, including non-Indians as well as Indians. See the Kansas Indians, 5 Wall. (U. S.) 737 (1867); Hollister v. United States, 145 Fed. 773 (1906).

[8] Code of Laws of the United States, Title 25, Secs. 212-16, 241-53.

[9] Ex parte Crow Dog, 109 U. S. 556 (1883).

[10] Code of Laws of the United States, Title 18, Secs. 548, 549. The punishment for the crime of rape may at the discretion of the court be imprisonment instead of death, as is the requirement of the ordinary federal statute on the subject. In South Dakota the federal jurisdiction includes non-Indians as well.

Indian allotments. As a result of this act an Indian who has committed within an Indian reservation one of the above listed felonies, is subject to the jurisdiction of the United States court; if his offence is not included within such list, he is not so subject.[11]

If an Indian, by virtue of the general allotment act[12] has received a trust patent to his land or, under the Burke Act, a fee patent, he has the benefit of, and becomes subject to, laws both civil and criminal of the state in which he resides. He thus becomes as any other citizen of the state subject to the state laws in most matters, but he is still subject to such laws of the United States relating to Indians as may be passed by Congress in the exercise of its constitutional powers to regulate commerce with the Indian tribes.[13] That the state law extends to all crimes committed by Indians off Indian reservations or restricted allotments, is also clear, but the weight of authority undoubtedly is that if the crime is committed by an Indian on restricted lands, whether it be one of the designated eight felonies or not, the state courts are without jurisdiction;[14] a difficult situation, which the Idaho court has aptly referred to as a "government in spots."[15]

From this brief consideration of the existing statutes and decisions it is apparent that there is a great gap in the power of both United States and state courts to punish Indians for committing on Indian lands acts which would be considered in most communities serious public offences.[16] To overcome this unfortunate situa-

[11] United States v. Quiver, 241 U. S. 602 (1916); United States v. King, 81 Fed. 625 (1897); Ex parte Hart, 157 Fed. 130 (1907) holding, respectively, that the crimes of adultery, assault with intent to rape, and incest are cognizable by the United States courts.

[12] 24 Stat. L., 388, Sec. 6.

[13] United States v. Nice, 241 U. S. 591 (1916).

[14] State v. Condon, 79 Wash. 97 (1914); State v. Columbia George, 30 Ore. 127 (1901); Ex parte Cross, 20 Neb. 417 (1886); Ex parte Van Morore, 221 Fed. 954 (1915); State v. Big Sheep, 75 Mont. 219 (1926); Minnesota v. Campbell, 53 Minn. 354 (1893); In re Blackbird, 109 Fed. 139 (1901); In re Lincoln, 129 Fed. 247 (1904).

[15] State v. Lott, 21 Idaho, 645 (1912).

[16] In the hearing before the House Committee of the Sixty-ninth Congress on H. R. 7826, Assistant Commissioner Meritt listed the following crimes which are unpunishable by state or United States courts when committed by an Indian against an Indian on an Indian reservation: Assault with intent to commit rape, assault with intent to commit great bodily harm, but not with intent to kill or with a dangerous weapon, robbery, mayhem, adultery, malicious mischief, resisting an officer, rescue, forgery, perjury, subornation

tion the national government has created certain Courts of Indian Offenses, presided over by Indian judges, the only statutory authority for which is the various appropriations by Congress for the payment of the salaries of the judges. The only decision sustaining them is that by the District Court of Oregon, rendered nearly forty years ago,[18] in which their authority is said to rest on the general power of the Secretary of the Interior to make rules and regulations for the management of Indian affairs. The regulations under which the courts operate are contained in the archaic regulations of the Indian Office bearing the date 1904.[19]

Domestic Relations. The domestic relations of the Indians are left almost entirely to their own determination. The courts of the several states, when called upon to consider the validity of marriages and divorces by so-called Indian custom, have almost uniformly upheld them on the theory that the national government has recognized the autonomy of the Indians in such matters and thus removed them from the realm of state law in this respect.[20] The attitude of the national government is further indicated by the provision in the statutes relating to inheritance of Indian lands; that "whenever any male and female Indian shall have cohabited together as husband and wife according to the custom and manner of Indian life, the issue of such cohabitation shall be for the purposes aforesaid taken and deemed to be the legitimate issue

of perjury, receiving stolen goods, kidnapping, fraud, embezzlement, conspiracy, trespass, breaking down fences, disturbing the peace, unlawful cohabitation, fornication, seduction, carnal knowledge, statutory rape, bigamy, polygamy, lewdness, soliciting female for immoral purposes, desertion of wife and family, etc. There is no decision involving a case, in which an Indian has committed crime under the federal statutes outside of the enumerated eight offences, where the injured person was a non-Indian, or where the crime was primarily against the government instead of another person. It is possible that in such a case the extension of the federal criminal laws by Sections 217-18 of Title 25 of the Code of Laws would bring such a crime within the cognizance of the United States courts.

[18] United States v. Clapox, 35 Fed. 575 (1888).

[19] In Oklahoma the Indians of the Five Civilized Tribes are under the jurisdiction of the state as far as the responsibility for crime is concerned. With respect to other Indians in the state, they are probably in the same situation as the Indians in our other western states, although the matter does not seem to have been directly adjudicated. See, however, United States v. Ramsey, 46 Sup. Ct. 559 (1926).

[20] Earl v. Godley, 42 Minn. 361 (1890); La Framboise v. Day, 136 Minn. 239 (1917); Cyr v. Walker, 29 Okla. 281 (1911).

of the Indians so living together.[21] Although the courts recognize the extreme informality of Indian marriage and divorce, not every sexual relation constitutes an Indian marriage; the relations between the parties must be continuous and complete and such as is usual between persons lawfully married.[22] The similitude of the Indian custom marriage to the common law marriage of our own judicial polity is indicated by the fact that in Oklahoma, where the state laws apply to the Indians of the Five Civilized Tribes, Indian custom marriages have been sustained as common law marriages under the state law, and divorces many times inferred from the fact of long and continuous separation.

Personal and Property Rights. In spite of the Indian's freedom from the criminal and family laws of the several states, and notwithstanding the guardianship of the national government, he is not precluded from resorting to the state and United States courts to enforce his personal and property rights.[23] In order to afford him additional protection, it is provided by federal statute that the United States District Attorney shall represent him in all suits at law or in equity.[24] Like all other persons, the Indian may acquire property, may make contracts when not expressly forbidden by the national government in the exercise of its authority as guardian, and may sue in the courts to enforce his rights in connection therewith, as well as to obtain redress for personal injury, or restriction of his liberty.[25] It is doubtful, however, when his property is unallotted and still under tribal control, whether the state courts would interfere in disputes between individual Indians concerning such property.[26] Different considerations also arise when the controversy concerns property which the United States is holding for him in trust. The federal statute[27] allowing any Indian to bring proceedings in the United States District Court to determine his right to

[21] Code of Laws of the United States, Title 25, Sec. 371.

[22] Fender v. Segro, 41 Okla. 318 (1913).

[23] Missouri Pacific Ry. v. Cullers, 81 Texas 382 (1891); Brown v. Anderson, 61 Okla. 136 (1916); Felix v. Patrick, 145 U. S. 317 (1892).

[24] Code of Laws of the United States, Title 25, Sec. 175.

[25] Stacy v. Labelle, 99 Wis. 520 (1898); Rubideaux v. Vallie, 12 Kan. 28 (1873); Postoak v. Lee, 46 Okla. 477 (1915); In re Stingeis Estate, 61 Mont. 173 (1921); Bem-Way-Bin-Ness v. Eshelby, 87 Minn. 108 (1902); Rider v. LaClair, 77 Wash. 488 (1914).

[26] Peano v. Bremner, 20 S. D. 342 (1906); Mulkins v. Snow, 232 N. Y. 47 (1921); United States v. Seneca Nation, 274 Fed. 946 (1921).

[27] Code of Laws of the United States, Title 25, Secs. 345-46.

an allotment of land under the laws of the United States has been held to vest exclusive jurisdiction in such court, so that the state courts may not decide disputes concerning the title to land in which the United States still retains an interest.[20] But in spite of this, the individual Indian, or the United States suing in his behalf as guardian, may sue in the state courts in all matters concerning such land if the question of the title obtained by him from the United States is not involved.[21]

Situation with Respect to Jurisdiction Unsatisfactory. This situation with respect to jurisdiction is undoubtedly unsatisfactory. The Indian race is progressing to a condition where it will soon be required to assume full responsibility in the political, social, and economic affairs of county, state, and nation. The tribal organization, on which was predicated a large measure of Indian self-government, has largely vanished except in some of the pueblos[22] and in a few other closed reservations. It is unthinkable that in the laws governing these people the important matters of crime and domestic relations should be omitted. Doubt as to the exact jurisdiction of the state and national governments leads, moreover, to uncertainty and confusion. Those cognizant of Indian affairs have often called attention to the situation, and although considerable disagreement exists as to the means to be adopted to remedy conditions, opinion is particularly unanimous that some legislation is needed to correct the present uncertain and unsatisfactory state of affairs.[23]

The Economic and Social Conditions Affecting Law and Judicial Administration. Any system of law and administration for the Indians must accord with the character and condition of the

[20] Mackay v. Kalyton, 204 U. S. 458 (1907).

[21] Felix v. Patrick, 145 U. S. 317 (1892); Tiger v. Western Investment Co., 221 U. S. 286 (1910); Smith v. Mosgrove, 51 Ore. 495 (1908); Frazee v. Piper, 51 Wash. 278 (1908); Blackbody v. Maupin, 38 S. D. 621 (1917); United States v. O'Gorman, 287 Fed. 135 (1923).

[22] The so-called tribal councils are akin to business committees, concerned chiefly with the preservation and utilization of the tribal resources, and the presentation of grievances arising in the government's administration of Indian affairs.

[23] See, for example, the annual reports of many agency superintendents, the annual reports of the Board of Indian Commissioners, the forty-fourth Annual Report of the Indian Rights Association, and the hearing before the Committee on Indian Affairs of the House of Representatives of the Sixty-ninth Congress on H. R. 7826.

people to whom it applies, and this primary consideration makes any uniform solution of the problem impossible. The Indian people vary greatly in the degree to which they have assimilated white customs and standards of living. The Pueblos, Navajos, and Apaches are among those who have retained a large measure of their tribal life, customs, and language, while the Chippewas, Klamaths, Omahas, Yakimas, Winnebagoes, and many of the Indians of Oklahoma are among those who have discarded most of their primitive habits in favor of the typical manner of life of the surrounding white community. Even within the separate tribes vast differences are found between individuals. Many of the older people know no language other than their native tongue and have adopted few of the customs and ideas of the white people, whereas many of the younger Indians have received some education in the schools, speak English reasonably well, and by close contact know intimately the vices as well as the virtues of the Caucasian race. These vast differences have received no formal recognition in law except insofar as trust patents under the Dawes Act or patents in fee under the Burke Act have been given to individual Indians, which action as has been seen, has the effect of removing them in part at least from the jurisdiction of the national government.

A vast difference also exists between the various Indian groups with respect to their geographical, social, and political environment. Certain tribes, such as the Papagoes, Navajos, and Apaches, are homogeneous Indian communities, so isolated as to be fairly free from interference and influence by any surrounding white population. Such Indians as the Pueblos, Menominees, and Crows constitute fairly compact racial groups, but they are contiguous to good sized white communities so that there is naturally considerable intercourse between the two. Then, on many open reservations the Indians are still present in large numbers, but sometimes the white settlers constitute a large proportion of the population. Lastly, there are Indians still under government supervision, who are scattered over large sections of country, and who constitute but a small part of the population which is predominantly white. The Five Civilized Tribes of Oklahoma and the Indians of California are conspicuous examples of this class of the Indian people.

The enforcement of order and the administration of justice among the Indians is greatly hampered by the fact that they are

often situated, either remote from county seats and other places where court meets and general legal business is transacted, or else they are contiguous to cities and villages where the general standard of morality and law observance, among whites as well as Indians, is low.

Disaster to the government's wards will also inevitably follow any solution of the problem which neglects to consider their prevailing poverty and their ignorance of, and inexperience in, matters of property and contract, and, indeed, of laws and lawyers.

The Indians Not Generally Lawless. As a general statement it may be said that the Indians are peaceable, tractable individuals, not inclined to commit serious crimes. This is particularly true of those, who preserving a large measure of their tribal life and customs, live remote from white communities and have but little money to spend in acquiring the luxuries and vices of the white man. Even among the Indians of Oklahoma and California, closely intermixed with the white population, there is little, if any, complaint of crimes of violence or of serious breaches of the public peace. The above favorable generalizations, however, cannot be made concerning certain individual Indians. These are almost always found among Indians who have proceeded far from tribal life and ways, and have assimilated a considerable amount of education and white manners of life. The possession of an income sufficient to allow them to remain idle but insufficient to satisfy their desires, makes them dissatisfied and truculent. The adjacent white towns and villages, where they usually congregate, have low standards of morals and order, and constitute a poor environment for a people just emerging into the political, economic, and social life of the time. The education they have received makes them cognizant of past and present wrongs to their people, of the instability of the control which is exercised over them by the agency superintendent, and of the jurisdictional doubts which hinder action by other state and federal officers. The habit of obedience to tribal authority and to the superintendent's executive orders is vanishing, and there is nothing to replace it.

The Conditions with Respect to Domestic Relations. Concerning those crimes and misdemeanors committed by Indians, which are euphemistically termed moral offences, complaints from responsible

sources have become so numerous that bills were introduced in the last Congress to remedy the situation. The subject of Indian marriage, divorce, and family life is a sensitive one, touching closely the instincts, customs, and religion of the Indian race. A careful analysis will show that there are really two phases to the problem. The first question is whether an attempt should be made to supplant Indian ideals and customs of family life by compelling a full compliance with the state laws of marriage and divorce, which require the securing of a license and the ceremony before clergyman or civil authority in the one case and the submission to a judgment of a court of law in the other. The second is the question of remedying as speedily and completely as possible the laxity of morals, especially the looseness of sexual relations, which would be reprehensible under any mode of life, white or Indian.

The object to be sought, of course, is a continuity of the family life and a proper rearing of children. With respect to the rearing of children the problem is not serious, for the testimony is overwhelming that the Indian mother and her male relatives will care for her children, even though the father repudiates all obligation for them. If the Indian were left alone in his native ways, and if the government were not attempting to adjust him to the prevailing civilization of the state and nation, the problem might well be left to the Indian to solve by his own methods. The government, however, is attempting to do that very thing. In the schools it teaches the student to read and write the English language, to wear the clothes of our civilization, and to conform to most of our customs and habits. In the remote tribes and among those who have retained in large measure the morals and customs of Indian life, little compliance is found with the forms and ceremonies of marriage under state law; but it is among the educated, sophisticated, and presumably "civilized" young Indians that the true moral delinquency exists. The Indian custom marriage and divorce seems ill-defined and not well understood, but it is not within the province of this chapter to enter into an ethnological or historical discussion of the topic. Suffice it to say that at the present time Indian-custom marriage very commonly means simply to commence living together in family relation, and Indian custom divorce means to cease such living. With the younger educated Indians, no longer influ-

enced by the old tribal domestic life and morals, the fluidity of Indian custom marriage and divorce may become simply an opportunity for license.

The only instruments for combating the evil at present are the Courts of Indian Offenses, where they exist, and the persuasion or coercion of the agency superintendent. Real progress is made difficult by the lack of jurisdiction in the state and United States courts and by the inconsistency of the government in recognizing, for purposes of inheritance, Indian custom marriage and divorce, and at the same time in attempting by executive plea and threat to secure a compliance with civilized ideas on the subject.

Even the Indian who desires to travel along the way of the white man may find his path strewn with obstacles. Uncas Noche, a blind interpreter at the Mescalero agency, deserted by his wife, was left well nigh helpless. A little boy, whom he hired to lead him about, also failed him. In this exigency Uncas sought another wife, but being a Christian Indian and a government employee, first went to the state court to secure a divorce from his unfaithful spouse. The state judge disclaimed jurisdiction in such a case and left him without relief. The superintendent, to whom he next appealed, was without authority to grant divorces. Uncas accepted the alternative of technical bigamy to practical helplessness. His choice, however, led to disgrace within his church and to threatened loss of his position with the government.

Any attempt to extend the state law of marriage and divorce *in toto* to such people as the Navajos, who, far removed from white contacts, roam over a wide domain and retain much of their tribal life and customs, would, it is believed, prove unjust and abortive. Any general extension of the state law by act of Congress should except such Indians. The effort should, however, be made to lead them by gradual steps up to an accepted standard of marriage which would be conducive to greater continuity of family life. Recording the fact of marriage by the Indians at the agency, the issuance of a certificate thereof, and the keeping of a marriage register would be aids in the education of the Indians along the lines that the several states have found conducive to individual and family welfare. In order to render to divorce a form and legal sanction which would not be so expensive and cumbersome as to

be unattainable by most of this class, the Court of Indian Offences should be vested with jurisdiction to grant divorces. In the same court slight punishments should be imposed for those who in their family relations neglect the formalities above suggested.

Many Indians should be placed under the state law in their domestic affairs as in other matters. This action should be determined by their ability to speak and read English, by their competency in economic striving, by their participation in the social concerns of the community, by the possibility of access to the appropriate judicial and administrative offices of the state, and by their non-susceptibility to effective federal or tribal control. Of course, no interference with existing marital relations should be attempted. Even with such people it is a prime necessity that a system of legal aid and the coöperation of state and county officers be assured, in order that the extension of law so decreed may exist in practice as well as in the statutes of Congress.

The Use of Intoxicants. The problem of the use of intoxicants by the Indians is not substantially different from the same problem in the surrounding white communities. The greatest difficulties occur in the open reservations and at the agencies where the Indians make frequent visits to the nearby towns and cities to procure liquor. The latter difficulty can be solved only by sympathetic coöperation with the local authorities. Generally the best results are obtained by the special prohibition enforcement officers of the Indian Service, who, although they may have several states within their respective territories, are able to make intensive efforts at the particular reservations where their services are in greatest need. A chief liquor enforcement officer, devoting a large part of his time to active field work, should be employed to supervise and coördinate their work. In the whole field of prohibition enforcement among Indians there can be no relaxation of vigilance. Increased, rather than diminished, appropriations for the work should be sought.

The practice of employing the local farmer, stock man, or field clerk as a liquor officer is not desirable. He soon becomes known and his work becomes difficult. Then, his police duties are a hindrance to obtaining coöperation from the Indians in the industrial and social phases of his work.

Gambling. Gambling, chiefly detrimental because of its interference with the regularity of income, is not generally regarded as a

pressing problem. Effective suppression of the practice away from the reservation is almost impossible where the local sentiment permits gambling, or where, as in the State of Nevada, there is no law against it. As the Indian is developed socially, and as his time becomes in greater measure occupied by productive effort, the evil will gradually shrink to the place usually occupied by it in the normal American rural or urban community.

Civil Disputes Not Involving Domestic Relations. The adjustment of civil disputes, other than domestic troubles, is not a serious problem on the Indian reservations. The Indian has but little property and little to cause dispute between himself and his neighbor. His real estate is under the control and protection of the United States, and legal action in respect thereto is usually taken by the national government in the United States courts. Minor matters, such as controversies in regard to some article of personal property, petty assaults, and family quarrels are dealt with by the Court of Indian Offenses as adequately as could be expected of any tribunal. As above stated, the extending of the jurisdiction of this court to include divorce would, as applied to the less advanced Indians, be advisable in order to secure for them a more nearly complete system of law and justice.

Present Methods of Administering Justice. The division of jurisdiction between state and United States courts whereby certain offenses committed away from the Indian lands are punishable in the state courts, certain other offenses committed on Indian lands are punishable in the United States courts, and still other offenses committed on reservations or restricted allotments are unpunishable by either state or federal authorities, is uncertain and demoralizing. In some instances the state courts, in order to provide some semblance of law and order, have enforced their authority on the reservations without legal warrant, but eventually the jurisdictional question has been raised by attorneys appearing in behalf of Indian clients, and thereafter such courts have declined to take cognizance of the cases. Even where the state has undoubted authority in law for assuming jurisdiction over the Indian, it will frequently refuse to exercise it, partly because the Indian escapes the payment of taxes for the support of the state and local governments and partly because he is considered the exclusive problem

of the national government. Praiseworthy examples of cooperation have existed between the agency authorities and the local police officers and magistrates in the suppression of the sale to Indians of liquor and proprietary alcoholic medicines. Another excellent palliative for the situation, adopted by some local judges and Indian superintendents, is the practice of summoning before the village or city courts drunk or disorderly Indians and committing them to the Indian superintendent to carry out the sentence imposed. At other times the lack of proper laws or the apathy of the constituted authorities leads to seemingly excusable but unwise attempts to maintain order by illegal means. When such attempts are thwarted, as they inevitably are, the resulting situation is worse than before, for the victory gained renders the lawless even more intolerant of restraint.

The Court of Indian Offenses. For the punishment of petty offenses and the settlement of minor civil disputes the only judicial machinery available is the Court of Indian Offenses. There are only about thirty such courts. More than one-half of the reservations exist without them. Concerning these courts it is hard to make generalizations, for they vary greatly, particularly in the degree of success with which they perform the duties required of them. Regulations of the Department of the Interior for 1904 provide a limited code which is supposed to govern their jurisdiction and practice, but it is doubtful whether one in ten of the judges has ever read any of it, and certain it is that it has little practical effect in governing their deliberations. The provision of the regulations which gives to the court both jurisdiction over "misdemeanors" and the civil jurisdiction of a justice of the peace is certainly indefinite and broad enough to cover a wide range. A study of the records of various courts indicates that the usual matters considered by them involve drunkenness, sexual offenses, minor assaults, domestic troubles, and personal property disputes involving small values. The decision rendered in these cases depends not upon code or precedent, but upon that subtle quality of the mind called common sense and upon an understanding of the current native ideas of property and justice. No sharp division is drawn between criminal and civil jurisdiction. An attempt to make an exact category of offenses and disputes would be hazardous on account of a lack of

nomenclature understood by the Indians. No evidence was found, however, of any attempt to inflict punishments for acts which would not ordinarily be considered public or private wrongs.

The consensus of opinion is that the Indian judge is one of the higher types of Indian, usually one of the older men, who, though he may lack the formal education of the younger people, still possesses a high degree of integrity and a native intelligence and shrewdness which secure for him a position of standing in his tribe. The Indian judges are appointed by the superintendents and usually serve for many years through the terms of several superintendents. A difficulty in their selection arises from the existence of factions on the reservations, and hence unless care be taken there may be a tendency to exercise favoritism or spite in the decision of cases. This may be the explanation at one reservation of the frequent insistence of the Indian judges that punishment be imposed for minor infractions such as intoxication, in spite of the fact that the offenses in question had been committed three, four, or even nine months previous to any complaint to the agency authorities. Local Indian politics constitute one of the reasons why several judges instead of one are usually appointed, and constitute also a reason why the popular election of judges might lead to bad results, since the dominant faction might elect all the judges.

The procedure of the court is generally informal. The judges meet on certain prescribed days at longer or shorter intervals according to the amount of business. If an offense has been committed or a dispute has arisen, the parties are notified to be present at that time and to bring their witnesses. At the Flathead Reservation the practice was followed of arresting the alleged offender at the time complaint was made, and of keeping him near the agency office working until the day of trial. The sentence which usually followed was then dated from the time of the arrest. The Indian police apparently have little trouble in securing the attendance of parties at the sittings of the court.

The actual trial of the cases requires but little formality. At one of the several sessions of Courts of Indian Offenses attended by members of the survey staff, the two Indian judges took their seats in the agency office. The Indian policeman and one of the agency employees were present. While one of the judges interrogated each witness separately, the other witnesses being excluded from the room, the other judge made an abstract of the testimony. The colloquy was in the native tongue, but the record was made in English. After the testimony was taken the judges conferred with each other. The parties and their witnesses were then called in and sentence was pronounced. This seems to be about the customary procedure, although in some courts the witnesses testify in open court. Although a more careful keeping of records is desirable,[a] the absence of a formal code and the informality of the proceedings are not causes for alarm. Such a manner of handling cases has been found wisest and most expeditious for the juvenile courts, the courts of domestic relations, and the small claims courts of our large cities, which are so satisfactory in dealing with matters analogous to many of those handled by the Court of Indian Offenses.[b] A formal, complicated, or technical system of procedural and substantive law could not be administered by the Indian judges, and even if it could be, would not result in a higher type of justice. As Elihu Root has said, "There is no reason why a plain honest man should not be permitted to go into court and tell his story and have the judge before whom he comes permitted to do justice in that particular case, unhampered by a great variety of statutory rules."[c]

The sentence of the court is usually imprisonment, although infrequently a fine is imposed to be paid in property. Imprisonment does not, however, mean actual incarceration, but rather a term of labor about the agency grounds, on the roads, or on the irrigation ditches.

There are jails, but they are ordinarily only places of temporary confinement and are frequently kept unlocked. At some reservations the prisoners are detained in the jail at night, while at others they are permitted to remain in their own homes. A much needed improvement at most agencies is the repair and renovation of the

[a] At the Pine Ridge Agency in cases of any importance the evidence is recorded in the Indian tongue and is subsequently translated if the superintendent so directs.

[b] Herbert Harley, Secretary of the American Judicature Society, Conciliation procedure, American Academy of Political and Social Science, Annals, March, 1926; Small claims courts, Bureau of Labor Statistics, Bulletin 398; Flexner and Oppenheim, Legal aspects of the juvenile court, 1922.

[c] Quoted in "Justice and the Poor," Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching, Bulletin 13.

building used for confining prisoners so that it will be at least secure, habitable, and sanitary for the unfortunates who are retained there. The sentences imposed by the courts vary, of course, on different reservations and for different offenses. Sometimes they are as short as a few days, and they have been known to extend to four months. The superintendent has control over the execution of the sentence, and almost invariably liberal allowances are made for good behavior and extra work, so that the longer sentences are greatly shortened. It is also a frequent practice, if the services of the prisoner are needed, to suspend the sentence or even to sentence the offender to perform certain work on his own property or on the property of a relative. Thus, in an extremely informal way, the practice accords with the work of probation officers and parole boards and with the indeterminate sentence of the state courts. With the establishment of social service work on the reservation and the coöperation of trained workers with court and superintendent, a true probationary system could easily result from the present rough framework of the Indian courts.

The charge is frequently made that the Indian judges are dominated by the superintendents. At some reservations where the superintendent conducts the prosecution of the case or even acts as one of the judges, this is undoubtedly true. In fact, at ten reservations the regular Court of Indian Offenses has been abandoned and the superintendent himself has assumed the rôle of judge. At many other places, however, the decision of the Indian judges is untrammelled, and the only interference by the superintendent is an occasional diminution of punishment. Although the superintendent should not attempt to control the action of the court, and certainly should not himself act as judge, it is extremely desirable that he advise the court when requested, veto its actions when arbitrary and unjust, and assist in enforcing its judgments.

Among the Senecas of New York, the Peace Makers Courts are entirely uncontrolled by outside governmental authority, and the unfortunate result has been a reign of unshamed corruption. The fear of arbitrary action by the superintendents is based more on theory than on fact. In the community adjacent to the Indian reservations, the superintendent ordinarily ranks among the very best in ability and integrity, certainly much above the usual justice of the peace. As Mr. Justice McKenna once said of the Blue Sky

Commissioners, when the bogey of arbitrary executive action was raised, "We must accord to (him) a proper sense of duty and the presumption that the function entrusted to him will be executed in the public interest, not wantonly or arbitrarily."* The critics of the government policy in this respect have adduced practically no well founded cases of unjust action by the Courts of Indian Offenses, or by the superintendent, and on the reservations little complaint is heard from the Indians. In fact, if the superintendent wishes to be particularly severe on a particular Indian, the usual means of attaining his desire is to turn the individual over to the state or United States courts for attention. The practice in Canada should be cited where the superintendent acts as a magistrate, hearing and disposing of the cases that come before him.

One exceptionally able mixed-blood Indian employee of the government, whose sympathy for and interest in the Indians do not seem to be open to question, makes this noteworthy point. When an Indian offender is brought before the Court of Indian Offenses, neither he nor his family feels under obligation to retain an attorney or to go to any other special expense in the matter. If on the other hand he is taken before a white man's court, either state or federal, he and his family, if not his friends, will spend all they can raise in his defense, because to them imprisonment in the white man's institutions, even if only for a few months, is an extremely severe penalty, as it goes so counter to Indian nature. This particular Indian is strongly in favor of retention of the Indian court for the economically backward Indians, because it is suited to their condition and does not impose great financial burden on the offender and his family.

The chief criticism of the Court of Indian Offenses is its inadequacy in dealing with serious cases or hardened offenders. For the vicious and unruly characters about some of the reservations, more severe treatment is necessary than the quasi-paternal admonitions and the slight punishments which it is possible to inflict by executive measure. For matters within their proper scope the Indian courts are extremely well suited to accomplish the tasks laid upon them.

* Hall v. Geiger-Jones Co. 242 U. S. 539 (1917).

The Pueblos. The Pueblo Indians of New Mexico constitute such a peculiar and complicated problem that particular attention must be given to them. There are twenty of these pueblos or villages located in a territory one hundred and fifty miles long from north to south. Some of the pueblos are well populated and prosperous, while others are slowly approaching extinction. The pueblo of Laguna is notable in having adopted many of the ways and customs of the white people, while others, as Taos and Santo Domingo, cling to the ancient tradition. Within some of the separate pueblos there exist two parties, the conservatives who resent any inroads on native customs and ideals, and the progressives who desire to follow more closely the life and habits of the white folks about them. Parties, or clans, within the pueblos exercise strong political power and dominate in the election of pueblo officers. To render the situation doubly difficult, many good people in Santa Fé and Albuquerque have interested themselves in these Indians, and the government in any action it takes must count on their influence with the Indians. The local courts, particularly the justices of the peace, are controlled by the Mexican element in the population, and the one thing concerning which opinion is unanimous is that it would be most unwise to subject the Indians to their jurisdiction.

The governing agents in each pueblo are a governor and council, ostensibly elected by popular vote, but in fact nominated by the cacique, or religious head of the pueblo, and largely controlled by him. After open hearing, the governor and council administer justice; the criminal sentence is either a fine or a whipping. Although the progressive elements complain of the harsh and brutal actions of the ruling conservative faction, the vast majority of the Indians, without doubt, desire to keep intact their ancient tribal government, which would include, of course, such methods of justice. Apparently in some of the pueblos the tribal authority is ineffective in maintaining order and a condition approaching lawlessness exists.

The time available did not permit the survey staff to make the intensive study necessary to arrive at a proper solution of this difficult problem. The members of the staff are agreed, however, that although some change in the existing situation is necessary, no drastic step should be taken without a thorough investigation in the field and a careful consideration of all possible means of dealing with the situation. It is therefore recommended that a special commission be employed to perform this important task and to report its findings to the Department of the Interior.

Suggested Remedies in the Field of Order and Justice. Any system of law and law enforcement for the Indians will have to be adapted to the conditions of the several different tribes, according to their environment and their economic, intellectual, and moral status. Different solutions will be required for different problems. Adaptability is much more to be desired than uniformity. Eventually all Indians in the United States will be assimilated into our social, economic, and political life, and therefore it is highly desirable that the law and the system of administering the law applied to them shall educate and prepare them for a final and complete subjection to the system of Anglo-Saxon jurisprudence under which the American people live today. Utopia cannot be expected from legislative enactment, for it will be impossible by any system of law and order to provide moral habits of life for the Indian, or to secure for him completely his person and property, when such matters are but little regarded by the white people in the community where he lives.

Certain Classes of Indians Should Be Under State Law Except as to Property. Many Indians, except for the supervision of property interests and the furnishing of medical, educational, and social service, should be placed entirely under the state law. These are of two kinds: first, those groups like the California Indians, who are so widely scattered that no reasonable number of Indian Office agents can effectively maintain order and administer justice among them; and secondly, those advanced groups, who by education, training, and economic competency are able to regulate their conduct and to preserve their property interests with an understanding of, and a responsibility to, the ordinary laws governing in the community.

United States Courts or State Courts to Apply State Law. Much may be said in favor of placing jurisdiction over such Indians in the United States rather than in the state courts. The trial by the United States courts of certain felonies is an established and well received mode of procedure, and there is undoubtedly basis for the belief that such courts are less susceptible to local

prejudice and will afford a greater measure of justice to the Indians than do state tribunals.

On the other hand there are several objections to this course. The United States courts are often remote from the Indians. Giving them jurisdiction will preserve the present divided jurisdiction over the Indians according to the situs of crime and the property status of individual Indians. As there is no federal civil law as such and as the federal Criminal Code is very specialized and incomplete, it is advisable that the state law, whether administered by United States or state courts, should be applied. Again, any attempt to place upon the United States judges the burden of administering the petty civil and criminal jurisdiction of a justice of the peace, or county court, is bound to prove abortive.

Probably the best results in dealing with such Indians will be obtained by conferring on the state court exclusive jurisdiction in all actions for divorce, in all civil matters up to a given maximum (say $500), and in all cases of misdemeanors. The United States court could then be vested with jurisdiction over the larger civil cases, and other felonies. In case of claim of prejudice in the state court opportunity should be given to remove the case to the United States court. Although this solution of the problem still leaves a possibility of vexations in the division of jurisdiction over felonies according to the situs of the crime and the status of the Indian, felony cases are not large in number, and in any event the greater assurance to the Indian of a fair and unprejudiced trial will justify the inconvenience.

Necessity for Organized Effort and Legal Aid Where State Law Is Applied. No immediate reformation in the affairs of the Indians can be expected, however, from any bare enactment of Congress. In order that the states may be brought to assume the enlarged jurisdiction over the Indian wards of the national government, some organized effort must be made through conference with governors, with attorneys general, and with associations of judges and county attorneys, to awaken a more lively interest in the Indians. A clear determination of the extent of the state's jurisdiction in Indian matters will in itself lead to greater activity by the state authorities, who now with considerable justice excuse their nonaction by the plea that their authority in the case is uncertain.

In order that the extension of the normal processes of government over the Indians may not lead to misunderstanding, abuses, and oppressions, some organized system of legal aid should be provided for the ignorant and needy among them. For even among the class of Indians who are now under consideration, there are many who are unacquainted with the white man's laws and methods of business, and have not sufficient means to hire competent legal help. "The way of the unlettered and impecunious has never been easy before the law,"[27] and although the educated Indian with means seldom lacks an attorney to protect his interests, his less fortunate brother should not be allowed to suffer for lack of legal assistance. No Indian should be brought before a court for a criminal offense without capable and honest counsel to defend him, nor should his interests in civil matters be unguarded because he cannot procure proper legal services. A more adequate system of legal aid for the Indians, which should include the payment of court costs in necessary cases, is greatly needed. A recommendation to this effect is made later in the report.

Among Other Classes of Indians the Court of Indian Offenses Still Needed. Among the remote tribes, less far advanced on the way to amalgamation with the white population, a dual system of the administration of civil and criminal justice seems necessary. For misdemeanors, small civil cases, and family disputes the jurisdiction of the Courts of Indian Offenses should be preserved. It is believed that these courts are preferable to the proposed substitute of[28] white magistrates appointed by and accountable to the United States District Court. In the first place, near many reservations it is doubtful whether men of sufficient character, training, and ability to perform the function would be available. To appoint magistrates located many miles from the homes of the Indians would be almost as bad as requiring the Indian to resort to the regular state courts. In the second place, no person of an alien race, speaking a strange and unknown tongue, and compelled to act through interpreters, could as well understand the psychology of the Indian and the complications of the various cases, or as

[27] Justin Miller, Difficulties of the poor man accused of crime, Amer. Acad. of Pol. and Soc. Science, *Annals*, March, 1926; Reginald Heber Smith, Justice and the poor.

[28] See H. R. 9315, Sixty-ninth Congress, first session.

wisely or as surely administer justice among the Indians, as could the Indian judges who preside over the Courts of Indian Offenses. In many cases the appointee of the United States court would be compelled to rely upon the superintendent for advice, and his decision would be as much under the influence of that officer as are the decisions of the present Indian courts. The regulations of the Interior Department should be revised, however, with a view to defining in non-technical language the offenses cognizable by the court and the punishments to be decreed for violations thereof. Especially should provision be made for securing the investigation and advice of the social agencies of the reservation in all cases where family interests are in any way affected.

Transfer of Cases from Court of Indian Offenses. For the more serious crimes involving the possibility of weighty punishments the Court of Indian Offenses is not suitable, and here the jurisdiction should be in the United States court, as in the case of the two classes of Indians previously considered. Even where the offenses committed are not classed as felonies, there will be found on the various reservations certain Indians who are disorderly, unamenable to ordinary discipline, and even vicious. For such as these the quasi-paternal jurisdiction of the Court of Indian Offenses is inadequate. For the proper control of such people the Court of Indian Offenses, with the approval of the superintendent, should have the power of submitting the entire case to the state court, where the ordinary punishments of the state law can be executed. The state courts should have jurisdiction also in those cases where no Court of Indian Offenses exists. Without some such expedient as this the authority of law will often be flouted by some elements of the Indian population, without adequate means of restraining the evil doers. Also it would be advisable to allow any party to a case to have it removed to the state court if he deems that justice can better be secured there. Such cases will be few, but the opportunity to secure a trial by the regular processes of our judicial system should not be denied.

The Need for an Institution for Delinquents. A serious difficulty in dealing with any group of Indians is the lack of an institution for the training of maladjusted, or delinquent, boys and girls. State or private institutions are not ordinarily open to the Indian youth, and, even if they were, are not suitable places for

these children so close to the primitive life of their ancestors. The sentences of the Court of Indian Offenses leave the offender on the reservation, where the influence exerted is bound to be detrimental to his or her companions. In this dilemma some superintendents have contrived to have the undesirables among their younger people sent to the government boarding schools, where their presence necessitates stern repressive regulations unjust to their innocent fellows. The government should seriously consider the necessity of proper training schools for the care of such unfortunate delinquents. These schools should be located with reference to the accessibility of clinics and other facilities for doing constructive work with problem children and youth.

The Need for Expert Study and Planning. The task of dividing the Indian peoples into classes for the purpose of regulating their family relationships and for administering civil and criminal justice can be accomplished only by detailed and expert study. Also conditions will change, and many of those who now should be subject to executive control must eventually be placed under the ordinary processes of law. For these reasons the separation should be determined by executive investigation rather than by unbending legislative fiat. A statute of Congress which would empower the Secretary of the Interior to establish Courts of Indian Offenses among those Indians found by him to be unsuited in condition, training, and environment to government by the regularly constituted authorities of state and nation, and which would extend the state laws in the manner indicated above to the remaining further advanced people, would furnish opportunity for investigation and change to meet new conditions. This, it is believed, would be sustainable against objection on constitutional grounds. The actual task of making the division would be placed upon the Division of Planning and Development, recommended in another portion of this report.

The Government as Guardian and Trustee of Indian Property. The national government's guardianship of the Indian and its trust title to Indian property impose on that government the duty of protection and advancement of the Indian's interests. This duty is rendered more exacting by the unsophisticated character of the ward and his impoverished condition. The Indians, excepting a few isolated individuals far advanced on the road to economic

competency, must rely upon the government of the United States to protect their property and personal interests unless they depend upon the sporadic attempts of philanthropic friends of the race or upon the dubious attempts of self-seeking traffickers in Indian ignorance and credulity. These Indian property interests include not only individual claims, seemingly insignificant considered singly, although of inestimable gravity viewed in the aggregate, but also vast tribal resources of oil, minerals, timber, and water for irrigation and power.

The task of the government is much more comprehensive than that of the ordinary guardian or trustee, in that it has by congressional enactment assumed the duty of settling the testate and intestate succession to Indian estates instead of entrusting that function to the probate courts of the several states.

The Legal Organization and Procedure. In view of the number and importance of the legal questions which arise in the conduct of Indian affairs, it is extraordinary that the Office of Indian Affairs has no high officer corresponding to a general counsel or solicitor. It has a law clerk and several other people with legal training, who either are burdened with a mass of administrative detail or else are narrowly confined to special fields such as probate or irrigation. A number of attorneys in the Office of the Solicitor of the Interior Department are exclusively engaged with Indian matters, but these men are responsible to the Solicitor and to the Secretary of the Interior and not to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs. Their function is chiefly the consideration of the legal phases of propositions which by act of Congress require the approval of the Secretary of the Interior. The opinion of the Solicitor on disputed legal points may be obtained also by formal request of the Commissioner upon the Secretary. The need is for more than this. The Indian Office needs a highly trained lawyer, with necessary assistants, to coördinate, supervise, and expedite the multifarious legal phases of its work. The savings to the Indians and to the government itself in property conserved and in litigation efficiently and expeditiously handled would result in an increased morale within the service and among the Indians and would justify the creation of such an office.

The lack of responsible leadership in the management of the legal affairs of the Indians is chiefly apparent in the conduct of

litigation. The first person to whom legal difficulties are presented is usually the reservation superintendent, who is in direct contact with the Indians and to whom they chiefly look for protection and guidance. The report of the superintendent goes to the Indian Office where it is first referred to the particular division administering the phase of Indian affairs within which the trouble lies. Here the case is really prepared and the recommendations of the Indian Office as to the advisability of suit are made. If a recommendation of suit meet with approval of the Commissioner and his immediate advisers, a letter from him to the Secretary of the Interior, in which the Secretary is requested to present the matter to the Attorney General for such action as he deems fit, is prepared for the Commissioner's signature by the divisional clerk who has investigated the case. In considering the Commissioner's request the Assistant Secretary of the Interior who is particularly entrusted with the administration of Indian matters, is of course guided by the advice of the attorneys of the Solicitor's office. If the Department of the Interior approves the recommendations of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, the case is referred to the Department of Justice. When the case reaches the Department of Justice the lawyers there review it and, if their opinion is favorable to the commencement of suit, the case is finally sent to the appropriate United States District Attorney, who by statute is entrusted with the conduct of Indian litigation. Thus when the original complaint to the superintendent has finally germinated in effective action, it is too often true that much valuable time has been lost and that the person responsible for the active handling of the case is far removed from Indian interests and contacts.

This circumambulation cannot in the nature of things lead to the best results. The Office of Indian Affairs—which is the developer and organizer of the action, the custodian of the evidence, the governmental party in interest, and the chief point of contact with the government's Indian ward—on reference of the case to the Department of Justice passes from the case as far as its control of the litigation, and one might almost say, as far as its interest in it is concerned. The files of the Office of Indian Affairs contain cases of supreme importance, concerning which no data have been received for the entire year preceding. A lawyer of the highest efficiency and integrity should manage and direct the multifarious

actions brought by the government in the interests of its Indian wards.

In the past certain suits have been brought which involved a legal question of vital importance to large numbers of the government's wards, but only after the litigation has progressed has it been discovered that the particular case involved other facts foreign to the vital point at issue which rendered an adverse decision certain. At times the delay in bringing to a focus contested claims has been extreme. In June of 1921, for example, the Superintendent of the Flathead Agency advised the Commissioner that certain parties had filed mining claims on the timber lands of the Flathead Indians. Although advice was at once given that the claims were without legal basis, it was not until May of 1927 that the case was submitted to the Department of Justice for action. In this case the delay was particularly dangerous, as it involved the probability of the cancellation of large timber sales because of the presence of these trespassers whom the government had failed to remove. If there is uncertainty and hesitation in the larger matters, the usual result in the smaller affairs is that the Indian goes entirely without legal aid, and often loses his rights by default.

A difficulty with the present *modus operandi* is the unsatisfactory nature of the service often rendered by the United States district attorneys. In many cases, particularly in irrigation matters, extremely abstruse and technical problems of law are presented, concerning which the United States district attorneys, with their many other duties, are necessarily not experts. More serious is the fact that they often fail to comprehend and follow the theory and principle of the governmental protection of the Indians. Their sympathies lie not with their clients, but with their clients' opponents. In some instances the Indian Office, working through the Department of Justice, has encountered great difficulty in prevailing upon the United States district attorneys to prosecute cases in which the position of the Office was based on well settled governmental policies in dealing with the Indians. It is not surprising that in such a situation failure often results.

The present situation could be remedied by an organization of a legal force within the Indian Service similar to that already existing within the Bureau of Reclamation. In addition to the general counsel at Washington, heretofore mentioned, there should be in the field, district counsel situated in the centers of Indian population. These men, perhaps nine or ten in all, should devote their entire time to the legal interests of the Indians, and they would soon become expert in all matters of law relating to them. The nominal conduct of litigation would remain with the United States district attorneys, but these district counsel of the Indian Office, acting under the supervision of the general counsel in Washington, would actually prepare the cases and actively assist in the trials. The actual details of the system would have to be worked out after a careful detailed survey of the field.

The system should probably include attorneys retained for part time in the several localities contiguous to the reservations to attend to minor matters, such as formal appearances and the conduct of petty suits before justices of the peace and the municipal courts. Some such system of legal aid is particularly necessary in the present stage of Indian development. The Indian must eventually come fully under the state law and authority, but in order that he may safely cover the transition period he needs aid and direction. The poor and ignorant in our large cities need the advice and assistance of organized legal aid, and extensive organizations have been established to provide it. Unfortunately such organizations do not often exist in rural communities. The Indian's poor command of English, his lack of training in the customs and business methods of his white neighbors, and his entire psychology of life, which involves little attention to property values, render him unsuited for independent striving for competence in the economic life of the time. To protect him and his property from the illegal acts of his designing neighbors, to advise him as to his rights and liabilities, and to secure him proper representation when he appears before the courts of the land, are duties that the government should not fail to fulfill.

Emphasis must constantly be placed on the fact that in the conduct of the legal affairs of the Indians the national government is in the position of a trustee of the highest type. Before the advancing wave of Anglo-Saxon civilization the Indian has gradually relinquished his vast inheritance, until now, located in a few scattered places in our western country, he has but a remnant of his former possessions left to him. The national government has assumed to act as trustee of this estate, and it goes without saying that its duty is to conserve and develop it.

No general indictment is offered that in recent years the government has been unfaithful to its trust. Its position is, however, a difficult one. Covetousness is not solely an ancient trait. The claims of white settlers to a share in the Indian resources are constantly being pressed upon the government, oftentimes with great astuteness and frequently with a show of justice. In such a situation the Indian lacks the ability and the means properly to present his views, and some of those who present them for him often prejudice more than aid by over-statement and invective. The constituted conservators of the Indian wealth are inevitably tempted to compromise and to assume the rôle of the arbiter rather than of the advocate of Indian claims. Surrender to this temptation offers an enticing escape from political and legal entanglements. Such a surrender is to be deplored. Unless the Indian Office takes its position as the advocate of all Indian rights to the fullest extent compatible with the law, those rights will not be adequately presented before Congress and the courts. Congress and the courts, and not the guardian and trustee of one of the parties, should judge between conflicting claims. In such matters as the lease of the valuable power sites on the Flathead Reservation, the preservation of the rights of the Pueblo Indians in their ancestral domain, the submission of the oil resources of the Navajo Indians to state taxation, and the charging to Indian funds of certain improvements enjoyed by the general public, the Office must be circumspect in order to see that no valid right of its Indian wards is waived. The injury is particularly great when voluntary proponents of the Indian interests present the Indian claims more strongly than does the authorized guardian of Indian interests, and are successful in so doing. The Indian then ceases to regard the government as his protector, but is prone to look upon it with suspicion, a state of mind too often one of the greatest obstacles in the government's task of preserving and advancing the Indian.

Administration of Indian Lands. At several of the reservations the survey staff discovered that ugly charges were being or had been made of misconduct in the administration of Indian lands. With the time and facilities at the disposal of the staff, it was not found practical to sift to the bottom all these charges. The situation at Fort Yuma is an indication of the difficulties encountered in endeavoring to arrive at a conclusion in such cases. Here the

leasing of the Indian lands had been the occasion for constant bickering, and a series of investigations running through the years. Four separate inspectors were sent to this agency to report upon the complaints made concerning the conditions there, and five different reports were submitted, the file constituting a stack of papers and documents over two feet high. In no instance, however, could the inspectors agree among themselves. In 1921 while one inspector reported that the superintendent and farmer were guilty of various derelictions and frauds, the other one exonerated these two men. Subsequent investigations brought the same contradictory results. In the face of these conflicting reports, and in consideration of the tremendous mass of material submitted, no definite findings by the survey could be made without greater expenditure of time than appeared to be justified. It is, however, indubitable that where existing practices permit so much trouble to arise, some change should be made.

At the Quinaielt Reservation, the allotment of lands also has led to much misunderstanding, and an almost total lack of coöperation between the agency forces and their Indian charges. This situation also should be remedied. Both in the making of allotments and in the leasing of lands, safeguards against mistakes and negligence, as well as against possible dishonest practices by the officers in charge would be advanced by a more orderly procedure and the keeping of better records. As was suggested by an employee of the Colville Agency, there should be kept in each agency office in bound form a complete record of each parcel of land on the reservation, from which the present status of the land and its past history could be immediately determined. Serious difficulty arose in the allotments in the Quinaielt Reservation because of the lack of a proper record of the Indian's original choice of an allotment. These were kept only in the temporary notebooks in the possession of the allotting agent, and the Indian's choice of an allotment did not receive formal governmental sanction until certified to the Secretary of the Interior several years after the choice had been originally made. There seems no reason why the selection of the allotment should not be made a matter of permanent record open to the public. The inability of the Quinaielt Indians to examine the records, documents, and correspondence in relation to the allotments of their land was the occasion of much unfortunate controversy.

With respect to the leasing of individual lands, the regulations of the Interior Department make no provisions with respect to the mechanics thereof, except as to acknowledgment and witnessing of leases, and recording when necessary to secure crop liens under the state law. The practices vary at the different reservations. At Yuma the procedure seems to be informal. A person desiring to lease an Indian allotment secures from the farmer or other government employee, the names of those Indians who might be willing to lease their land, or else he finds these Indians by his own efforts. A lease is then made by the superintendent, the Indian, and the lessee. There is no compiled record of these leases. The documents themselves are contained in the individual files of the Indian lessors, and to make any study of them to ascertain the consideration for the lease of Indian land as compared to the lease of white land, or to compare the consideration paid by the different lessees of the Indian lands, requires a search of all these individual folders, or else a search through the individual money ledgers of the different Indians. Under such a system it is apparent that discrimination and even bribery may exist without opportunity of discovery. At the other reservations, notably at the Flathead and Osage Reservations, a complete record is kept and an appraisal by the government farmer is required and kept on file, while at Flathead an application is required of the lessee.

Adequate regulations for the making of leases and the recordation thereof should be made to guard against favoritism and undue influence. While the paper work should be kept to a minimum, informality and secretiveness furnish opportunity for favoritism and dishonest practices. The following suggestions are made:

1. That there be an inquiry of the superintendents at the reservations where a considerable amount of leasing is conducted for the purpose of discovering the methods there employed and their operation in actual practice.

2. Pending such study the tentative proposal is made that the greater publicity through the posting in the agency office of the lists of lands available for lease be attained. This list should, of course, give the name of the Indian, the allotment number, and the description of the land by the government survey. It should also contain the minimum appraisal for lease purposes fixed by the government. It is probably not necessary or advisable to have public

bidding or advertisement for the leasing of Indian lands for agricultural purposes, for the term is short, the monetary consideration involved small, and the need of prompt action often pressing. However, it is suggested that after the list of lands available for leasing has been posted, it be allowed to remain for a short time, say one week or ten days, before final acceptance of offers for leases is made. This would enable different parties to have an opportunity of making bids for the lease. After a bid had been made and accepted, the name of the lessee should be added to the above posted information, together with the consideration paid. All this information should remain a part of the records of the Indian Office open to inspection. A written appraisal signed by the government farmer should also be required in order to fix responsibility. Even though the Indian be technically incompetent a copy of the lease should be given to him, to train him to some extent in business matters and give him a start in the proper care of private property.

As pointed out in other portions of the staff report, Indian property can be used as a valuable means of educating the Indian to economic competency. Too often at present the government officers, in order to avoid the trouble and time spent in making the Indians cognizant of the methods and policies pursued in the management of their property, accept the undesirable alternative of keeping them in the dark concerning their own property. Such a practice furnishes a breeding ground for suspicions and indictments, which, though usually unfounded, are due in no small measure to the government's own short-sighted policy.

Administration of the Estates of Deceased Indians. By enactment of Congress the Secretary of the Interior has been charged with the duty of determining the heirs to the restricted estates of deceased Indians, and with the responsibility of probating such wills as may have been executed by the deceased owners of such estates. The intent of Congress was clearly that the rights of intestate succession should be determined by the laws of the several states, with the qualification that the offspring of Indians cohabiting together as man and wife according to the Indian custom should be considered legitimate for purposes of determining descent. The right of the Indian to dispose of his property by will is subject,

however, to the "regulations to be prescribed by the Secretary of the Interior," and no will is valid until it has received his approval.[*]

To accomplish the tasks thus assigned to the Secretary of the Interior, a probate division has been organized in the Indian Office, consisting of field and office employees. Eleven inheritance examiners, duly admitted attorneys, working in particular sections of the Indian country secure the evidence in the field, which they submit to the Department for final action. By detailed regulations requiring posted and personal notice, and by openly conducted hearings, an attempt is made to guard against the possibility of careless, arbitrary, or corrupt action.

The execution and probate of wills are treated rather sparingly by the regulations. Certain directory provisions in regard to the execution of wills, including the presence of attesting witnesses, do not appear to be essential where the will is filed after the death of the testator or was made under circumstances rendering impractical a strict compliance with the regulations. The examiner is expected to inquire into the mental competency of the testator and the influence which occasioned the execution of the will, and to submit the document with his recommendations of approval or disapproval, as the case may be.

When the report of the examiners, whether involving intestate or testate succession, reaches the Indian Office, it is reviewed by a staff of workers and submitted to the Commissioner, who in turn submits the entire record to the Secretary for his final action. By statute no appeal lies from the Secretary's decision.

This system of administrative settlement of estates is believed in its main elements to be sound, and it should be retained for some time to come. In view of the peculiar nature of the problem the task is probably better performed than it would be if committed to

[*] See Title 25 of the Code of Laws of the United States, Sections 348, 371-73. In the cases of the Five Civilized Tribes and of the Osages the administration of Indian estates is by the probate courts of Oklahoma. Any Indian of the Five Tribes may make a will free from departmental control, while in the case of the Osages the will must be valid under the laws of Oklahoma and also be approved by the Secretary. The administration of the estates of Osage Indians was deemed so unsatisfactory that by act of February 27, 1925, Congress gave to the Interior Department final authority over the distribution of the restricted estates of deceased Osages, though leaving the nominal conduct of the estate with the local court.

the state courts, the doctrines and methods of which are designed to fit the needs of an entirely different class of people. The difficulties inherent in the task, and the failure of the personnel to attain the ideals set before it call, however, for certain changes necessary to protect the interests of the ignorant and simple people with whom the government is dealing.

Examination of the records of the Indian Office for the last year discloses considerable laxity in the proof of service of notices. If forms of certificates or affidavits were furnished setting forth the time, place, and manner of service, with the detail which is usually required in state and federal court proceedings, and the examiners were required in all cases to execute duly the certificates, the added guaranty that the excellent provisions of the regulations in this respect were fulfilled would be well worth the added effort.

Undoubtedly an inherent difficulty lies in the conduct of hearings. Although notice is posted for a hearing at a definite time and place, seldom will the necessary parties and witnesses be present at the time set. The Indians are frequently scattered over thinly settled regions with poor means of communication and, if no immediate pecuniary reward is in sight, they often fail to appear for the hearing. Under these circumstances, the usual practice is to take the testimony of those who are present, and then to continue the case to an indefinite date until the missing testimony can be procured. The ideal of a single hearing, in which all parties interested may appear and partake, seems impossible of attainment if the work is to proceed. The practice of some examiners of taking the *ex parte* affidavits of government officers instead of examining them in form at the regular hearing, should not be followed except where the parties are absent and their testimony procurable in no other way. Particular pains should be taken to observe Section 19 of the regulations, giving to interested parties an opportunity to examine depositions and to submit questions of their own if they so desire. The examiner must take pains to explain fully to the Indian claimants the status of the case and the nature of the testimony required for its determination. To assure as nearly as possible a compliance in these respects, the certificate of the examiner should state in detail his adherence thereto. Some examiners, but not all, follow the requirement that the certificate of the examiner indicates the time and places where the testimony

was taken and those present at the hearing. The tentative suggestion is here made, that, when a record is complete and the examiner has determined on the recommendations to be made, notice should be posted stating that a final report will be made in the estate and that parties interested will be given an opportunity to examine it and to state their views in the matter.

Considerable improvement can be made in the actual conduct of the hearings. The fact that those interested in the proceedings often do not speak or read English and are usually reluctant in the presence of government officers and contesting claimants to assert to the full extent the rights of which they may be possessed, makes it imperative that those in charge of the work be unusually careful in protecting the interests of all parties concerned. Many examiners have a tendency to lead the witness excessively, and although the niceties of court procedure should not be expected or required, in too many instances the answer of the witness is but a reflection of the preconceived ideas of the interrogator, clearly indicated by the question he propounds. Since the disposition of the case is entirely dependent on the record made by the examiner it is of extreme importance that he be careful to procure from the witnesses before him the testimony bearing on the vital issues of the case. In many instances the examiner's questions reveal an insufficient knowledge of the concepts of testamentary capacity, or fraud, and of undue influence, and, hence, the answers lack relevance and clarity.

Several important matters are not covered by the regulations, such as the necessity for the presence of attesting witnesses, the effect of the omission in the will of provision for children, and the death of a devisee before the testator, and it is left uncertain whether the state law is or is not applicable. This omission sometimes leads to erratic and arbitrary recommendations from the examiners. In two instances, one of the failure of a bequest because of the impossibility of performance of conditions, and the other of the death of a devisee before the testator, the examiner recommended the complete disallowance of the will for the apparent reason that he had no other solution to offer. Fortunately these strange proposals were not followed by the Washington Office.

The statutes of Congress, and the regulations of the Interior Department make no provision for the payment of claims against

the estates of decedents, but the practice of receiving and allowing claims is nevertheless uniformly practiced. The surviving spouse or the next of kin is asked if the indebtedness was in fact incurred, and if the payment of the claim is desired. Affirmative answers occasion a decree of payment. Although a tendency is apparent to disallow debts improvidently and unwisely incurred and to look with suspicion on the claims of relatives and near friends on account of personal services, no legal rule has been set up to guide departmental action in these matters. The practice of allowing claims against decedents' estates is probably a proper one, although during the life of the decedent his property would not be subject to execution for debt. In many instances, had not death intervened, the Indian debtor would have paid the claim. The government should not be in the position of enabling the heirs of legatees to prosper because death prevented an honest debtor from meeting his obligations. The regulations, however, should furnish as specific a guide as possible for the action of the Department in allowing or disallowing claims. All claims should be itemized and verified by affidavit. Although it should not be ruled that debts for necessaries only will be allowed, the debts must not be so excessive or unwise that the creditor in allowing them to accrue is inferentially guilty of fraud or overreaching. The common law principle which denies recovery for voluntary services furnishes a safe guide for the consideration of most cases of personal services rendered the decedent.

In the Washington headquarters the examiner's report normally passes through the hands of six persons, the reviewing clerk, the head of the probate division, the law clerk of the Indian Office, the Commissioner or Assistant Commissioner of Indian Affairs, one of the attorneys in the Solicitor's Office particularly charged with the duty of reviewing Indian matters and the Assistant Secretary of the Interior. The initial detailed examination is made in the Indian Office by the reviewing clerk under the immediate direction of the head of the probate division. Subsequent reviews in the Indian Office itself are administrative and are not ordinarily detailed except in large or controverted cases. Under the present administration of the Department all cases regardless of their size are then reexamined in detail from the complete record by one of

the attorneys in the Office of the Solicitor of the Interior Department specially concerned with Indian affairs. In many cases this review results in concurrence with the recommendations made by the attorneys in the Indian Office but in a considerable number of cases these attorneys raise new questions or disagree with the recommendations of the Indian Office. When issues are thus raised, memoranda or briefs are exchanged and if agreement is not reached among the examining officers, the case with all the papers is referred to the Assistant Secretary of the Interior for settlement. In large or controverted cases both the Commissioner of Indian Affairs and the Assistant Secretary of the Interior devote considerable time to the study of the case. When the attorneys in charge of the initial examination in the Indian Office and in the Solicitor's Office are in complete agreement, the review by the Assistant Secretary is generally administrative rather than detailed, although the subject of Indian wills particularly interests the present Assistant Secretary and leads him in many instances to make more than the ordinary administrative review.

Question should be raised as to the advisability of having the inheritance examiner prepare in the field for signature the recommendations of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs and the final decision of the Secretary of the Interior. The inheritance examiner should, of course, submit his opinion in each case, but it is believed the final decision could be determined better by the office force which has greater opportunity for careful survey of the testimony and for reference to statutes, decisions, and treaties. Not only would the tendency to accept the prepared opinion of the examiner instead of preparing a new one be overcome, but the work which is now such tedious drudgery would afford more opportunity for originality and initiative.

More comprehensive and detailed regulations are needed to cover the various questions which arise concerning the validity and interpretation of wills. The Department takes the position that the Indian should be allowed to make his own will and to determine for himself, unrestrained by the supposedly superior wisdom of the government, the manner in which his property should be distributed after his death. The practice seems to accord with this liberal viewpoint, though some examiners of inheritance have not yet fully comprehended the principle adopted by the Department;

and the superintendents, who in some instances pass on all questions regarding wills, are likely to exercise a discretionary rather than a juristic control over the making of wills by Indians.

The argument might be advanced that the Secretary should exercise the power of disapproving such wills as fail to provide for deserving spouses and children, or which make large gifts to those apparently with little claim to such attention. Such a practice would result in the Department instead of the Indian testator making the will, and would encourage an arbitrariness which might be based upon favoritism or prejudice. Such dangers offset the possible benefits which might arise from the exercise on the part of the Secretary of greater discretionary powers. The purpose of giving to the Indians the same right to make their wills as their white brethren enjoy cannot be effected, however, unless there be provided, either by regulations of the Department or by adoption of state law, rules and principles to guide the administration in its task of approving or disapproving of Indian wills. Not only will such a step secure to the individual Indians equality and impartiality of treatment, but it will not leave important questions of policy to be determined by the personal views of the particular Secretary or Assistant Secretary of the Interior who happens at the time to be in charge of Indian affairs.

As far as the execution of the will is concerned the state laws in their strictness should not be made applicable. Ignorance of the technicalities of the state law on the part of the Indian testator and also of many governmental employees who assist in preparing wills, would cause many a will to fail which, in fact, would clearly express the testator's wishes. It should be sufficient if it appears by reliable testimony that the testator executed the document by subscribing his signature, mark, or thumb print thereto with the intent that it serve as his last will. It is not meant, however, to abandon the practice of employing attesting witnesses when the will is executed under government supervision, or to neglect securing their testimony whenever such witnesses have signed the document. The legal principles governing testamentary capacity, fraud, and undue influence as developed by the common law should be adopted, and as the inheritance examiner seldom has access to adequate law libraries, the regulations of the Department should contain definitions and discussions of these concepts. For the final decision of

the case in Washington, recourse can be had to the various legal authorities, but in the meantime the examiner should not be left uninstructed as to the nature of the problem before him.

If the will is validly executed by a person of testamentary capacity, free from fraud and undue influence, the best results will be obtained by applying the state law thereto. This will take care of those perennial problems arising from the disinheritance of husbands and wives and from the omission in wills of any provision for issue of the testator, matters uniformly covered by state statute or decision. Also rules will thus be provided to govern the situation where the devisee dies before the testator, and the effect of the divorce or marriage of the testator upon a previously executed will. Regulations should not be actually drawn up and promulgated, however, until a careful survey has first been made of the laws of the several states wherein the Indians are located. In some of them adjustments will have to be made in order to make the statutes applicable to the administration of estates by the Department, particularly in the allowance of homestead rights and maintenance for the widow during the administration of the estate. Such an application of the state law will, it is believed, be found more desirable than a uniform code covering the probate of Indian wills. It will carry out the policy of acquainting the Indians with the system of law under which they will come when finally released from government supervision, and it will bring the practice in the matter of wills into accordance with that already existing in intestate succession.

Reference has been made to the fact that the decision of the Secretary of the Interior in matters relating to descent and distribution of the estates of deceased Indians is final. If the changes above recommended are made, it is believed inadvisable to alter this to allow a resort to the courts for a hearing anew of the entire case. The inheritance examiners are lawyers; and attorneys are permitted to, and do, appear before them. Within the Indian Office and the Interior Department at Washington, the indications are that the controverted cases, particularly where the parties are represented by attorneys, are carefully and conscientiously considered. Because the rules applicable to the administration of Indian estates must differ considerably from the laws of the several states, a reference of the entire matter, particularly to the state courts, might

cause confusion and misunderstanding. If, however, the United States courts were given jurisdiction to correct errors of law, erroneous decisions of fact unsupported by any evidence, and abuses of discretion so grave as to be indicative of fraud, as is the case with respect to many other federal administrative agencies, no serious interference with the administration of the law would result but rather an even greater care on the part of the government to be judicial and impartial. The Indian then could feel that he, like other citizens, was subject to a "government of laws and not of men."

Taxation of Lands Purchased for the Indians with their Restricted Funds. A perplexing problem confronting the Indian Office today is the taxation by the states of the lands purchased for the Indians with their restricted funds which are under the supervision of the Office. The volume of such purchases is large because the allotments originally made to the Indians are often not suitable for homes. These original allotments must be sold and new property purchased if the Indians are to be started on the road to better social and economic conditions. In order to preserve these new lands for the use and benefit of the Indian owner, it has been the uniform rule to impose upon them the restrictions which existed upon the funds with which they were obtained. Some states are claiming and exercising the power to tax such lands. Since the Indian owner, on account of his lack of ready funds or his insufficient sense of public responsibility, either cannot or will not pay taxes, the result is that the lands purchased for his permanent home are speedily slipping from him and he himself is becoming a homeless public charge. This unfortunate situation is rendered more acute because the terms of the deeds prohibit alienation by voluntary act, and thus the Indian owner is not able either to mortgage or sell his lands to secure for himself the interest that he may have in the land over and above the delinquent taxes.

The United States Supreme Court [*] held at an early date that the allotted lands of the Indians, the title to which was held in trust by the United States, were not taxable by the states. The policy of allotting land to the Indians and holding the title to it in abeyance until such time as they could be trusted with its full and free con-

[*] United States v. Rickert, 188 U. S. 432 (1903).

trol had been adopted by the national government as a means for more fully civilizing the Indians and bringing them to the position where they could assume the full responsibility of citizenship. The lands were therefore the instrumentalities of the United States, and as such, by virtue of long standing principles of constitutional law, not taxable by the several states. To this unquestioned decision may be added the ruling that, in the event of the sale of the allotted lands by governmental consent, the proceeds, being simply the medium for which the lands were exchanged, were likewise held in trust by the government and not taxable.[44] The Supreme Court has also sustained the power of the Secretary of the Interior, in whom is vested the discretion to permit the conveyance of Indian lands, to allow such conveyance on the sole condition that the proceeds be invested in lands subject to his control in the matter of sale.[45]

In spite of the intimation from these cases and from the express decisions of two district courts of the Northwest[46] more favorable to the Indians, the exemption from state taxes of restricted lands purchased for them by the government with their restricted funds is in a precarious situation. In a case which was taken to the United States Supreme Court[47] it was held that lands purchased with trust funds for an Osage Indian, and made inalienable without the consent of the Secretary of the Interior, were yet taxable. This decision, however, did not involve necessarily the declaration of a general principle, since the ruling was occasioned by the fact that the special act[48] under which these particular funds were released to the allottee gave to the Secretary no authority to control said funds after such release. In this case, moreover, it was not shown that the money released from the trust was invested directly in the

[44] National Bank of Commerce v. Anderson, 147 Fed. 87 (C. C. A. 9th Cir. 1906); United States v. Thurston County, 143 Fed. 287 (C. C. A. 8th Cir. 1906).

[45] United States v. Sunderland, 266 U. S. 226 (1924). See also United States v. Brown, 8 Fed. 2nd 564 (C. C. A. 8th Cir. 1925), holding that the Secretary of the Interior may purchase lands for the Indians with money arising from the lease of restricted lands, and restrict the title of the lands purchased.

[46] United States v. Nez Perce County, 267 Fed. 495 (D. D. Idaho, 1917); United States v. Yakima County, 274 Fed. 115 (D. C. E. D. Wash. 1921).

[47] United States v. McCurdy, 246 U. S. 263 (1918).

[48] Section 5 of the act of April 18, 1912.

property purchased. The thought of the court is perhaps shown in its closing remark, "Congress did not confer upon the Secretary of the Interior authority . . . . to give to property purchased with released funds immunity from state taxation." By a series of recent decisions[49] the Circuit Court of Appeals for the Eighth Circuit, although emitting some dicta favorable to the Indian position, has uniformly sustained state taxation of lands purchased for the Indians with their restricted funds and made subject to alienation only with the consent of the Secretary of the Interior, and has declared itself committed to the proposition that such lands are taxable. One of these cases was affirmed by the United States Supreme Court[50] in a *per curiam* decision on the somewhat doubtful authority of the McCurdy case *supra*.[51]

The declaration by the Circuit Court of Appeals[52] that the national government has no authority to withdraw from state taxation lands formerly subject thereto is certainly not tenable. Congress has the power to relieve from the burden of state taxes a governmental instrumentality, whether a post office or a home for the government's Indian wards, and it matters not that the prior status of the property may have been such that the state could freely tax it.

If, as has been inferred, there be doubt as to the intention of Congress to give immunity from state taxation, it is recommended that legislation be secured expressly conferring the exemption. The states will not suffer from such a practice, for in return for the lost taxes on the purchased lands will be the subjection to the state taxing power of the relinquished lands, or of the funds used in making the new purchase.

Pending litigation should, of course, be pressed to a final conclusion with all possible speed in order that the existing uncertainty be ended. Should it transpire that these Indian lands are taxable, then the national government must fairly consider the nature of the duty to the ward of the guardian who has employed the ward's tax-exempt funds to purchase property on the express

[49] United States v. Gray, 284 Fed. 103 (1922); United States v. Ransom, 284 Fed. 108 (1922); United States v. Brown, 8 Fed. 2nd 584 (1925), dictum; United States v. Mummert, 15, Fed. 2nd 926 (1926).

[50] United States v. Ransom 263 U. S. 691 (1924).

[51] United States v. McCurdy, 246 U. S. 263 (1918).

[52] United States v. Brown, 8 Fed. 2nd 584 (1925), dictum.

or implied misrepresentation that the newly-acquired property is likewise exempt. Several Indians have complained to the survey staff that they are being taxed despite the formal assurance of Indian Service employees that the land purchased for them would be exempt from taxation.

The Five Civilized Tribes. The general effect of the laws of Congress relating to the Five Civilized Tribes of Oklahoma has been to relieve them, to an unusual extent, from the supervision of the national government, and to subject them to the authority of the State of Oklahoma. This deviation from the usual mode of dealing with the government's wards, has up to comparatively recent years resulted in a flagrant example of the white man's brutal and unscrupulous domination over a weaker race. The conditions existing brought about a protest from the friends of the Indians, both in Oklahoma and elsewhere, and a committee of Congress held hearings in the state and made its report. As a result of this investigation conditions seem to be improving. County judges have been elected who regard it as their duty to preserve the property of the uneducated and improvident Indians who come before their courts, rather than expedite the transfer of such property from Indian to white ownership, as too often has been the case in the past. In one case where judge, guardians, and attorneys were engaged in the outrageous looting of an Indian estate, local opinion forced their indictment and brought about the appointment of reputable citizens as receivers for the estate. In spite of this gratifying improvement, some white citizens still remain from whose machinations the Indian is not sufficiently protected. Here, as in many other communities, the ignorant, poor, and untrained are often misled, cheated, and robbed by their cleverer and more unscrupulous neighbors. As long as this condition prevails Congress should not view it with equanimity. It is the duty of both the national and state governments to prevent the spoliation of the weaker class of the community by the stronger and to remedy the conditions that make this possible.

Probate Attorneys. For the purpose of protecting the Indians of the Five Civilized Tribes in their legal affairs, Congress, by act of May 27, 1908, provided for certain so-called probate attorneys to watch over the administration of the estates of Indian minors

and to assist the Indians in the various legal matters relating to their restricted property. Although the staff of nine attorneys now employed has undoubtedly exercised effective influence in preventing many cases of spoliation, the service falls short of what should be accomplished. In spite of the many assertions of fraud and overreaching, interviews with six of the nine attorneys revealed scarcely an instance of appeal to the courts for redress. The lack of adequate supervision and leadership, the absence of any funds for the payment of court costs, the absorption in administrative details, the necessity for the constant reference to higher authority before taking decisive action, and the restriction of the scope of the work to matters relating to the restricted property of the Indians deprive the probate attorneys of a large part of their possible effectiveness. To remedy these deficiencies a system of legal aid should be provided, which might be of real benefit to the Indians of the Five Civilized Tribes; the government should not, however, be expected to handle all litigation for the Indians of these tribes, because many of them can afford, and will prefer, to select their own legal representatives. If the recommendations hereafter made for the purpose of safeguarding Indian interests by closer government supervision are followed, it is probable that several attorneys retained on a part-time basis under the supervision of one competent man stationed at the office of the Superintendent of the Five Civilized Tribes, could accomplish the work which the eight probate attorneys are now expected to do.

Sale of Inherited Lands. As part of a comprehensive plan for the removal of restrictions from Indian lands of the Five Civilized Tribes, Congress by the act of May 27, 1908, provided that any member of the Five Civilized Tribes could convey, with some minor exceptions in the case of homesteads, any lands inherited by him, subject to the sole approval of the county court. The Oklahoma Supreme Court [*] decided that in exercising this function the county courts act as federal administrative agents and not under state law. This decision has meant that the safeguards thrown about the procedure by the Oklahoma statutes are inoperative, that the presence of the Indian grantor is not a pre-requisite to the approval of a conveyance, and that the discretion of the judge is

[*] Malone v. Wamsley, 195 Pac. 485 (1921).

absolute, from which no appeal lies." It is the duty of the probate attorneys to advise the court concerning the approval of Indian deeds, and they often render valuable aid in this respect. Often, however, their services are ineffective, either because they are not notified of the proceedings, or are unable to be present to secure appraisals of the land, or because their recommendations are ignored by the court. At best they are in the position of interlopers. The transaction has already been agreed upon, the purchaser desires his lands, and the Indian grantor desires, usually very eagerly, his money. The state is also not adverse to having the land placed on the tax rolls. The county judges almost universally pay no attention to the social or economic desirability of the sale of the Indian land. Although the conveyance of the land may leave the Indian homeless and the proceeds of the sale be squandered, such considerations do not weigh with the court. Several judges, in fact, have declared that their duty is accomplished if it appears that the Indian knows the land which he is selling and the consideration he is to receive. Under such circumstances it is not strange that sales for grossly inadequate considerations are not uncommon. Since the court usually makes no extended inquiry as to the heirs of the decedent, pretended heirs may file for record deeds bearing court approval, which merely cloud the title so that heirs having a real interest in the land are forced to pay well to clear their title.

It has been stated on reliable authority[11] that it was expected that the Indian owners would not long retain their inherited lands after the restrictions had been removed; but that the lands which they themselves had received as allotments would be sufficient to provide them a home and support. This second hypothesis is becoming less and less true, since with the passing years the number of Indians who have received allotments in their own names is becoming fewer and fewer. If the heirs were competent to handle their property the existing situation might be left undisturbed, but the evidence is overwhelming that such is not the case and that the Indians of the Five Tribes are still the easy victims of the greedy and unscrupulous. The national government owes a duty to preserve to these Indians their patrimony. This cannot be accomplished unless the act of May 27, 1908, be so amended that the death of an allottee shall no longer have the effect of removing the restrictions from the lands descending to his heirs, unless they are persons of the lesser degrees of Indian blood from whose allotted lands the restrictions have already been removed.

[11] Malone v. Wamsley, 195 Pac. 485 (1921); Carey v. Bewley, 224 Pac. 990 (1924); Lasiter v. Ferguson, 192 Pac. 197 (1920); Snell v. Canard, 218 Pac. 813 (1923); Haddock v. Johnson, 194 Pac. 1077 (1920).
[12] Mills, Oklahoma Indian land law (2d.), pp. 168-71.

Partitioning of Inherited Lands. By making the restricted lands of the Indians of the Five Civilized Tribes subject to partition proceedings in the state courts of Oklahoma[13] another way has been opened for the Indian to lose title to his lands. In the case of the death of an allottee leaving several heirs, and the transfer by one of the heirs of his interest, the purchaser can have the land partitioned by the District Court of Oklahoma. If the court finds that the land cannot be equitably partitioned, it may be sold and the proceeds divided among the respective owners. Any owner may buy the land at the price set by the commissioners of the court, but, as the Indian owner seldom has the funds with which to purchase, the almost uniform result is that the land passes from his hands. In several instances discovered by the attorneys of the office of the Superintendent of the Five Civilized Tribes it would appear that sales have been made when it was inconceivable that a partition in kind could not easily have been made.

If the restrictions on inherited land be continued as above suggested, much of the damage occasioned by this act will be removed. If it be necessary to separate the interests of the Indian heirs, a sale under the direction of the Indian Office according to existing regulations is more likely to secure a fair price for the land than is the sheriff's sale in the state partition proceedings. If the latter method of partition is retained, steps should be taken at once to provide that in all cases where the restricted interests of Indians are affected the proper probate attorney be notified, and that he have full rights as an attorney of the court to represent the Indian interests in the litigation.

Leases. The provision of the 1908 act[14] whereby any Indian of the Five Civilized Tribes may make a surface lease of his homestead lands for a period not to exceed one year and of his surplus

[13] Act of June 14, 1918.
[14] Act of May 27, 1908, Section 2. 35 Stat. L., 312.

lands for a period not to exceed five years, has undoubtedly led to great abuses. The misrepresentations to the unlettered Indians of the terms of the instruments they are signing and the grossly inadequate rentals paid, demand immediate changes in the existing situations. Another unfortunate result of the present situation is that at times the Indians will frustrate unwittingly desired sales of their lands by leasing them without the knowledge of the government, after the latter has placed them on the market for sale at the Indian owner's request. Although a complete assumption by the government of the leasing of Indian lands—negotiation, execution, and collection—would perhaps secure the greatest return to the owners, this would undoubtedly cause many delays, require a great increase in the present field force, and be a step backward in the task of training the Indian for economic competency. The more feasible proposition is that the Indian be allowed to negotiate leases of his land as formerly, but that the executed document be invalid without the approval of a duly authorized representative of the Indian Service. Also, no receipt for rent should be binding unless witnessed by an employee of the government. If leases for not more than one year were subject to the approval of the several field clerks, and only the longer term leases submitted to the Muskogee office, there would be no appreciable delay in the handling of leases, and great savings would be secured for the Indians.

Probate of Estates of Minors and Incompetents. On account of several notorious cases the administration of the estates of minors and incompetents by the probate courts of Oklahoma has received much unfavorable attention. There is reason to believe that, as in other phases of the relation of the State of Oklahoma to the Indians of the Five Tribes, a changed public sentiment is gradually bringing about improved conditions. Although the nominal administration of the estates of minor and incompetent Indians is in the state courts, it should be noted that where restricted lands or funds are involved, the ultimate authority over this property rests with the Indian Office. A considerable portion of the work of the probate attorneys has been the approval of the requests of guardians for the expenditures of funds within the control of the Department. Although the probate attorneys should pass on such questions as the allowance of guardian and attorney fees, and

should see that the estates of this nature are administered according to the statutes of Oklahoma and the regulations of the Indian Office, there is no reason why the approval of ordinary expenditures for food, clothing, and other routine expenses should require the service of a man with legal training. It is work which could be done better and more cheaply by a social worker or even by a high grade clerk.

If the ward has no property in respect to which the government has retained its trust title, then the estate is beyond federal jurisdiction, and no method is apparent by which the property thus once relinquished can be brought again under the national ægis. Although several probate attorneys have rendered good service even in such cases, there is considerable question whether under the law their duties extend to these estates. It is recommended that, either by instructions from the Indian Office or by statute if necessary, the probate attorneys be directed to render service in all cases where the Indian wards, because of ignorance or lack of funds, are unable to secure proper legal advice, or where there is an appearance of fraud.

In many cases where no probate proceedings have been taken in the state court, the Superintendent of the Five Civilized Tribes is required to determine the distribution of restricted funds among the heirs. At present the evidence is secured by means of *ex parte* affidavits, a practice believed dangerous and reprehensible. The general provisions of law relating to the probate of Indian estates do not apply to the Five Civilized Tribes; but in cases where no proceedings have been had in the state courts of Oklahoma, and action by the Office of Indian Affairs is necessary, it is urged that the determination of heirs be made in accordance with the regulations of the Indian Office applicable to Indians elsewhere. The probate attorneys would be well suited to perform the duties of the inheritance examiners.

Continuation of Restrictions. The most important question affecting the Indians of the Five Civilized Tribes is the continuation of the restrictions upon their lands, which will expire April 25, 1931. Although on many phases of the subject opinion differs widely, practically everyone agrees that if the restrictions are not extended the Indians will speedily be deprived of their lands, in

most instances for ridiculously inadequate considerations. Like most Indians elsewhere, the Indians of the Five Civilized Tribes have but little sense of values and will make almost any sacrifice of property for ready money. Congress should not be deluded into believing that anything else will result. In spite of the concurrence of opinion on this point, suggestions as to the proper course to be pursued are diverse. Although all but the most heartless agree that as to the older and the physically and mentally incapacitated the restrictions must be continued, many believe that the only salvation for the able bodied Indian, who is not too old to make a start in life, is to release him and his property from government supervision, and to let him run the risks of success or ruin in common with his fellow men. It is, however, the recommendation of the survey staff that the soundest and most humane solution is to extend the restrictions on all lands for a further period of ten or twenty years, and to include therein the inherited lands as above suggested. The existing law and regulations are ample to release the lands in the individual cases where this course is best, and such a method is infinitely more efficient and exact than the so-called competency commissions employed in times past. The theory of the government has been that the Indian should be retained under government supervision and control until such time as he is rendered competent through education and by example to care for and preserve his patrimony. This time has not yet arrived with the greater part of the restricted Indians of the Five Civilized Tribes. The United States will be unfaithful to its trust if it surrenders to these people their lands and funds at a time when the only possible result will be a carnival of dissipation, fraud, and oppression.

The Pueblos Lands Board. Too great speed must not be expected in the settlement of the Pueblo land claims. The problems of settling thousands of conflicting claims in twenty different pueblos under a statute uncertain and vague in meaning, cannot be accomplished in a moment. Each separate claim is in effect a separate suit. Records must be searched, deeds translated, witnesses interviewed, and sometimes extensive surveys made before an understanding of the separate claims can be gained. Steps are now being taken for the appeal of a case to the Supreme Court for a determination of some of the controverted questions of law arising in the interpretation and application of the Pueblo Land Act, a settlement of which will facilitate the work of the board. If all three members of the board had the health, time, and ability to do the persistent, grinding work that is now being done by one member in going directly to the Indian communities, there to interview the Indians, the claimants, and their witnesses, and to gather the evidence necessary for a proper determination of the conflicting claims, the whole matter could be concluded without delay and the disturbing controversies arising out of these claims made a matter of history. A consideration of this possibility is earnestly recommended.

Indian Tribal Claims Against the Government. The benevolent desire of the United States government to educate and civilize the Indian cannot be realized with a tribe which has any considerable unsatisfied bona fide claim against the government. The expectation of large awards making all members of the tribe wealthy, the disturbing influence of outside agitators seeking personal emoluments, and the conviction in the Indian mind that justice is being denied, renders extremely difficult any coöperation between the government and its Indian wards. Besides these practical considerations, the simple canons of justice and morality demand that no Indian tribe should be denied an opportunity to present for adjustment before an appropriate tribunal the rights which the tribe claims under recognized principles of law and government.

Since an Indian tribe is not a recognized legal entity, and since, under the general laws, the statute of limitations is a bar to practically all tribal claims, no Indian tribe can commence a suit against the United States in the Court of Claims, without first securing from Congress an act conferring on the Court of Claims special jurisdiction over the case. The necessity for such congressional action introduces political considerations into what should be solely a judicial question. Much depends upon the standing in Congress of the sponsors of the bill, upon the composition of the Committee on Indian Affairs, and upon the attitude of the administration. The present practice is for the Committee on Indian Affairs of the House or the Senate, as the case may be, to refer the bill to the Secretary of the Interior for report. Bills which hold possibilities

of heavy payments from the treasury must also be submitted to the Bureau of the Budget, where they may receive an adverse report because in conflict with "the financial program of the President." Jurisdictional bills for the California Indians have within the space of six years twice received favorable and twice unfavorable reports from the Secretary of the Interior. The result is that before a jurisdictional act is finally secured many years frequently must be consumed in agitation, propaganda, and lobbying. The expense of attorneys, representatives, and witnesses, and the disappointing delays, postponements, and defeats are burdens on Indian claimants, the imposition of which may well be questioned. A practice which requires a claimant to prove his case twice, once before Congress and once before the court, should not be accepted as inevitable without great effort to discover a substitute less burdensome and unjust.

As the jurisdictional act is the sole source of the jurisdiction of the Court of Claims' authority, the entire litigation depends upon the wording of the act. Certain features are indeed common to all the acts: authority to sue, disregard of the statutes of limitation, a time limit for filing suit, advancement of the case on the docket, access by claimant to all pertinent government records, right of the government to plead set-offs and counter-claims, determination of attorney fees, and right of appeal to the Supreme Court. The principal difficulty is to determine the wording of the act which fixed the scope of the claims cognizable by the court. The court is at times limited to a single specific claim under a single specific treaty;[34] in other cases its jurisdiction may include the wide range of "amounts, if any, due said tribe from the United States under any treaties, agreements, or laws of Congress, or for misappropriations of any funds or lands of said tribes or bands thereof, or for failure of the United States to pay any money or other property due."[35] The court invariably confines itself to claims of an equitable or legal nature[36] and is loath to consider the jurisdictional

[34] See act of March 3, 1909, 35 Stat. L., 788; act of March 1, 1907, 34 Stat. L., 1055.

[35] Act of June 3, 1920, 41 Stat. L., 738, in re the claim of the Sioux Indians.

[36] Sisseton and Wahpeton Bands of Sioux v. United States, 53 Ct. Cls. 302 (1923).

act as creating a liability against the government.[37] Although in the interpretation of treaties due regard is given to the inequality in power and understanding of the respective parties negotiating the agreement,[38] the Indians' rights are measured by the words of the treaty or statute, and, unless clearly permitted by the words of the jurisdictional act, the court will not consider mere moral obligations, arising out of circumstances preceding or accompanying the negotiation of the treaty.[39] It is difficult to see why a particular group of Indians who have been treated with injustice by the government should have deductions made for gratuities already given them, when other Indians who have suffered no wrongs are permitted to keep their gratuities in full. Such, however, is frequently the case. The matter, however, is often left to the discretion and conscience of the court according to the facts in individual cases.

Within recent years the number of jurisdictional acts has greatly increased. Twenty tribes now have cases pending before the Court of Claims, and several more have secured the necessary legislation, but as yet have not commenced suit. Nevertheless, a number of Indian groups still remain for whom no relief has been afforded. Although much may be said in favor of a general jurisdictional act, there is some danger that such an act would burden the court and the Department of Justice with too many ill-advised and unsubstantial suits, thus retarding action on more meritorious matters. It is recommended, therefore, that the Secretary of the Interior delegate to a special staff, expert in law and Indian affairs and not affiliated either with the government or with attorneys prosecuting Indian cases, the authority to investigate the remaining tribal claims, and to report to him its recommendations in regard thereto, together with suggestions as to the proper jurisdictional bills to be drafted in the instances where suit seems proper. Such information would be invaluable to Congress in enabling it speedily and efficiently to dispose of this problem recurring in each session.

[37] Mille Lac Band of Chippewas v. United States, 46 Ct. Cls. 424 (1911); Mdewakanton and Wahpakoota Bands of Sioux v. United States, 57 Ct. Cls. 357 (1922).

[38] Ottawa and Chippewa Indians of Michigan v. United States, 42 Ct. Cls. 240 (1907).

[39] Creek Nation v. United States, Ct. Cls. March 7, 1927. Sisseton and Wahpeton Bands of Sioux v. United States, 58 Ct. Cls. 302 (1923); Otoe and Missouria Tribes v. United States, 52 Ct. Cls. 424 (1917).

Not only is the permission of the government necessary before an Indian tribe may commence suit against the government, but also no contract that the tribe may make with an attorney to represent it either in the court or before Congress has any validity unless it is approved by the Secretary of the Interior.[a] The position of the government as at once the Indian suitor's guardian and the adverse party to the suit is an anomalous one, but one that must be assumed, if the Indians are to be protected against certain unscrupulous and designing attorneys. The prosecution of Indian tribal claims from the introduction of the jurisdictional bill in Congress to the final payment of the judgment is an extremely specialized proceeding. Ability to secure favorable action from Congress, knowledge of Indian history, familiarity with the records of the Interior Department and of the General Accounting Office, and experience in practice before the Court of Claims are qualifications possessed by but few. The result has been that the bulk of Indian litigation is handled by a comparatively small group of attorneys in Washington, who either hold original powers of attorney from their Indian clients, or else have an interest in the suit by way of assignment.

The task of the government in approving the contracts of Indian tribal attorneys is made more arduous by the difficulty of getting united action owing to the existence of factions among the Indians, and Indian politics which lead one group to insist on the selection of this attorney, and another group to insist on the selection of the other, present a delicate situation which has to be handled with extreme care in order to avoid disastrous results. The Department must avoid the Scylla and Charybdis of incompetent representation of the Indians, and undue dictation in the choice of legal representatives. To lay down any rules to govern the selection of tribal attorneys seems impossible. At times the Indians without governmental direction will be able to select competent help. At other times the submission by the Commissioner of Indian Affairs of a list of suitable attorneys from which the tribe may make a selection seems the best procedure; but to adopt this as a settled policy would in many instances be an arbitrary method of doing business and might give basis to the charge that a monopoly in Indian tribal business was being created.

[a] Code of Laws of the United States, Title 25, Secs. 81, 84.

Although the terms of the attorneys' contracts naturally vary with the individual case, certain general provisions are common. In the conduct of the case the attorneys are made subject to the supervision and direction of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs and the Secretary of the Interior, and they can make no compromise or other settlement of the case without the Secretary's approval. The contract may also be terminated by the Department for cause and upon due notice. Although naturally some objection has been raised to this unusual power, no evidence has been found that in actual practice the attorneys have been hindered in the conduct of the litigation.

A much more common complaint is directed to the provisions as to fees. The recovery of a fee is contingent on the success of the suit and is to be determined by the Court of Claims, but is not to exceed 10 per cent of the amount of recovery with a usual maximum of $25,000. The attorneys must also advance the costs of the suit, which are considerable on account of the printing of the pleadings and briefs, the long trips between Washington and the Indian country, and the necessity for voluminous depositions in many cases. As these advancements must be borne by the attorneys in case the suit is unsuccessful, tribal litigation naturally fails to attract the more successful attorneys who are in a position to choose or refuse the cases offered them. Where there are tribal funds, the expedient of reimbursing the attorneys, after departmental approval, for expenses incurred has much to commend it; and where no such funds exist, it is suggested that a congressional appropriation to cover expenses should be made. The $25,000 limit on the fee should be raised in some cases, for the difficulty of preparing the cases is great, and several years of effort are required before the matter is finally settled. This course is particularly desirable in view of the fact that the allowance of the fee in any case may be made subject to the control of the Court of Claims. In the recent Chippewa cases a yearly stipend is paid from the tribal fund, instead of the customary contingent fee. It is too early to judge how satisfactory this device will be.

The procedure of the Court of Claims is in many ways ideal for the handling of Indian cases. Within the time limit set by the jurisdictional act the attorney for the plaintiff must open the case by filing the petition with the court. In many instances reminders

have been sent from the Indian Office in confidential correspondence to attorneys that the time for filing suit has almost run, but in only one suit has the attorney failed to present the petition within the time fixed. Within forty days after the filing of the petition the government must file its demurrer, plea, or answer. Ordinarily the Attorney General submits within a week a general traverse. Considering the fact that the government is as ignorant as is the attorney for the plaintiff of the exact status of the defendant's case, it is doubtful whether a more specific answer should be required.

Evidence in tribal cases against the government consists entirely of transcripts from the public records furnished by the various governmental departments, and of such oral testimony in the form of depositions as the parties wish to submit. As the testimony of aged Indians who were conversant with the circumstances surrounding transactions occurring many years ago is often extremely important in Indian cases, these cases should be determined as speedily as possible while the witnesses are still available. On motion of the plaintiff the court by virtue of Section 164 of the Judicial Code may request from the various departments and bureaus of the government transcripts of relevant documents and book entries in the case. Such motions are denied, however, when it appears that the defendant has already informally requested similar evidence for its own use.

The great delays in the cases are often due to the time consumed in preparation of the material by the various governmental bureaus, particularly in the General Accounting Office. One is inclined to consider this delay with charity, however, when the immense task of gathering and compiling the requested information is considered. Single reports from the General Accounting Office often comprise many volumes, the preparation of which requires an extended search through vouchers, warrants, receipts, and ledgers of long periods of past decades. In September, 1926, a division of the General Accounting Office comprising eighty-two employees was organized for the sole purpose of compiling data for Indian cases. Even with this large force it is estimated that in some cases it will take several years to gather the necessary information. Whether the methods of this division could be improved upon and whether a larger force would be able to handle the records without interference and confusion, are questions which can be determined only by those expert in matters of accounting.

In the Indian Office, however, particularly in cases involving the Five Civilized Tribes, it is desirable that employees be detailed to furnish the material called for by the court and the Department of Justice, and that these be uninterrupted in their task by the necessity of performing other routine duties of the Indian Office. On account of the recent increase in the number of Indian tribal cases the Department of Justice should furnish more assistance to the attorney in charge of these cases in order that these cases may be promptly and thoroughly prepared.

As far as the pending cases at least are concerned, the only thing to do is to press them to a conclusion as rapidly as is consistent with proper consideration. Claims for which no method of settlement has as yet been provided should be considered by an expert group as above recommended, and where the determination of controverted questions of fact and law is necessary, submission to the Court of Claims with opportunity for appeal to the United States Supreme Court seems the best procedure. The Court of Claims is much less likely to be influenced by political considerations than are committees of Congress and executive commissions. It is doubtful, moreover, if the establishment of any other body would result in any considerable saving to the Indians or to the government in time and money, for in any event the evidence in the case would have to be prepared and the Indians represented by attorneys. The present delay is due not to the failure of the court to act promptly when a case is finally prepared and submitted to it, but to the inherent difficulties in gathering, digesting, and presenting the facts in these ancient, extensive, and involved controversies. The Indians, too, like other citizens, will be satisfied with nothing less than the opportunity of presenting before the regular courts of justice provided for the settlement of such controversies, the important cases which have such a close relation to their present and future welfare.

CHAPTER XIV

MISSIONARY ACTIVITIES AMONG THE INDIANS

A Program of Coöperation. If one should attempt to summarize in a single word the outstanding need in the field of missionary activities among the Indians that word would be coöperation. Coöperation is needed both in the relationships between the government and the missionaries and in the relationships between the churches or the missionaries themselves. Positive action looking toward improvement must therefore take the direction of improving the mechanism through which coöperation can be made effective. No mechanism can of itself achieve coöperation, which after all depends on spiritual qualities such as charity, fairmindedness, tolerance, and forebearance and a willingness to ignore minor differences for the sake of achieving great common ends. An adequate mechanism can, however, bring differing groups together to consider the great common ends and can afford the opportunity for personal associations in an effort to solve common problems and can in a measure overcome those differences that are born of misunderstandings and ignorance of the others' point of view. So far as the survey staff can see, the establishment of ways which will facilitate coöperation is the only administrative course that offers any hope of reasonable success.

Between the Government and Churches and Missions. In the chapter on organization and management the recommendation has been made that a scientific and technical division of planning and development be established in the Indian Service. This division would be composed of specialists in the various social and economic fields involved in the administration of Indian affairs. Some of these specialists would be permanent, others temporary. The appropriation for this division should be in a lump sum to permit of the employment of temporary specialists and the payment of the expenses of persons who might be called in as representatives of organizations with which the government must coöperate if it is to achieve large results.

This division, as has been explained at length in the earlier section, would operate on a project basis. That is to say for each particular problem a committee would be appointed consisting of specially selected members of the division and of representatives of those organizations whose coöperation is essential. This committee would then formulate plans and a program to be presented to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs for consideration and if it met with his approval for adoption; or if it involved appropriations or other legislative action, for submission to Congress through the appropriate channels. The development of a constructive social and economic program for each particular reservation would be a more or less distinct project. The programs for several different jurisdictions might well follow the same general pattern, modified to make it fit as closely as possible the individual peculiarities of each jurisdiction.

One of the reasons which led to the recommendation of such a division operating on project basis was that it seemed to the survey staff the most practicable device for affording opportunity for coöperation between the government and other agencies, both religious and secular, whose activities overlap those of the government and whose work must be coördinated with that of the government if all are to operate effectively and with a minimum of friction for a common end. In projects that affect many reservations and are broad in scope, the churches could be represented by members of their larger national boards. In those that are concerned with particular reservations they could, if they preferred, be represented by their local missionaries. In any event one of the duties of the project committee would be to consult and endeavor to tie in all agencies at work in the particular field so that the program as a whole would be well coördinated.

In addition to establishing the Division of Planning and Development and strengthening the government personnel in immediate contact with the Indians, it would seem as if the government might take one further step in providing a mechanism for coöperation between the government and the churches doing Indian mission work and between these churches themselves. A national advisory council composed of representatives of each of the churches engaged in mission work among the Indians would, it is believed,

serve a valuable purpose. To it the government officers might refer for consideration and recommendations those major problems in the administration of Indian affairs that involve missionary activities. Thus the representatives of the churches would get a clearer and more definite understanding of the problems from the standpoint of the responsible government officers. They would be asked, "What would you do if you were in the place of these government officers and had to make the administrative decision?" Faced with these concrete specific problems, such a council might quickly see that a sound decision would be greatly facilitated if the churches themselves by their own action could alter certain of the facts in the case so as to remove some of the difficulties which the government itself is powerless to remove. Such a council would serve too as a clearing house for information. The churches would thus learn more definitely about each other's activities and difficulties and a way might be opened whereby they could supplement each other's work or agree on some consolidation or division of the field so that the present missionary funds could be more effectively utilized. It is therefore recommended that the Secretary of the Interior communicate with the appropriate officers of the various church organizations at present conducting missionary activities among the Indians to ascertain the feasibility of the establishment of an advisory council on coöperation to be composed of representatives of these organizations. If the churches are willing to coöperate in such a council it is recommended that an appropriation be made by the national government to defray the traveling expenses and the subsistence of these representatives when in attendance at council meetings or meetings of committees of the council called at the request of the government.

Among Churches and Missionaries. Because of the great concern which the survey staff has for the Indians, and for the success of work in their behalf, it will perhaps be pardoned if it venture somewhat beyond what is possibly its proper field and offer certain suggestions for the consideration of the churches and the missionaries. This course seems appropriate because the staff has given considerable time to a study of the missionary activities and has profited much from interviews with the missionaries.

Two great advantages are possessed by those who plan missionary enterprises as compared with those who organize the work of the Indian Office. First, the missionary societies are not bound by the great variety of duties inherent in the relationship of the guardian to the ward, and are therefore free to specialize and to render a service of experimentation and demonstration, both for the benefit of the Indians and for the instruction of government officers. Second, the duties of the mission field are performed by persons who have consecrated their lives definitely to this service and who may therefore be depended upon to give a lifetime of devotion to a single piece of work with the Indians in some selected locality, if such a course is necessary to the success of an undertaking. If in addition to these advantages missionaries were more generally qualified by special preparation for definite lines of secular work with the people, Christian missions, both Catholic and Protestant, might render an incomparable service to the nation as well as to the Indians.

The Protestant churches particularly, it would seem, should give more thought to the serious problems arising from the isolation of their missionaries. Many of these missionaries need much greater opportunity for normal friendly human contacts with persons other than those they meet in the regular course of the day's work. In part, this situation could be improved if greater financial support could be given so that the missionary could occasionally afford a vacation and could be required to take one. More frequent visits from members of the home church or directing board would be helpful and stimulating. The situation would be improved, too, if some regular assistants could be supplied so that the missionary and his family would not be the only workers at a station.

Visits from members of boards or from persons maintained by the home church in supervisory capacity are especially needed when evidence indicates that some friction is developing in the jurisdiction. Whatever the merits of the case may be, the local missionary is hardly in a position to deal with the situation himself either by appeal to the superintendent or by going over his head to the Washington office. So long as there is no friction he can, of course, deal either with the local employees or the Washington

office without difficulty, but once real friction has arisen the situation tends to become worse rather than better if he himself tries to take action. The need here is for a representative of the home church or board to visit the field to study the situation as impersonally as possible and then to take such action as seems appropriate. Appeals to the Washington office might properly come through the home church or board after first-hand study rather than from the missionary in the field.

Unless funds are available adequately to maintain all stations at present in operation, the question may be raised as to whether more effective results could not be secured through concentrating the resources on a smaller number of stations. Such a course will doubtless be necessary in several instances if the mission program is to be broadened, utilizing a large number of contacts with the Indians instead of placing the main reliance upon the more or less traditional activities of churches in white communities.

In all this work much sympathetic consideration must be given the native Indian religions and ethics and even the forms of worship. Enough has been said in the main part of this section regarding building on the good in the existing religion and ethics of the Indians. Possibly this course coupled with the utilization of a broader program of activities will materially aid in the development of native leadership and hasten the day when Indian churches are self-supporting and self-propagating.

Regarding coöperation between the churches with respect to matters of doctrine and other strictly religious subjects, little can be offered in the way of constructive recommendations. The need for coöperation in this field must be apparent to anyone who studies the missionary activities among the Indians. Whether councils of representatives of the different denominations could make any progress in an effort to agree on a limited number of very simple essentials in Christian life, separated in so far as possible from doctrinal matters is, of course, open to grave question. Many devout church members and church leaders see this great need and many movements in this direction are under way. They have been given impetus by studies of missionary activities in foreign lands whereas among the Indians the need is for simplicity, unity, and coöperation.

Missions and the Government.[1] Religion is a dominant force in the life of a people. Any study of social conditions that failed to include religious activities would be grossly incomplete. The religious activities carried on by the Christian missionaries are an important part of the impact of a new civilization upon Indian life. They represent the effort to modify or supplant the old Indian religions which have occupied so large a place in the activities and thoughts of the Indians. The Indians were and are a deeply religious people. It may even be said that religion is the mainspring of their whole life and conduct. As Canon George Rawlinson says, "The most important element in the thought of a people, the chief influence by which their character is formed and their inner and even their outer life determined, is their religion." Thus the activities of the Christian missionaries among the Indians represent an effort to bring about so vital and fundamental a change that their work must be considered here.

Many people are deeply interested in these missionary activities, which represent by far the largest and most important privately supported humanitarian effort made by the white race in behalf of the Indians. Churches of many different denominations are contributing to the support of missions to the Indians and their sup-

[1] The activities of the Christian missionaries among the Indians have to a limited extent been referred to and discussed in the earlier chapters of this report insofar as they were found to have an important relationship to the general subjects of these sections. The survey staff endeavored in its field work insofar as possible to visit the missionary activities in the several jurisdictions and to interview the missionaries. No one person on the staff was especially assigned to this work, but all participated in it, each from the point of view of his particular assignment. The members of the staff did not feel that they were authorized to go into the missionary activities in the same detail as they did the government work. They appreciated that they were received at the missions purely as a matter of courtesy and that they ought to depend entirely on this courtesy for the information which they secured. No effort was made, for example, to get data regarding the personnel of the mission establishments such as were secured from the government employees relating to salaries, duties, and qualifications, nor were questionnaire cards distributed generally among pupils in mission schools. It should be said, however, that the members of the staff were received most cordially by the missionaries, and are indebted to them not only for the opportunity to go over their plants in considerable detail but also for the invaluable opportunity to discuss freely with the missionaries the Indian problem from their point of view. In many instances the staff is indebted to the missionaries for delightful, quiet courtesies extended to it.

porters among church members occupy a vitally important position in providing for the welfare of the Indian race. Not only do they provide directly for the maintenance of missionary activities, but it is in no small measure to them that the government must look for support in its efforts to render the Indians the highest type of broad and enlightened educational service and to prevent exploitation and abuse. Church members everywhere would very properly feel that a report of this character was unsatisfactory if it did not include a special section on missions.

The existence of missionary activities in the several Indian jurisdictions gives rise also to many difficult problems in the administration of Indian affairs by the government, and these problems deserve special consideration. Although in actual practice all missionary activities are so closely interwoven as to be practically inseparable, the work of the missionaries may be considered from two aspects. The first is concerned with what may be termed strictly religious or even doctrinal teaching; the second, with secular activities embracing formal schooling, social and economic training, and other philanthropic endeavors which arise from the religion of the missionaries but are not in any large sense doctrinal, although much that is strictly religious may be interwoven with them.

The Government and Religious or Doctrinal Teaching. With the strictly religious teaching, the government, under the American system of complete separation of church and state, cannot be directly concerned. Its administrative problems in this field relate primarily to affording the missionaries opportunities, facilities, and proper coöperation. As will be discussed more at length in subsequent parts of this chapter, these are often difficult and perplexing problems because of the number of different religious denominations involved. The government by itself is powerless to harmonize and coördinate their activities in the strictly religious field. This problem is for the churches themselves; the government can only pursue the course of strict neutrality.

The Government and Secular Activities of Missionaries. With the activities of the missionaries which relate to secular education, social and economic training, and other philanthropic endeavors, the government is very much concerned because here the functions of the missionaries overlap those which the government itself has assumed. Coöperation and coördination between the government and the missionaries thus become essential, and the government has not only the right but also a duty to inquire into the nature and efficiency of such work where the missionaries as volunteers are doing that for which the government itself is primarily responsible.

Since, as has been pointed out, the two parts of the missionary work are so closely interwoven as to be practically inseparable, and since the government has properly no concern with the first and a very great and vital concern with the second, the administrative problem of the government in dealing with the missionaries and of the missionaries in dealing with the government is one of extreme complexity and delicacy. The position of the government becomes almost impossible unless the missionaries fully recognize its embarrassments and appreciate the fact that much of their work is not separable from that of the government itself but supplemental to it, and that coöperation with the government to the maximum possible extent is the only effective working arrangement.

In this connection it should be pointed out that the necessity for such coöperation presents to the missionaries, especially to those in the field, no little embarrassment. Some of these embarrassments should be specifically mentioned so that this problem may be more definitely understood.

The work of the missionary requires him to establish close and friendly relations with the Indians in his jurisdiction, and as a result he acquires a vast amount of information. He learns, for example, of certain crimes and misdemeanors committed on the reservation. In some instances the local government superintendent is combating these disorders with every power at his command. Shall the missionary turn over to the superintendent the information which he has secured and join with him in an active campaign for law and order, perhaps thereby jeopardizing his own friendly relations with the Indians and his chance to influence them? On the other hand cases arise in which the judgment of the government superintendent may lead him to avoid direct action against certain offenses, whereas the missionary feels that direct and positive action is the only effective course and that it must be taken by the superintendent if it is to be taken at all.

Through friendship with the Indians the missionary inevitably hears complaints against the private and official acts of the super-

intendent and other government employees or even against the action of the government at Washington. In some instances his firm conviction may be that the action of the officers or of the government itself is clearly wrong. His attempts to deal directly and simply with the superintendent and other local employees may result in disastrous failure and great personal friction. The matter may become generally known about the jurisdiction and the Indians themselves may take sides, thus causing an intolerable situation. Appeal by the missionary directly to the Indian Office at Washington or to the public may remedy the situation or it may make it distinctly worse. The primary cause of the disagreement is difference in point of view and difference in judgment. The weight which various persons attach to the same facts is very different and judgments as to the proper course to pursue also vary widely. Each person from his own point of view is clearly correct.

These difficulties in the way of coöperation are cited primarily to illustrate the great need for it and to make clearer the intricate problem of the relationship of the missionaries to the government. This problem is mentioned here as one of the reasons why a special discussion of missions is deemed necessary.

Historical Aspects of Missionary Work with the Indians. To go into a detailed history of missionary activities among the Indians or to describe at length the existing activities is fortunately not necessary. The United States Board of Indian Commissioners early in 1927 issued as Bulletin No. 280 an eighty-four-page mimeographed report on "Christian Missions Among the American Indians: a review of the history, progress, present distribution and needs of the American Indian missions," with a foreword by Dr. Samuel A. Eliot. "The Red Man in the United States,"[1] by G. E. Lindquist, embodies the results of a survey launched in September, 1919, as part of the Inter-church World Movement and subsequently carried to completion in 1922 under the Committee on Social and Religious Surveys. It was made at the request of the Indian missionaries and workers gathered in conference at Wichita, Kansas. Although it is by no means exclusively a survey of missionary activities, it is rich in material regarding them.

With respect to the history of missionary activities it is probably enough to say that they date practically from the very beginning of the contact of the white man with the Indian. The policy of the government has always been to encourage missionary activities. In many cases the government has given the denominations land on or near the Indian reservations and has afforded them opportunities to work with the Indians, both on the reservations and in the government schools. For a period of about twelve years beginning in the Grant administration, the missionaries nominated the superintendents, but this system was short lived. For a very considerable period the government contributed directly from its own funds to contract boarding schools maintained by the missionaries, but this system led to denominational conflicts and was ultimately abolished by Congress. At present some contract mission schools still exist, but the funds used in payment are tribal and not governmental.

The Government and the Denominations. In the Grant administration the experiment was tried of apportioning the Indian jurisdictions among the several denominations partly in an effort to reduce denominational conflicts. Had some far-seeing statesman adopted this system from the outset, so that the first denomination entering a field had been given exclusive rights there, the system might have worked successfully and have prevented the unfortunate denominational rivalries. Attempted years after the missionary activities had started, it was probably inevitably doomed to failure because it excluded denominations from fields in which they had already worked and in which they had a following among the Indians. Probably every student of missionary activities among the Indians is conscious of the unfortunate results of denominational rivalries, but apparently the government by itself is powerless to meet the situation.

This matter of denominational rivalries is so important that it may be well to quote at some length from Mr. Lindquist's statement in the "Red Man in the United States":

> Perhaps no harsher criticism has been made of the Christian Church than that caused by the rivalry among denominations. One can only bow in shame at the thought of what might have been the result of this country if a united church had offered to the Indians the simple message of Christianity in a way which would have reached into their every-day lives. The early missionaries, with their educational, agricultural and home-making gospel, laid

[1] New York, 1923.

the foundations deep and strong for a Christian civilization. War, greed for land, and human jealousies broke up plan after plan, and mission after mission, until confusion reigned.

At last the cry arose, "It is better to educate than to fight; it it better to Christianize than to kill!" With President Grant a new era was inaugurated. As a preliminary step in his "Peace Policy" in 1869, he placed the superintendency of Nebraska, and that for Kansas and the Indian Territory, under the care of the Society of Friends. He further decided to invite the coöperation of other religious bodies besides the Quakers to take charge of these reservations, and to nominate such persons as they chose as agents, in the hope of avoiding the probable consequences of the appointment of political parasites to such positions. This invitation was accepted by the churches and the plan was followed for ten or twelve years, although it failed to accomplish all that had been hoped from it. Sectarian opposition arose in various places, and in 1881 a ruling of the Secretary of the Interior permitted ministers of any denomination to engage in mission work at will on the various reservations, "except where the presence of rival religious organizations would manifestly be perilous to peace and good order." In 1883 the Indian Commissioner interpreted this ruling as permitting any religious society to engage in mission work upon any reservation, "provided they did not undertake to interfere with agency matters."

That the Indian's understanding of denominational differences was even less than that of the ordinary layman is evident from the names given to the various denominations. The Friends continue to be "friends," but the Baptists are "put under the water," and the Methodists, "shouters," the Roman Catholics are "crosses himself" or "drags his coat," the Episcopalians are "white coats" or "long skirts," the Congregationalists and Presbyterians are "short coats," and in some fields of the early American Board work, the missionary is still referred to as "board on his shoulders." Certainly these are not titles which appeal to the reverence and dignity of the Indian any more than does the name of "chicken pulling" convey to the Navajo the real meaning of our Fourth of July.

That genuine advance was made, however, notwithstanding mistakes and difficulties, is clearly shown in the record. Mr. Lindquist quotes the tribute of James Mooney, long connected with the Smithsonian Institution, who was, he says, "never considered to be a great friend of missionary work":

> In the four centuries of American history there is no more inspiring chapter of heroism, self-sacrifice, and devotion to high ideals than that offered by the Indian missions. Some of the missionaries were of noble blood and had renounced titles and estates to engage in the work; most of them were of finished scholarship and refined habit, and nearly all were of such exceptional ability as to have commanded attention in any community and to have possessed themselves of wealth and reputation, had they so chosen; yet they deliberately faced poverty and sufferings, exile and oblivion, ingratitude, torture, and death itself in the hope that some portion of a darkened world might be made better through their effort.

Results of Missionary Efforts. Let it be clearly and definitely said at the outset that the missionary activities are dominated by a high spirit of service, sacrifice, and devotion. Although isolated instances may be cited of the very human trait of selfishness, even on the part of missionaries, these instances have been exceedingly rare, and they never should be accepted as indicting missionaries as a class. The group as a whole is earnest, devoted, and self-sacrificing.

Let it also be said clearly that some of the missionary activities are of an extremely high order. Here and there the physical equipment and the exceptional work done by the missions stand out as a challenge to the government. The Ursuline Sisters' School for Girls at St. Ignatius, Montana, is not equalled in equipment by any government school in the entire Indian Service, with the possible exception of Bloomfield, Oklahoma. The government can learn a great deal from the pioneer educational work in character development carried on at the Santee Normal Training School at Santee, Nebraska. A lesson in how to deal with little girls in a boarding school, if boarding schools for them are necessary, could be learned from the small school at Fort Hall, Idaho, maintained by the Protestant Episcopal Church. Other educational and philanthropic activities in different parts of the country might be cited. But the spirit of the missionaries and the isolated instances of excellent work are the outstanding bright spots in a situation which is otherwise somewhat depressing.

The Contribution of the Mission Schools. The finest work of the missionaries has unquestionably been in the establishment of mission schools for Indian children. Like the government the missionaries have placed their main reliance for advancing the Indian race upon schools for the youth. These schools have been

discussed in the chapter on education and it is not necessary to repeat in full what was said there, although a brief summary may be desirable at this point.[1]

Mission schools at present may be justified on at least four grounds: (1) As supplementing existing facilities, (2) as agencies to do pioneer work not so likely to be done by public or government schools, (3) as furnishing school facilities under denominational auspices for those who prefer this kind of education, and (4) as training for leadership, especially religious leadership, of the Indian people.

The nation and the states are not now justified, however, in leaving upon missionary organizations the burden of supporting such mission schools as have been established primarily because of the lack of publicly supported schools. For the nation, as a nation, to let weak little denominational schools bear the burden of elementary schooling seems inexcusable.

The pioneering function will remain as the best justification for mission schools and other private educational enterprises. Abundant opportunity exists for needed experimentation that would be of direct benefit to the Indians and to other groups as well. Some mission schools have, as has been said, done excellent work in this field. The government can well profit from their successful experiments, although it should not leave all experimental and developmental work to them.

That parents who prefer to have their children schooled under private or denominational auspices have a right to do so, is a principle that has been generally accepted in the United States; and there is no reason why Indian parents should not have the same privilege as others. Equally definite, however, is the principle that in return for this right of education in private and denominational schools, the community shall hold these schools to certain minimum standards. The government should exert its rights, as most states do now, to supervise denominational and other private schools. This supervision, however, should be tolerant and coöperative rather than inspectional. The surest way to keep private schools on a high plane, moreover, is for the government to set a standard to which only the best private schools can attain and to have as

[1] Pages 409 to 411.

its educational representatives persons whose character and professional attainments necessarily command respect.

Furnishing leadership, especially religious leadership for the Indian people, is a legitimate aim of the mission schools. Under ordinary conditions leadership of any type is more likely to develop out of schools that are operated with the highest religious ideals.

These grounds fully justify the continuance of mission activities in providing schools, but denominations sponsoring mission enterprises should appreciate the necessity for restricting their effort to work that can be adequately supported and for which high standards of personnel can be maintained. Those missionary schools that are materially below the government schools should be as quickly as possible abolished or merged with stronger more promising institutions unless the supporting denominations are ready to develop them promptly to an acceptable state of efficiency.

Taken as a whole, however, the mission schools are unquestionably the best product of the mission activities. If the schools alone were considered without reference to the life of the adult Indians and the Indian family, there would be less occasion for the feeling of disappointment over the general results of missionary activities.

The work done by the missionaries in the government schools has already been discussed in the chapter of the report dealing with education [1] and what was said there need not be repeated at length here. It is generally true that too much reliance has been placed on the religious service and not enough on the other means of appealing to the interests of children and influencing them by indirection.

Indian Home and Family Life Little Influenced by Missions. As has been set forth in earlier chapters, especially those dealing with family and community life and with health, neither the work of the government nor of the missionaries has really reached the home and family life of the Indians to any very marked degree. Exceptions must, of course, be made to any such generalization, because numerous cases can be cited where one or the other of these agencies, and sometimes both, have achieved very considerable success, yet such cases are the exception rather than the rule. The typical Indian home discloses the need for training and influence in sanitation, hygiene, and orderly and methodical care. In

[1] Pages 396 to 398.

some places facilities for cleanliness of home and person are lacking because of isolation and inadequate water supply, but even where such is not the case much remains to be done. If the position be taken that matters of this kind are not the province of the missionary and that the missionary is concerned solely with the spiritual welfare of the Indian, then from that point of view the existence of such conditions is no occasion for any feeling of depression over missionary activities. From the point of view of the survey staff, however, it is difficult to see how a spiritual awakening and a high standard of ethics could develop without bearing fruit indirectly in higher standards of family and community life. Low standards would seem to constitute evidence of the fact that in many instances the missionaries have not availed themselves of the excellent contact and approach that can be gained through taking an active and sympathetic interest in the family and community life of the Indians, especially in matters of health.

Indian Churches Rarely Self-Sustaining. In general it is probably true that the missionaries have placed their main reliance for reaching the adult Indian upon the traditional church activities, conducted in much the same way as are activities for white church members. Here and there are some notable exceptions where church services are but incidental to a very much broader program for adults, but these exceptions after all are not numerous. Where the church service is the main approach to adults, both active church membership and church attendance are generally small. Several missionaries met the inquiry as to the number of active church members with an almost despairing shake of the head and said that active church membership as the term is used in white churches is almost non-existent. Christian churches actually supported by the Indians themselves are few in number, and most of the missionaries say that their work is almost entirely dependent on white support. This lack of Indian support may be due in part to poverty, and in part to the fact that Indians have learned to expect the white man to do for them, but the dominant factor is unquestionably lack of interest. Where the interest of the Indians is aroused as is the case in the Indian Shaker Church, the church is supported entirely by the Indians. In eastern Oklahoma are found some Christian churches which are largely self-supporting, although the

Indian minister generally provides his own maintenance by secular labor during the week.

Native Religious Leadership Lacking. As conspicuous as the absence of thriving Indian churches is the lack of native religious leaders. In their primitive state the Indians are not without religious organization and leadership. Their failure to develop independent Christian congregations may be due in part to the general conditions to which the race has been subjected, for the Indians have failed to produce leaders in other departments of community life; but the development of native leadership, whether or not an ostensible object of missionary effort, has too often in practice been omitted from the actual objectives of mission work.

Religious leadership might by some people be expected from the Indian young people who have been in the boarding schools, either missionary or governmental, for in both the reservation and non-reservation government boarding schools, and especially in the mission schools, the Indian youth gives much more time to attendance on religious services and exercises than does the ordinary white child. The testimony of the missionaries and others on the reservations, is, however, to the effect that the returned student who has an active interest in the church and church services is a rare exception. In this connection it should be noted, however, that, again as a rule, neither the missionaries nor the government has worked out a concrete program or challenge to lay before the boarding school youth upon his return and, as has been noted in other chapters of this report, his education has rarely been directly pointed toward an effective life back on the reservation. Unless he happens to be the exceptional youth, and this is true not only of Indians, his interests in the late teens and early twenties do not center primarily on church activities.

The church, therefore, if it is to depend on returned students for leadership and organized religious activity, must have a program which is much more varied than one consisting mainly of church services or other ordinary church activities.

The Outlook for Indian Missions. The views of the missionaries themselves with respect to the outlook for the future, vary materially, and it seemed to the survey staff that a general distinction should be drawn between the Roman Catholics and the Protestants in this respect. The prevailing feeling among the Roman

Catholics appears to be one of optimism, with only here and there a contrary note, and this is more frequently voiced by a parish priest with both Indian and white charges than by one giving all his time to missionary work for the Indians. Protestant missionaries on the other hand, especially those doing work on the reservations, as a rule appear to be much less hopeful. The exceptions are usually those missionaries who have worked out a broad program and who are achieving positive successes along certain lines which give them courage and hope.

Certain apparent reasons for these differences in point of view deserve special consideration by all interested in missions to the Indians, because they have an important bearing on the success of missionary projects.

The Protestant missionary in the Indian field is subject, as a rule, to a greater degree of isolation than is the Catholic missionary. The number of Protestant missionaries who are the only ones of their faith in a jurisdiction appears to be larger than the number of Catholic missionaries thus isolated. The Catholic missionary is more likely to be one of several, either at the station, or in the general neighborhood; thus he has more opportunity for friendly association. The Catholic missionary, too, is generally a member of an order in his church and has the associations which arise from that fact. The Catholics are much more highly organized, and visits from other members of the organization are much more frequent. The Catholic missionary thus is strengthened by the sense of the strength of the organization which he represents, and he probably does not have the feeling that so much rests upon him personally. Possibly this fact explains why the Catholic missionaries generally take a long-time view of the situation and are hopeful, whereas the Protestant missionaries are more inclined to measure things by what can be done in their own life time of service and are more easily discouraged.

Another fact to be stated is that the firmer organization and control in the Catholic Church permits of a greater degree of personnel administration. The Catholic missionaries are as a rule members of fairly numerous orders, doing different kinds of work in different communities. Thus the directing powers have an opportunity to select for positions in the Indian mission field members of the order who are believed to have special qualifications for the task in hand. The missionaries in the field are visited frequently by representatives of the directing powers of their order, who study thoroughly the general situation and are in a position to make changes freely if changes are deemed advisable.

The organization and control in the Protestant churches are as a rule much looser and the mission forces less mobile. More thus depends on the ability and the personality of the individual missionary in the field. The greater freedom from supervision and control among Protestant missions gives rise to greater variation between different stations even where maintained by the same denomination. Although it permits some weak organizations to exist it offers opportunity for initiative and experimentation and permits an outstanding personality to exert a strong influence in developing individual Indians. It is quite probable, however, that the Protestant missions could, without sacrificing the advantages of individual effort and local control, achieve certain obvious advantages of organization, by pooling their interests in some interdenominational committee for Indian work similar to the Committee on Coöperation in Latin America.

The question may be raised as to whether the Catholic missionaries are not on the whole the more tolerant of things Indian, a natural result perhaps of taking the long time rather than the short time view. This difference, too, may be associated with their greater opportunity for friendly contacts with others of their faith. The isolation of some of the Protestant missionaries is distressing, and it is not surprising that in some instance they lose that calm balance and sense of proportion that comes from a greater variety of human contacts. When isolation leads to special emphasis on doctrinal details or on strict observance of minute matters of church discipline, it is particularly unfortunate, for these matters are remote from the thoughts and needs of the Indian. What he requires is emphasis on a very few fundamentals and much teaching and aid in the application of those fundamentals to ordinary daily life.

Difficulties Attending Missionary Efforts. No report on missionary activities would be in any sense fair or complete that failed clearly to recognize the tremendous handicaps under which all Christian missionaries must labor. These handicaps may be divided

into two broad classes; first, those which the missionaries and the churches cannot directly influence and control, since they are either inherent in the problem itself or are the results of governmental policies past or present which they may to some extent influence but cannot direct; second, those which are within the power of the churches and the missionaries to change and control if indeed they are within the power of anyone to control.

Handicaps Originating in Interracial Relations. A few missionaries, like a few government employees, would doubtless place first among their inherent difficulties the Indians themselves. Little evidence, however, seems to support the opinion that the Indians have a distinctive and peculiar racial psychology that makes them perverse and difficult. It is noteworthy that this unfavorable opinion is generally held by those who have themselves found the Indians perverse and difficult, whereas those who have succeeded with them generally hold the view that they are much like people of other races. These successful people distinguish between individuals and say that some Indians are very responsive and some very unresponsive, while the majority are not noteworthy for either characteristic, which is an entirely normal situation. It must be remembered, however, that the missionaries are in many jurisdictions dealing with a primitive people, very much scattered and speaking another tongue. These difficulties have been set forth more at length in the chapters dealing with the work of the government employees and need not here be repeated.

The first great inherent difficulty which the Christian missionaries have to face results from the white infiltration into the Indian country. Many a missionary has said, "If we had only the Indian to deal with, we could make much better progress." No race has been subjected to such recurring misfortunes due to land hunger on the part of the whites as has the red man in America. The stage could not have been better set for the exploitation of a race. The Indian occupied a country in the temperate zone, abounding in great natural resources of which he was wholly ignorant. He was content with the small living gained from hunting, fishing, and gathering native foods, in some cases practicing a little agriculture. He was devoid of the power that comes from scientific knowledge and equipment and, most important of all, lacked a language medium through which to acquire the white man's knowledge and power. He was compelled by the logic of events to change in a few decades his whole mode of existence and to adopt the habits and ways of a foreign race. The process which he faced involved indeed the alienization of this the original American. The white man, on the other hand, with an inheritance centuries in the making, keen as a competitor, pressing his every economic advantage, has legitimately and otherwise dispossessed the Indian. This dispossession has not happened in a day, for the government itself through its agents in the field has for these many years undertaken to protect and conserve Indian property. Unfortunately both for the government and for the missionaries, one element in our civilization seeks no interest but its own, playing without conscience on the Indians' weakness and destroying the constructive work of years. How many a missionary when preaching the white man's religion to the Indians must be embarrassed by the thought of what the white race has done to the Indians? What must be the thoughts of the intelligent Indian when he hears the great precepts of the Christian faith and contrasts them with the actions of the white men toward the Indian race? In some localities the major problem has become the Christianization of the white neighborhoods if ever any considerable good is to be done the Indians.

Low Standards of Living Associated with Low Moral Tone. The general low level of economic life prevailing among the Indians is another serious impediment to successful missionary work. The habit of departmentalized thinking has led people to treat economics as one thing and morals as another, without appreciating how intimately the two are connected. The execution of plans through difficult economic situations develops power of perseverance; the production of goods for the sake of one's family is altruistic; the desire to labor to replace what one has consumed is morality making for community welfare. In the past, in dealing with the Indians, this relationship between economic development and moral development has too generally been ignored. The tendency has been to stress the conservation of the Indian's property rather than the development of the Indian himself through teaching him to use his property. The crying need for the race is a policy which shall be human centered and not property centered.

The highest general level of ethical development, as might have been expected, obtains among Indians who have learned and found their labor sufficiently rewarded to enable them to maintain a reasonable standard of living. Indians who have not worked or whose labor has been put into the less productive channels have suffered a lowering standard of living accompanied by a lowering ethical standard. As Benjamin Franklin said, "It's hard to make an empty sack stand upright." Among Indians as among whites, where great wealth has come unearned, a low type of ethical development generally prevails. The beneficial restraints and lessons to be learned through the necessity to earn a living have been lost and the Indians have given themselves over to the forces of dissipation. Time has become leisure time, and idleness has become the habitual mode of life or the bore of inactivity has led to the fevered demand for a thrill, with resulting profligacy. The result has been social degeneracy.

Handicaps Resulting from the Type of Government Control of the Indians. The general effect of governmental control and supervision of the Indian and his property has in many instances been exactly contrary to what was intended. The government has time and time again permitted the Indian to enjoy unearned income through the all too ready granting of fee simple patents resulting in quick sales of lands. Most excellent productive agricultural lands have thus been lost to the Indians. Many Indian reservations show from fifty per cent to as high as ninety-five per cent loss to white possession. This great economic loss has resulted in the general lowering of morals, starting with the unlimited spending of unearned income and ending finally in despondency over the loss of the only visible means of support the Indian had. The government still permits a considerable proportion of the able bodied Indians to lease their lands to white men. The rent money, although not enough to maintain the Indians according to a reasonable standard of living, has permitted them to live according to a low standard without labor. It is not difficult to foresee what would become of any race in the course of three generations subjected to a state of affairs where the chief business of the people is aimless living and inactivity. This policy develops in the Indian the sense that he is not responsible for his own welfare. It smothers for want of expression any ambition for productive enterprise as well

as the indispensable qualities of initiative and resourcefulness. This policy of the government is beyond the control of the missionaries, and yet it constitutes one of the greatest if not the greatest barrier to effective constructive work.

In justice to the government it should be said that even as events moved too swiftly for the Indians, they also moved too swiftly for the whites. Problems of great magnitude arose to confront the government, not of its own choice but inherent in the unfolding drama of a nation in the making. For these problems it could in no possible way have made adequate preparation. Under these circumstances many of the old Indian policies were born. The problems of social forces and economic adjustment were less understood than at present and the principles which must be applied in their solution has not been formulated. The application of economic and social principles in the solution of such difficulties is a relatively new development. The nation has now reached a period where its government can effect great change for the better by re-examining its policies and reconstructing its organization for making these policies effective. In many of its activities, notably in the Department of Agriculture, the Public Health Service, the Federal Board for Vocational Education, the Bureau of Labor Statistics, the Bureau of Education, and the Children's Bureau, the government has demonstrated what can be accomplished by the employment of persons who have demonstrated their qualifications for expert work in the development of the economic and social condition of its people. This same type of expert economic and social service can be extended to the Indians, thus opening to them the door to real progress. The missionaries can then do their part and help to speed the day when the Indian may take his place as a citizen practicing Christian ethics.

Disabilities Existing Within the Mission Organizations. A good many of the difficulties at least partially within the control of the mission bodies themselves would seem to spring in no small measure from a failure to perceive clearly the double objective of missions. Too often, though by no means universally, the great objective of ministry to temporal needs is all but lost sight of in the other great objective of evangelization, while in some instances the zeal for evangelization is even narrowed down to the partisan championship of the interests of the sect. If the ministry to human

wants ought ever to be emphasized in the missions field, then an appropriate case for emphasis exists among the Indians. In the first place their needs are great, a fact that will not be elaborated here, and ministry to temporal needs is clearly in itself a worthy end of Christian activity. In the second place such a ministry is also in itself a means to evangelization. Good lives are the most effective sermons. Indians, like all other human beings, are more influenced by deeds than words. If, as is sometimes asserted, Indians as a race are peculiarly susceptible to the practical expressions of religion, then Indian missions in order to achieve evangelization should be peculiarly rich in a varied expression of Christian love in the form of good works. If sufficient emphasis were placed upon this practical type of ministry, the problems thus faced would prove so great and so engrossing that little energy would remain for the emphasis of sectarian differences. One of the fundamental difficulties with the work at the present time may therefore be stated as the failure to develop a broad program touching the lives of the Indians at many points.

Failure to Develop a Broad Program. The outstanding missionaries identified with the work among the Indians have always recognized that human welfare is a matter involving physical as well as spiritual service and have been intensely interested in all human relationships common to men. By pastoral visits, conferences with the Indians, and the mastery of native tongues, they have succeeded in establishing the vital contacts for the winning of a race. They have been statesmen in government coöperation. Their work has filled the government service with inspiration as they have demonstrated their ability to point the way for a people emerging into new standards. Unfortunately, missionaries of this quality have at all times been rare. Some are to be found today working effectively with individuals and communities and pointing the way to methods of work worthy of wide adoption. Illustrations may be given.

The mission school at Ganado, Arizona, one of the schools developed under the Women's Board of the Presbyterian Church, has displayed direct interest in Indian life and culture, particularly in the translation of Indian languages and in keeping alive Navajo work in silver as a craft for certain of the students. Efforts of

the school are not confined to the boys and girls, but extend to the surrounding community in various ways, notably in the remarkable economic service rendered to the people of the locality by irrigating the country for thirteen miles below the school site and digging wells under unusual difficulties. A huge "hogan" is maintained as a community meeting place for both church members and others. A few of the older students are being trained in leadership, who eventually should be ready to engage in similar practical undertakings either in this community or elsewhere. That the value of a mission enterprise may have little to do with the actual size and amount of natural resources, is shown by the success of the small but effective hospital and school work of the Episcopal mission among the Navajos at Fort Defiance.

The missionaries at St. John's in the Pima country, besides conducting purely religious services and operating a boarding school of several hundred students, maintain a large playground for adult Indians for athletic contests and baseball and football. On these grounds a small store is located in one end of an amusement parlor allotted for use on rainy days. Rules and regulations governing this place are much more liberal and plastic than those obtaining in the school proper. In these rooms instruction is given in what the priest terms secular subjects. The profits of the small store are available for the good of the tribe, and its specific uses are voted upon from time to time by the Indians themselves. At one time the proceeds may be to pay the funeral expenses of some member of the tribe, at another time to help the sick and indigent, or to pay in part the scholarship of some promising student. Here the missionary finds his best means of contact with the returned students and adult Indians. Gradually he is increasing his power to direct the social life of this tribe to a higher plane, to provide for its recreational needs, and to deal in most intimate fashion with the Indians' fundamental needs of self-support, the establishment of self-esteem, and the security of family and property interests. Without a doubt, if this missionary had the equipment and the means he would also be carrying on classes in dramatics, bowling, basket-weaving, first aid, dressmaking, and swimming, as well as the usual activities of the girl and boy scouts, and various other social gatherings. Here is religion in practice laying hold of the expressional side of life.

What force and regulation, repression and negation fail to accomplish, he is achieving through patient, wise direction and growth.

The following is an account of the activities of a native Indian missionary among the Kickapoos of Oklahoma:

Other special programs included the clinic work of the State Health Department of Oklahoma and the community work of three extension men from the International Harvester Company from Oklahoma City. The head of the health department, Dr. Blatchley, with her nurses, Mrs. Gilham and Miss Delasky, held the clinic in my study for two days. They examined over twenty babies during the first day, and school children on the second day. Many of these babies and mothers had never seen a white doctor before. We were very happy in the response and their willingness to take an interest in the clinic. The doctor at the Sanatorium at Shawnee says that results of this clinic are showing up in that Kickapoo people are taking their children there now for treatment.

The man from the International Harvester Company gave us a series of lectures with charts, slides and films for two days. The first day they focussed their talks upon the cow and chickens on the farm. The second day the discussion was upon the use, conservation and development of values of the soil. The entire community was invited in for these two days, including white farmers.

The Dutch Reformed Church has a mission at Colony, Oklahoma, with a long history of varied activities. At present the workers maintain among other things a community house, a maternity room, and the Mohonk Lodge. The work of the Mohonk Lodge is a distinctive contribution to the management of handicrafts worthy of study by the Indian Office. For twenty years the workers have been engaged in promoting the making and sale of beadwork as a means of livelihood for Indian groups with slight economic resources. To one group of Indians in a distant state, the sales through Mohonk Lodge have been the means of avoiding starvation.

Many ministers in white communities are very much aware of the fact that the spiritual needs of the people involve far more contacts than can be secured through the traditional church activities. They know that disease, poverty, and the failure to fit into a social environment may hamper the soul as well as the body. They are for this reason glad to see their work supplemented by many other organizations, some of a distinctly religious character

and others purely secular. Such organizations as the Y. M. C. A., the Y. W. C. A., the Knights of Columbus, the Red Cross, the Boy Scouts, the Girl Scouts and Campfire Girls, and the Junior Red Cross, are needed, on the one hand to help church members to make practical contributions to the moral and social advancement of a people, and on the other hand to furnish non-church members with the opportunity to render a service to their fellow men in a way that appeals to their religion and humanitarian impulses. If such activities are needed in a city population at least nominally Christian, how much more are corresponding activities needed with the Indians where the problem is to establish the first contact and to awaken the first interest.

The program recently adopted by a number of religious denominations for work in Latin-American countries emphasizes a fourfold obligation, namely, in the fields of health, education, recreation, and evangelistic work. The churches and the missionaries must appreciate that to do effective work among the Indians they must adopt the broad program and not the narrow one; that evangelistic services alone will not establish the first contacts and awaken the first interest. Possibly the type of religious service which will deeply appeal to the Indian will evolve later when the Indians themselves find in it an opportunity for self expression.

Lack of Preparation for Specific Lines of Effort. The effective development of a broad progress is dependent to a considerable degree upon specialized forms of service. Without doubt great need exists, among Catholics as well as Protestants, for more missionaries with definite preparation for specific lines of work. Too many of the sisters of the various Catholic orders engaged in the work of educating Indian girls are handicapped in the practical service they are attempting to render Indian families because they themselves have not had home economics training. Especially serious is the absence of the scientific knowledge of food values essential to the teaching of healthful food habits, which limits the value of otherwise excellent practical training in food preparation.

Even though the aim of the missionary is to make converts, the temporal needs of the Indians are so great as to constitute the obvious first approach. These needs involve the technical and difficult problems of achieving health, economic self-support, and the wholesome and normal development of individuals in their family

and community life and in their relations with white people and white civilization. One of the most successful superintendents in the Service says that since the Indian religions are exceedingly practical the Indians understand the practical expression of religions on the part of missionaries far more readily than our forms of worship. If this is indeed the case, then nurses, doctors, industrial teachers, and family and community social workers are especially qualified to exemplify the spirit of Christ in healing the sick and comforting the poor, and missions can hardly afford to be without various of these specialized workers.

Lack of Organized Supervision. As might be expected, there seems to be a greater difference in the effectiveness of the work from mission to mission than from agency to agency. This is due largely to the fact that no central interdenominational supervision of mission work exists, and that therefore no standards are set up as a minimum below which the work should not fall. As a result of this condition a weak denomination with low educational standards for its missionaries may maintain indefinitely a mission station manned by people with only the most elementary education and with no training whatever for the teaching of community work that they attempt, while a strong denomination with high standards of general education, for lack of any effective supervisory organization, may lend support in isolated spots to work of a specialized nature assumed by missionaries with no technical and little real understanding of the problems involved in their secular activities. The worst feature of such situations is not that the Indians of the localities are poorly served, but that the governing boards remain ignorant of the real problems of Indian missions and that as a consequence the great bodies of church members that they represent have little knowledge and little interest in Indian missions and therefore little reason for extending whole-hearted support.

A second result of the lack of supervision is seen in the occasional instances of long term misfits. It is quite possible for missionaries without the personal qualifications necessary for work with the Indians to maintain themselves indefinitely in isolated locations, obstacles both to the work of the church and to the efforts of the government. In the absence of some effective plan of supervision, there is little to protect a denomination from a drift of the unsuccessful in white pastorates or in prominent

mission stations to the inconspicuous and poorly supported stations in remote parts of the Indian country.

Fully as serious as the failure to eliminate unsatisfactory workers or to achieve an understanding of general needs through a study of local problems, is the failure to develop those workers who are capable of long continued growth in usefulness, or in other words, the failure to regard the work of the able missionary as a profession rather than as a mere vocation. This professional development depends largely upon such contacts as can be supplied only through intelligent supervision.

Lack of Adequate Financial Support. Financial support as a rule is meager in view of the work to be done. This is no doubt due largely to the fact that the constituents of the boards have not been challenged by any program at once broad and specific, and this in turn is due to the fact that in some instances the boards themselves have too little first hand knowledge of the real situation to be in a position to set forth the needs of the race.

Inadequate support is almost everywhere evident in the mission fields. It affects both personnel and plant and equipment, although in respect to personnel the distinction must again be drawn between the Catholic missions on the one hand and the Protestant on the other. As has already been said the Catholic missionaries in a given jurisdiction are as a rule more numerous and hence less isolated than the Protestant and they have the strength and the rseources which come from effective organization. The rules of their church regarding celibacy relieve them, too, of the family cares and responsibilities which are so pressing upon married Protestant missionaries and married government workers stationed in the remoter parts of the Indian country, and leave them free to concentrate greater personal interest upon the Indians. Even among the Catholic missions, however, it appears that a material advance could be made if a larger personnel were available so that more work could be done among the adult Indians and especially so that more attention could be given to the vocational guidance and placement of the Indian youth leaving the mission schools.

Citation of the fact that many Protestant missionaries in the Indian field are finding it hard to support their families and to educate their children should not be construed as a recommendation by the survey staff that the Protestant denominations should

send only unmarried missionaries to the Indians. Several illustrations could be given of the distinct value of the presence among the Indians of whites maintaining high standards of family life. Some of the missionaries have found it possible to make certain of the Indians friends of the family and to have them participate in some of the activities of the home. Such contacts are obviously invaluable. An officer of the Indian Service with wide acquaintance among Indians believes that the greatest contribution of missions to the race has been the opportunity thus afforded certain groups of Indians to know intimately some able, devoted, outstanding members of the white race, a knowledge invaluable to interracial relationships as well as to the development of sound ideals of life in the rapid change from primitive to modern environment.

The Protestant denominations, however, should recognize the difficulties confronting the missionary with a family and should provide for him in a way that will enable him to make reasonable provision for his family. What has been said regarding the government employees in the Indian country applies probably to an even greater extent to the Protestant missionaries. Salaries are so small as to make provision for the care and education of children difficult, and many a missionary has to devote a considerable part of his time to efforts to eke out an existence through some form of agriculture. The missionaries' need of recreation, of modern conveniences, of larger contacts with the outside world, and of relief from responsibility and strain through trained assistants cannot be met for lack of missionary funds. Too frequently the missionary and his family must bear the whole burden. Division of labor is impossible, and the program can include only what this devoted family can itself accomplish and often they have to enter into fields for which they have no special training or equipment.

The plants at various of the mission schools, both Catholic and Protestant, are so old that the mere expense of repair and maintenance becomes a serious problem. The old buildings were constructed prior to the day when light, ventilation, heat, sanitary facilities, and fire protection were given scientific consideration, and many of them are unsatisfactory in one or more of these important matters. As in the government schools, the dormitories are generally of the congregate, institutional type, and it is rare to find the cottage system or any other marked effort to modify institutional life in order that the children may have training for family life. Serious consideration should be given the question of replacing some of these old structures with buildings more in accordance with modern standards and better adapted to the purposes which they are to serve. Such a course is particularly desirable because several of the schools are crowded to or beyond their capacity. Even some of the newer structures leave much to be desired both in design and equipment. Special attention should be given to fire hazard, because in many cases the buildings are in no sense fire proof, electric wiring is of the open-knob-and-tube type, heating is by stoves or other very simple means, and fire escapes are inadequate. Some buildings of this type are so crowded that children are quartered in the attic floor directly under the roof and at a very considerable distance from the ground.

In some schools the meager equipment, especially in the kitchen and laundry, is due at least in part to the idea that the equipment must be like what the girls will have when they go out from school. In a very small school this idea has some value, but in an institution of any considerable size it is responsible for a system of drudgery. The teachers should have good equipment in order to free the pupils for other things that are more educational than uninterrupted ironing, for example. It is a mistaken economy, too, that obliges the schools to have old-time double fixed seats in a kindergarten room because somebody was able to get them cheap. A member of the survey staff, who was on the whole a sympathetic observer of Catholic mission schools, comments as follows on one of these schools:

> There is the usual formality in the classroom. Catholic Indian schools are usually one generation behind even government boarding schools in their schoolroom equipment, desks, and manner and technique of teaching, though the unusually fine human qualities of the women in this service atone for much.

Lack of Concentration and Coördination of Activities. Want of funds and the enormous extent of the Indian country are doubtless responsible for the lack of concentration and coördination observed especially among the Protestant missions. In the attempt to cover the field more churches have been established than are properly financed, and they are so widely scattered that in no

organic way does the work of one supplement the other, nor is the strength of one utilized for strengthening the weak spots of the other or the work as a whole. Newly established churches in white pioneer sections soon became self-supporting and self-propagating, but this is not at all true of Indian churches. Self-supporting churches, so considered among the Indians, are so only when the native pastor works all the week to earn his living. The situation could apparently be improved through securing more adequate support; or through concentration of existing support on a smaller number of stations, preferably in one or two sections of the country; or through the adoption of the policy of supplementing government effort in some very definite and restricted form of work requiring less outlay, as, for example, the support of doctors or nurses instead of the maintenance of entire establishments.

The work of the Y. W. C. A. among the Indians constitutes a good example of the effective restriction of religious work to a limited field. Instead of making scattered attempts to do many different kinds of mission work the Indian division specializes in work with girl students in a few non-reservation schools. Their efforts have resulted in the higher education of some capable young Indian women who are today rendering distinctive types of service to the race.

Lack of Coöperation and Harmony between Denominations. In no small measure both the lack of financial support and the absence of coördination have their root in the lack of coöperation and harmony between the several religious denominations. The importance of this factor in impeding the progress of the entire mission work can scarcely be overstated. This matter was touched upon briefly under the history of missionary activities and there a quotation was inserted from Mr. Lindquist's "Red Man in the United States" which should be reread in this connection.[1] The results of this lack of harmony may be treated under different heads: (1) The confusion that has arisen in the minds of the Indians; (2) the political consequences that have followed division on denominational grounds; and (3) the impairment of the work from the standpoint of the effective utilization of missionary funds.

1. Persons who study the history, doctrine, polity, and work of the religious denominations of the United States, as given for

[1] See pages 821 and 823.

example in the United States Census Report on Religious Bodies, appreciate that the tendency among Christian people in this country has been to put the emphasis on the one point of difference rather than on the ninety-nine of agreement. Divisions have taken place on matters of doctrine, polity, and forms of worship, some major and some minor. The great political issue arising from slavery resulted in many divisions. Churches have thus divided or groups broken away so that each group has a doctrine, polity, and form of worship which is reasonably consistent with its own religious views and, it may even be said, reasonably satisfying to its own tastes in respect to such matters as form of worship. The fact that these divisions were born in controversy unquestionably explains the fact that the emphasis is almost invariably placed on the distinctions and not on the similarities.

With the question whether this minute division is good or bad for the Christian religion as a whole, this report has nothing to do. It is cited to show that the Indians cannot be expected to trace the historical roots of the many doctrines, dogmas, and practices, and to harmonize to their own satisfaction the conflicting teachings and ways of those who come to them declaring the ultimate faith. Insofar as the missionaries place emphasis on the matters of differences and not on the matters of agreement, they bewilder the Indians and retard their ready acceptance of the fundamentals of Christian character and Christian work. The Indians, with their keen power of observation and their ability to characterize in a few descriptive words, are likely to bring against the missionary the effective Indian weapon of ridicule, as is so well illustrated in the quotation from Mr. Lindquist. One of the government superintendents who is outstanding for his ability to understand Indians and to reach them, comments on the hard, practical common sense which they display in judging of things white, and of the extreme necessity for having what is brought to them so basic and fundamental that it can stand against this examination. The successful missionaries have undoubtedly understood this fact and have laid their emphasis on the very few basic fundamentals which find their place in every Christian church, and have been extremely charitable toward the points of difference. If the question should be asked what these essentials are and it should become necessary to be specific, resort would be taken to Matthew 23: 37-40, "Jesus

said unto him, 'Thou shalt love the Lord thy God with all thy heart and with all thy soul and with all thy mind.' This is the first and great commandment. And the second is like unto it, 'Thou shalt love thy neighbor as thyself.' On these two commandments hang all the law and the prophets."

2. The conflict in the teaching regarding matters of doctrine and forms of worship have not only retarded the acceptance of the fundamentals of the Christian religion; they have developed factionalism among the Indians, and have caused great difficulty in the administration of Indian affairs. On one reservation an exceptionally able superintendent felt the need of an elected Indian council with which he could work. He was later transferred and promoted, and did not remain to carry through his plans. The elected council promptly went to pieces on the rocks of church differences. In another jurisdiction where the Indians have a government of their own, it has largely ceased to function because each of two rival factions claims to be the duly elected government and they cannot work together on the essential community enterprises. This particular controversy has various angles and church differences are one of them, though possibly not the most important. In some instances the effectiveness of the Court of Indian Offenses is seriously impaired by this type of factionalism and the superintendent is placed in a highly embarrassing position. The only way for some superintendents to maintain neutrality is to abandon such constructive plans as necessitate the whole-hearted coöperation of all. These illustrations might be assumed to reflect a strong and active church membership, but according to the testimony of most of the missionaries such is not the real fact. The existence of differences among the missionaries, and between the missionaries and some of the government employees, permit church matters to be drawn in to complicate other issues. Conflicts and factionalism would unquestionably exist if there were no missionaries and no church rivalries, but the task of the government would be enormously simplified in dealing with such difficulties if no missionary or church were in any way involved in them.

3. No student of Indian affairs can fail to be impressed by the duplication of effort among the various missions and the local government office in the services they attempt to render the Indian community. Everywhere the facilities of the Indian Service are

inadequate to the needs of the people, so that opportunity is not lacking to supplement government effort by work planned with reference to some desirable division of labor or territory. Everywhere the field of service is so comprehensive that if the denominations could agree on a well planned local program and then apportion the various undertakings among themselves, existing funds might be used effectively, whereas at present they are often wasted in avoidable duplication and rivalry. The two outstanding difficulties in many such situations are the narrow conception of the work as having the one end of securing converts, and the lack of specialized training necessary to a division of labor.

Failure to Utilize Indian Religions and Ethics. The next difficulty to be considered is the common failure to study sympathetically and understandingly the Indians' own religions and ethics and to use what is good in them as the foundation upon which to build. From this statement it must not be assumed that such a course has never been followed. This method of understanding and adapting the native religions and ethics has uniformly been the strategy of such great missionary leaders as Eliot, Zeisberger, Whipple, Hare, Williamson, Riggs, Spalding, Roe, and the Misses McBeth. It is indispensable if the race is to be won to Christianity.

Each Indian tribe has had its own religion and its own code of ethics, and therefore it is not possible to present one brief summary of Indian religion and Indian ethics. Each group of missionaries must study the Indians in the jurisdiction where they are located in order to get a clear understanding of the local problem. If the missionary is to reconstruct the life of the Indian by a new gospel he must be able to see the social edifice already there and have the power to evaluate its structural qualities. The careful study of the part that Indian religions and Indian ethics have played in the establishment of the Indian's social attitude is indispensable, for beyond question the missionary is primarily seeking attitudes, responses, appreciations, and fellowships.

The study will generally reveal strong intimations if not positive assertions of the first principles of many of the great doctrines of world religions, and therefore the mind of the missionary should be sympathetically engaged to discover if perchance the Indian, too, has not worshipped at the altar of the "unknown God." A religion founded upon belief in a Supreme Spirit, the divine origin

of the universe, immortality of the soul, and the immediacy and responsiveness of the Deity to human needs has basic factors which can very readily find a home in the great religion which the missionary brings. The attempt blindly to destroy the whole Indian religion may in effect be an attack on some of the very elements of religious belief which the missionary himself espouses and which he hopes the Indian will adopt. By the practice of condemnation of all things Indian, the Indian is rendered hostile, and in self-defense clings all the more tenaciously to his religion.

The objective of the great missionaries of the past was the preservation of the deep reverence and faith in the divine and unseen so characteristic of the Indian. In great patience and hope they waited for the processes of education to eradicate superstition. They accorded a high place to the race which, under the inspiration of its own religion found no place in its vocabulary to curse the Great Spirit and no room in its philosophy to doubt the existence of God. What these men and women gave the Indian race was a new and lofty conception of the Great Spirit. The new teaching conveyed the conception of a Spirit, a Creator, universal, clothed with moral majesty, and with the motive power of love and benevolence for all mankind. They taught the Indians to dispense with magic, with the occult, and to work out their adaptation to modern civilized life with ordered reason and labor. Without question this policy of toleration was in great part due to their mastery of the native Indian language. With this language medium they could sound the depth of the currents of Indian life. With understanding sympathy and as master builders they could lead their converts out into a comprehensive faith without the loss of all the treasures of their Indian heritage.

The processes of education and the scientific interpretation of nature should be the missionary's reliance for the eradication of the elements of superstition in Indian religions. Superstition gives [illegible] before s[illegible]ific kn[illegible]ledge [illegible] the Hopi is [illegible] sup-[illegible] with water by the [illegible] ers, [illegible] [illegible] medici[illegible] [illegible] of In[illegible]

Lack of Success in Developing Indian Leadership. Without doubt the ultimate success of Indian missions depends upon the development of leadership within the native congregations. One of the outstanding policies of all successful missionaries has been the employment of the native leaders. Pride in their own leadership does not deter them from giving the Indian leader a large place in their programs. They recognize that they themselves are only temporary factors; that the native must be the perpetual, permanent maintainer of the work. To this end they labor with all their might. They accord the native of ability and promise an ever-increasing share of authority and influence, and with unselfishness indicative of their own greatness, go so far as to transfer to him the fruits of many years of missionary labor, relinquishing gradually the direction of the workers and the duties as pastors, evangelists, and executives. Only in those matters requiring extensive business experience, administrative ability, and the disposition of large sums of money, do they retain control.

Possibly the pessimism of some missionaries regarding the development of native leadership has its origin in the fact that they have wanted native leaders to do just what they have done. To be a real leader one must have opportunity for self-expression and some originality. If the broader program can be generally adopted, native leadership may develop in a number of different lines. One would hazard the opinion that among Indian men and boys native leadership would quickly develop in the field of athletic sports, and among women and girls in the field of native arts and sewing. Every native leader in any field is a real achievement, and an achievement made in the course of the ministry to temporal needs may prove also to be an achievement in the conversion of the race to Christianity.

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